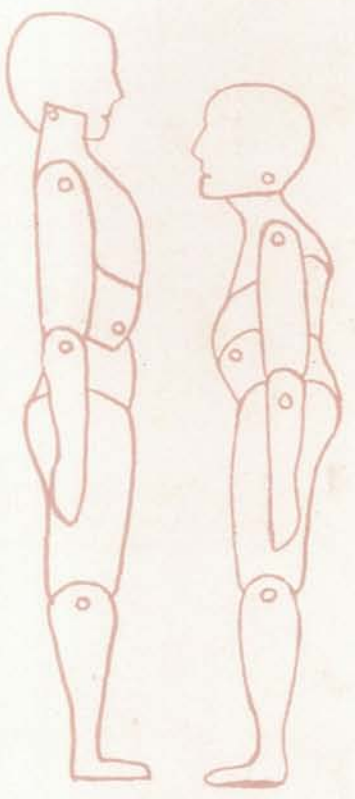


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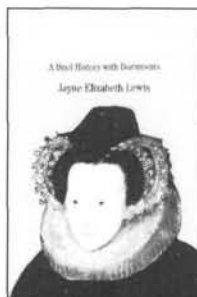
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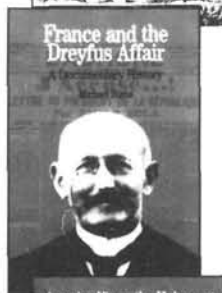
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In This Issue

In addition to four articles, this issue contains three responses to the June 1998 *AHR Forum Essay* and a reply from the author. The articles examine changes in American posture, debates about the concept of "Asia," the meaning of a sensational Indian trial, and clashes over sex and citizenship in Britain. The *Forum Essay* responses are part of a new format in which the three most compelling reactions we received in our call for comments are published in the following issue. The author argued in June that the Holocaust raises important questions about the emergence of a modern discourse of enemies and victims, and now he replies to the comments. Finally, the article section concludes with a wide-ranging review essay on histories of childhood. In addition, the issue offers our usual array of book and film reviews.

Articles

David Yosifon and **Peter N. Stearns** use the evolution of American posture standards as an index of reactions to wider social changes, particularly growing consumerism and a democratization of manners, over the last century and a half. They argue that the inception of strict posture standards around 1800 was a middle-class development, supported by changes in furniture and clothing. However, standards became more and more problematic toward the end of the nineteenth century as a result of growing consumer indulgences and a new emphasis on informality. Etiquette writers, doctors, and the new profession of physical education responded with alarm. They instituted a variety of efforts aimed at popularizing the now besieged posture standards and created stringent school and college programs to enforce those standards. Although the posture campaign continued to be at odds with popular behavior, only after World War II, Yosifon and Stearns contend, did the more relaxed posture practices find expression in new standards. When the oscillations in efforts to control American postures are traced over a long time-span, the two authors convincingly demonstrate, they reveal larger social changes and invite incorporation into classroom analyses of middle-class culture.

Rebecca E. Karl analyzes an attempt by Chinese intellectuals at the beginning of the twentieth century to construct a radical meaning of “Asia.” They tried to make Asia a site for anti-imperialist and anti-state praxis and for cultural recovery. Karl traces the development of this “Asia” from the Chinese appropriation of the Philippine struggles against the United States for their own nationalist discourses to the founding of a small pan-Asianist society in 1907 by Japanese and Chinese socialists and anarchists, Indian nationalists, and Filipino and Vietnamese activists. Contrary to those who focus on state-centered pan-Asianism, and particularly the figure of Sun Zhongshan (Sun Yat-sen), she argues that this ultimately failed effort at radical Asianism was seminal in the articulation of new relationships among emerging concepts of culture, race, geography, and global solidarity. Karl also challenges the reification of “Asia” as a unit of historical analysis by historicizing this original radical impulse in regional construction. Her argument about Asia as a constructed rather than a natural category not only illuminates developments in that part of the world at the beginning of the twentieth century, it suggests how historians can analyze regional constructs in other times and places.

Antoinette Burton explores the press coverage of the trial of Rukhmabai, a child bride who contested her husband’s claim to conjugal rights in a highly publicized Bombay court case in the mid-1880s. Burton contends that stories about the case reveal with particular clarity how colonial knowledge was circulated in the imperial metropole. Her assessment of the case also makes clear the ways in which metropolitan apprehensions of empire and its subjects were shaped by sexual politics, especially where the body of “the Indian woman” was concerned. Although cast alternatively as an object of pity and sympathy in various British newspapers, Rukhmabai used the imperial public sphere—a highly managed, contested, and transnational space—to articulate her own claims to justice as well as to insist on British government intervention in indigenous practices such as child and widow marriage. Despite attempts to fix her as a helpless child bride whose recalcitrance revealed the impossibility of Indian self-government, Rukhmabai consistently imagined herself as a “Hindoo lady” committed to a gendered critique of nationalist patriarchy in collusion with imperial rule. Burton’s narrative of Rukhmabai’s case provides a compelling demonstration of what historians can discover by linking colonial and metropolitan histories.

Sonya O. Rose examines the contemporary significance of the rather widespread public apprehension about the sexual indiscretions of British women and girls during World War II. She argues that anxiety about female sexuality was associated with the arrival in Britain of large numbers of soldiers from the United States. Their presence brought the issues of nationality and race into public consciousness, exaggerating popular concern about the war’s effect on sexual morality. Rose analyzes the contemporary meanings of those fears by examining how they were articulated in public discourse. She posits that discussions about sexual promiscuity were framed by the constructions of the nation and ideas about citizenship that emerged during the war. In particular, Rose maintains that the idea of the nation as a unified whole in which individuals sacrificed their private interests for the

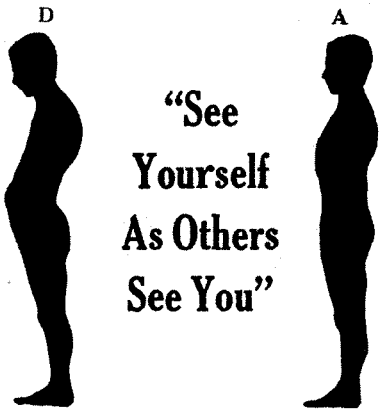
public good was a contemporary version of “civic virtue” stemming from the pre-liberal tradition of civic humanism or civic republicanism. Her essay thus makes a significant contribution to debates about the relationship between political and institutional history and the histories of race, gender, and sexuality.

Forum Essay: Responses

Omer Bartov’s essay in the June 1998 issue, “Defining Enemies, Making Victims: Germans, Jews, and the Holocaust,” was the first part of our *Forum* “Genocide in the Twentieth Century.” In that essay, he argued that modern discourses on enemies and victims are the basic sources of the enactment, representation, and commemoration of twentieth-century genocide. Using the Holocaust as an example, he proposed a new way of viewing the relationship between the nation-state and genocide by synthesizing discrete and often compartmentalized bodies of scholarship on Germany, European Jewry, Zionism, and Israeli history. The *Forum* concludes in this issue with a second part that contains three comments on Bartov’s essay. **Paul B. Miller** argues that Bartov favors abstract ideas over concrete realities. **Samuel Moyn** contends that he neglected to discuss the beneficial effects of universalizing victimhood. And **Vinay Lal** asserts that Bartov privileged the Holocaust over colonial atrocities. **Omer Bartov** completes this two-part *Forum Essay* by engaging these critiques.

Review Essay

Hugh Cunningham takes stock of the main trends and recent contributions in a relatively newly organized field of historical inquiry, the historiography of childhood. He concludes that although the work of Philip Ariès still provides the inspiration for most work in the field, few historians now encompass the range of approaches that he incorporated into his analysis. The outcome, Cunningham worries, is that different tendencies in the historiography will become isolated from each other. Within the legacy from Ariès, there are those who emphasize the cultural construction of childhood, others who focus on biological factors, and still others who try to reconstruct what it was like to be a child at some point in the past. Cunningham also explains that a disadvantage of the Ariès tradition is its tendency to focus exclusively on the children of elites in society. Only in a quite separate discourse derived primarily from ideas of “family strategy” has there been any success in finding out about the childhood of the rest of the population. Cunningham argues for a history that, like all histories of childhood, takes its cue from the present but draws, where appropriate, on the richness of different traditions within the historiography. His review essay is not only a compelling historiographical assessment, it is also a persuasive example of the intellectual richness that can be found by thinking globally about a subject.



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"The Silhouetteograph," Eastman Kodak advertisement in *American Physical Education Review* 33, no. 9 (November 1928): 595.

The Rise and Fall of American Posture

DAVID YOSIFON and PETER N. STEARNS

THE DECLINE OF ONCE-FERVENT STANDARDS is always an interesting historical phenomenon. “Stand up straight”; “Get your elbows off the table”; “If you’re not careful, you’ll grow up like that” once echoed through American homes. While the advice still lingers in obscure corners, there is no question that the American population has relaxed its collective backbone. Robert Bork used posture decline as the symbol for a larger decay of national standards in his recent book, *Slouching towards Gomorrah*.¹ In their heyday, posture concerns were partly symbolic, so it is not inappropriate to interpret their relaxation in the same light, without reducing the slackening of standards to a Borkian jeremiad. From another, less political vantage point, some contemporary doctors are wondering whether contemporary Americans have not pushed the neglect of posture too far, reducing their capacity to deal with injuries and painful back problems in an increasingly lengthy adulthood.

Unquestionably, modern posture history provides another important chapter concerning the roles of discipline in nineteenth-century life and the growing informality of the twentieth century. While the origins of explicit posture standards have been fruitfully traced, their evolution has not gained historians’ attention, yet it is at least as significant. Shifts in posture norms involved alterations in what parents and teachers expected of children, as well as in the ways strangers were evaluated. The changes reveal much about the rise of new leisure habits and changes in material culture, especially furniture. They even suggest alterations in larger social relationships, serving as part of the decline of middle-class identification through etiquette standards and raising interesting questions about the centrality of military imagery. The basic issue is a classic case of historical change, applied to intimate perceptions of the body: why did what was once regarded as proper become too stiff and uninviting?

Yet the posture story also offers revealing complexities. Posture standards did not ease with the advent of new leisure patterns and the intensification of consumerism around 1900. When shifts in clothing and furniture began to reduce structural supports of rigid posture, a vigorous counterattack emerged that

Derek Davison provided extensive research assistance for sections of this article. The authors also wish to thank a number of colleagues for a variety of information and suggestions, which immensely facilitated key portions of this study: Elizabeth Daniels, Tera Hunter, Cordelia and Clio Stearns, Kris Straub, Peggy Knapp, Paula Noyes, and David Stone.

¹ Robert Bork, *Slouching towards Gomorrah: Modern Liberalism and American Decline* (New York, 1996).

attempted to use quasi-scientific analyses and personal discipline to codify and enforce posture standards. Deployment of new weapons in the resulting posture struggle, particularly the distinctive efforts of doctors and teachers, highlights the battle over innovation in the presentation of the body throughout the first half of the twentieth century. The campaign raises a number of important questions. Why did posture not go the way of other staples of Victorian etiquette, deteriorating amid occasional editorial lament? Why the special efforts to replace nineteenth-century enforcement of posture with new modes? But why, also, did the campaign ultimately both fail and cease? Here, dealing with causation involves two analytical issues. Limitations in the twentieth-century justifications for good posture help explain why the undeniable fervor proved insufficient. At the same time, the decline of strict posture occurred amid growing obsession with other bodily standards, including both hygiene and slenderness—so a Bork-like invocation of general deterioration does not suffice.

For over a half-century, between the 1890s and the 1950s, many Americans found themselves oddly caught between competing posture imageries, inclined to relax but urged to snap to attention. Both the posture campaign and its demise reveal larger interactions between the body and social change. Posture is a relatively new topic in the exploration of changes in human behavior, thus far examined only for the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century origins of new standards. This study explains why posture changes have mattered by offering an extensive chronology, covering more than two centuries, from beginnings to decline to counterthrust and finally to collapse. This broad swath of time facilitates our approach, which centers on highlighting and offering an analysis accessible to a wide history readership, as well as suggesting links to a variety of other topics in American behavioral history. The methodology—an ambitious overview focusing on periodization stages—has been used in other exploratory ventures in social and cultural history—initial historical probes of old age, for example²—and it can be more widely recommended, as historians assess relationships between past trends and present concerns.

This is, finally, a social history effort, informed by the growing links with cultural history that have already led to explorations of changes in conceptions of the human body and in the discipline of impulse. Social history adds an explicit concern for the incidence and impact of basic beliefs, leading in this case to ways in which posture control was conveyed in specific programs and to efforts to estimate changes in the significance invested in posture standards and in the amount of anxiety the standards generated in the major subperiods, between initial emergence and final collapse.

THE DECISION TO STIFFEN UP in the first place was a modern one in North America, dating back only to the late eighteenth century. The nature of ensuing standards, including the ways they were justified and the methods of enforcement through the

² David Hackett Fischer, *Growing Old in America*, rev. edn. (New York, 1978).

nineteenth century, provides a vital backdrop to the more overt contests over posture that began in the 1890s.

The origins of modern posture standards were part of the redefinition of middle-class etiquette that took shape from the 1750s onward. Previous aristocratic norms had emphasized languid slouching, at least in social settings, and colonial American gentry followed these models in their valuing of ease. Europeans began to reassess their posture habits as part of new military codes and dance styles, beginning in the seventeenth century. But extensive American interest was first revealed in comments of people such as John Adams after the mid-eighteenth century, as they berated themselves for distorting their bodies along with other failures of self-control. Lord Chesterfield's widely sold manners book first codified the new standards, discouraging "odd motions, strange postures, and ungenteel carriage."³ A host of conduct books followed in the early nineteenth century, helping the growing middle class define itself, and identify outsiders, through the semiotics of body discipline. A number of historians have assessed posture concerns as a key ingredient in the larger emphasis on formality and bodily dignity. Here was an important means of distinguishing oneself not only from an earlier, effete upper class but also from bent workers and lounging frontiersmen. Not surprisingly, nineteenth-century representations of failed businessmen uniformly portrayed them as hunched over, their stance expressing but perhaps also contributing to their lack of success. Proper posture constituted a demonstration of good character. The mastery over physical weakness that erect posture suggested also related symbolically to other key concerns, including growing attention to hygiene and to sexual restraint. With time, finally, proper posture served as an aesthetic measurement, particularly in discussions of female appearance.⁴

With all this, most nineteenth-century advice literature did not treat posture itself as particularly problematic. Prescriptive writers conveyed no sense that respectable people would find the standards hard to achieve or that great length or repeated expostulation was required to inculcate them. Etiquette manuals offered the most elaborate treatments and maintained the association of good posture with good

³ John Adams, *The Diary and Autobiography*, L. H. Butterfield, ed., 4 vols. (New York, 1964), 1: 68–69; Philip Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chesterfield, *Letters of Advice to His Son* (New York, 1775); C. Dallett Hemphill, "Middle-Class Rising in Revolutionary America: The Evidence from Manners," *Journal of Social History* 30 (1996): 317–44; Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York, 1992). On earlier changes in Europe (where posture history has recently been treated), see Herman Roodenburg, "How to Sit, Stand or Walk: Toward a Historical Anthropology of Dutch Paintings," in Wayne Franits, ed., *Looking at Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art: Realism Reconsidered* (New York, 1997), 175–85.

⁴ Hemphill, "Middle-Class Rising," *passim*; Hemphill also shows that seventeenth and early eighteenth-century elite etiquette advice acknowledged erect posture but without the detailed insistence that took shape in the new period. Elliott West, *The Saloon on the Rocky Mountain Mining Frontier* (Lincoln, Neb., 1979), 32. Scott Sandage has noted the importance of posture in representations of failure and success in nineteenth-century America. Failures, Sandage argues, were inevitably depicted with rounded shoulders and hanging heads while their successful counterparts were represented with straight backs and heads held high. Scott Sandage, "Failure, Freedom, and the American Dream," paper presented to the Center for Cultural Analysis (Carnegie Mellon University, Pittsburgh, September 20, 1996). Posture emphasis also raises interesting questions about the elderly, combining with other findings to suggest that older people were increasingly associated with decrepitude rather than wisdom—unless, of course, a capacity for erect posture carved out ongoing claims to dignity. Carole Haber, *Beyond Sixty-Five: The Dilemma of Old Age in America's Past* (Cambridge, 1982).

character, noting that “dandies” and other reprobates could be identified by their bad carriage. Emma Parker’s 1817 pamphlet, addressed to “females,” claimed that judgments on the basis of posture were becoming commonplace, thus “the body should partake as little as possible in the motion of the limbs.” Discussions of female beauty included explicit sections on “carriage of the body.” Advice to men moved in similar directions, noting that careful control was vital to other people’s decisions about one’s genteel qualities: “Awkwardness of carriage is very alienating.” Dancing lessons, and the increasing interest in highly regulated dances such as the waltz, promoted similar standards.⁵

Inclusion of posture-training advice in materials for parents was both a logical and important step for preparing the young to set up appropriate adult habits. Furthermore, increasing latitude for young children to crawl raised additional concerns about keeping standards that would separate older children from animal-like appearances—a highly traditional Western concern. References to good posture preventing children from seeming “apelike” occurred in the 1820s, and later the popularization of the theory of evolution, with charts that treated the continuum of ape to man by carefully marking stages of better posture, moved in the same direction. Manual authors insisted that children be required to sit erect, in formal gatherings and even at the family table. Exercise was widely recommended in part for its salutary impact on posture, a theme increasingly extended to girls by the 1880s. Family pictures, both visual and literary, emphasized children who could stand and sit straight, and of course the available photographic technology required holding still.⁶

The posture standards associated with propriety were quite clear and, apparently, often used in judgments of character and beauty. Yet even in urging training for children, there was little sense that the appropriate goals were difficult to achieve, at least within respectable circles. Good posture accorded with the body’s natural construction, unless a specific deformity intruded. While advice writers noted the importance of posture discipline, they displayed little anxiety. One reason for relative nonchalance—a number of other norms were clearly more problematic—lay in the devices that helped keep posture in line, at least in formal settings. Clothing provided one vital support. Women’s fashions, in the main, concealed the legs while constraining the lower back, particularly if corsetry was involved. Certain potential defects like bowed legs might thus be ignored, while the basic insistence on holding oneself erect was facilitated by the stiff, laced bodice and the supportive stays of ordinary dress. Men’s tight vests would not prevent a determined slouch,

⁵ John F. Kasson, *Rudeness and Civility: Manners in Nineteenth-Century Urban America* (New York, 1990), esp. chap. 4; Eliza Leslie, *Miss Leslie’s Behavior Book* (Philadelphia, [c.1859]), 69; Bernard Wishy, *The Child and the Republic: The Dawn of Modern American Child Nurture* (Philadelphia, 1968), 38; Mrs. H. O. Ward, *Sensible Etiquette of the Best Society* (Philadelphia, 1878), 138–39; Marion Harland, *Eve’s Daughters; or, Common Sense for Maid, Wife, and Mother* (Philadelphia, 1882); *The School of Good Manners* (Providence, R.I., 1828), 9–10; Emma Parker, *Important Trifles: Chieftly Appropriate for Females on Their Entrance into Society* (London, 1817); *Blunders in Behaviour Corrected* (by an Observer of Men and Things) (London, 1855), 22; Edward Turner, *The Young Man’s Companion* (Brattleboro, Vt., 1866), 17, 19.

⁶ James Shreeve, *The Neandertal Enigma: Solving the Mystery of Early Modern Human Origins* (New York, 1995); Parker, *Important Trifles*, 71–72; E. C. de Calabrella, *The Ladies’ Science of Etiquette, by an English Lady of Rank* (Philadelphia, [c.1853]), 52; Leslie, *Miss Leslie’s Behavior Book*, 69.

but they, too, helped remind the wearer of good carriage at least from the waist up, particularly when sitting. Parlor furniture encouraged careful posture as well. Chairs were wooden and stiff-backed or at most lightly upholstered. Only the rocking chair, which actually drew some attention because of its relaxed qualities, might specifically encourage a more lounging posture, and it was normally reserved for exclusive use by the aged or by invalids until later in the century. Backless benches might challenge children's sitting posture in school—another area of discipline, though not one that received systematic comment. In the main, however, available furniture was most comfortably used with fairly formal posture, and in some cases it virtually compelled erect sitting.⁷

Only two kinds of nineteenth-century commentary went beyond general instruction to argue that posture should be treated as an urgent problem. Doctors and related experts, including the phrenologists, generated a substantial literature from the 1820s onward, picking up middle-class standards while adding health criteria and a belief that common habits demanded redress. Posture became a diagnostic cue betraying a number of illnesses and character defects alike. Well before Charles Darwin, some American scientists applied posture to racial analysis, arguing that Europeans alone had erect spines and straight bones allowing graceful deportment—in contrast to “all the less civilized races of Men.” More commonly still, concern about posture plus eagerness to gain attention for medical advice prompted arguments that middle-class Americans themselves were wanting. Children disproportionately suffered from bent legs, doctors contended, and parents needed to pay careful attention to the placement of infants to prevent spinal curvature and deformed limbs. Girls and women, doctors insisted, did not exercise enough, while the tight lacing they wore weakened the muscles and deprived the body of its natural support. Excessive letter writing was also damaging. While boys came in for less comment, bad posture was registered as yet another effect of masturbation. Not only advice but a number of corrective mechanisms and braces were introduced throughout the century to deal with particularly serious posture problems. Doctors did not succeed in gaining widespread public attention for their insistence on the pervasiveness of posture-related health concerns, but they set the basis for further argument along such lines later on.⁸

The second arena for anguished comment involved progressive innovations in furniture. From the 1830s onward, designers began to introduce not only more abundant upholstery but also coiled springs into the manufacture of chairs and

⁷ Lois Banner, *American Beauty* (New York, 1983); Sharon Darling, *Chicago Furniture: Art, Craft, and Industry, 1833–1983* (New York, 1984), 81–85; Katherine Grier, *Culture and Comfort: Parlor-Making and Middle-Class Identity, 1850–1930* (Washington, D.C., 1997).

⁸ Peter Hinckes Bird, *Practical Treatise on the Diseases of Children and Infants at the Breast* (London, 1855), 89; Robley Dunglison, M.D., *Human Physiology* (Philadelphia, 1836), 431–32, 1131–32; William B. Carpenter, *Principles of Human Physiology* (Philadelphia, 1850), 84; Samuel Hare, *Curvatures of the Spine* (London, 1838), 27; John W. Bright, *The Mother's Medical Guide: A Plain, Practical Treatise on Midwifery, and the Diseases of Women and Children* (Louisville, Ky., 1844), 323–24; John Shaw, *Further Observations on the Lateral or Serpentine Curvature of the Spine* (London, 1825), 20–21; Francis D. Condie, M.D., *Practical Treatise on the Diseases of Children*, 3d edn. (Philadelphia, 1850), 47, 50; R. W. Tamplin, *Lectures on the Nature and Treatment of Deformities* (Philadelphia, 1846), 257; G. B. Childs, *On the Improvement and Preservation of the Female Figure* (London, 1840), 37, 50; Thomas William Nunn, *Growing Children and Awkward Walking* (New York, 1894), 33, 50; Lewis A. Sayre, *Spinal Disease and Spinal Curvature* (Philadelphia, 1877), 15, and *passim*.

sofas. Some of the results were initially confined to the sick or elderly, and both cost and technological limitations restricted widespread change until the 1870s. Nevertheless, in advertisements and in common practice, a tension began to appear between comfort and propriety. Critical assessments of the new furniture included frequent warnings against “lounging attitudes.” Stuffed seats were “detrimental to health” and also smacked of lower-class lack of discipline. A novel issued in 1854 identified a woman’s fraudulent claim to respectability when she sat on an upholstered seat and “let her head drop . . . as if she warn’t more than half live.” A battle began between modern tendencies of ease, associated with consumer products, and proper bodily control. Yet the problem was limited until the end of the nineteenth century because most parlor furniture remained quite formal. Even when innovations presented the possibility of more relaxed posture—like the “lounge,” a new kind of coiled-spring sofa introduced in the 1870s—rigid upholstery and established convention held most sitters carefully upright. Only by the 1890s—by which time Sears catalogues were advertising richly stuffed parlor seats—was widely used furniture creating a real threat. And by then, a genuine posture war was joined.⁹

THE MIDDLE-CLASS EMPHASIS ON CAREFUL POSTURE began to decline, behaviorally, in the 1880s and 1890s—which is what one would expect from the larger contours of American social history. While nineteenth-century posture discussions left an important legacy, generating ongoing support for Victorian standards as a means of countering modern consumer interests, strict posture simply could not survive the new consumer-oriented, pleasure-seeking society. To be sure, the decline was gradual, for the older standards had deep roots in middle-class socialization, in the sense of what the body should look like and of what stance revealed about character. Further, the whole process was complicated by a vigorous counterattack. But there is no question that some relaxation began to set in, along fairly predictable lines: posture change played a significant part in the general process of loosening Victorian strictures. The pressures on Victorian standards had a variety of sources, and the results found various expression as well.

Several kinds of evidence suggest changes in actual posture patterns among the middle class, from the late nineteenth century onward, including data on furnishings of various sorts and on public presentations. They also suggest some of the causes involved. The rigidity of the parlor began to give way to a more relaxed culture. The rocking chair, relegated to kitchen or bedroom until mid-century, began to enter the more formal living areas, though it was still contested by other chairmakers who promised to “preserve the human form erect and manly as our Maker made it.” By the 1880s, innovations in rocking-chair designs allowed for more than simple back-and-forth motion—people could twist sideways or bounce up and down as well. Other changes resulted in chairs that were initially used to recline invalids becoming more generally available for people who simply did not

⁹ Grier, *Culture and Comfort*, 111–93; Ann Sophia Stephens, *Jonathan Slick, Esq. of Weathersfield, Conn . . .* (New York, 1854), 22; “An Erect Posture,” *Gleason’s* (August 28, 1852): 142; Caroline Hubbard, *A Book for the Home Circle* (New York, 1853), 157.

like to have to sit up straight. A “Health Jolting Chair” in the 1890s, armed with various springs and cranks, advertised its effectiveness against a variety of nervous ailments (including intellectual fatigue). More significant still was the spread of overstuffed chairs and couches, which led by 1910 to the renaming of the parlor as the “living room.” The previous tension between comfort and elegant propriety was clearly being resolved in favor of the former. A relaxed physical environment was a crucial part of this development. Standard seats no longer controlled posture. While concerns about excessive comfort continued, a relaxation boosterism emerged as well. One commentator in 1881 explicitly noted that comfortable furniture “goes a great deal towards civilizing the people generally. It seems to us impossible for the human race to be good-natured and good tempered if forced to sit in a ‘bolt-upright’ position in the extreme corner of a horse-hair covered sofa, with arms and back built on the very straightest and more perpendicular principle . . . It is not surprising that our forefathers were given to atrocities and cruelties when they were brought up to endure such tortures as could be inflicted by the furniture of even twenty years ago; it served to deaden the sensibilities.” The comfort movement, emboldened by consumer-oriented innovations, continued into the early years of the new century. An observer noted in 1909 that “guests will receive a far pleasanter impression from the easy and graceful atmosphere imparted to a room by daily use, than from the stiff and formal restraints imposed by the old-fashioned parlor.” Mary Chambers blasted “old-fashioned pomposity” in 1929, describing the furniture “revolution” as a “happy tendency to naturalness and simplicity in social intercourse.”¹⁰

Developments beyond furniture contributed to more relaxed sitting postures. Growing acceptance of a broader range of leisure was crucial. Wider use of parks encouraged reclining, if not sprawling, on the grass. After World War I, the spread of radio listening promoted informal sitting—especially among children, who were often depicted listening with their legs over the arm of a chair or simply spread out on the floor. Focus on the radio discouraged looking at other people’s bodies or caring too much about how one’s own body appeared, a reorientation even more feasible in darkened movie theaters with upholstered seats. New audience settings thus distracted from concern for formal posture. Indeed, with some of the modern seats, it was very difficult to preserve erect posture even if a person wished to do so. Finally, members of the middle and upper middle class who began to frequent vaudeville shows and other lower-class entertainments encountered groups with different posture standards. The influence would soon show up in less rigid dancing styles. Indeed, the expansion of the middle class itself opened up the question of

¹⁰ Susan Anna Brown, ed., *Home Topics: A Book of Practical Papers on House and Home Matters* (Troy, N.Y., 1881), 488, 490; Grier, *Culture and Comfort*; David Kunzle, *Fashion and Fetishism: A Social History of the Corset, Tight-Lacing, and Other Forms of Body-Sculpture in the West* (Totowa, N.J., 1982); Rebecca Rupp, “The American Rocking Chair,” *Early American Life* 16, no. 4 (1985): 36–41; Alan Gowans, *Images of American Living: Four Centuries of Architecture and Furniture as Cultural Expression* (Philadelphia, 1964); Jessica H. Foy and Thomas J. Schlereth, eds., *American Home Life, 1880–1930: A Social History of Spaces and Services* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1992); Sidney Morse, *Household Discoveries: An Encyclopedia of Practical Recipes and Processes* (New York, 1909); Mary D. Chambers, *Table Etiquette, Manners and Much Besides* (Boston, 1929), 173.

standards—though new entrants might be more traditionalist than established groups.¹¹

Changes in clothing followed the same trend toward greater informality in posture. For women, the disappearance of the more elaborate undergarments and particularly the great contest over corseting around 1910 led increasingly to less constraining dress. Before then, many proper women sat rigidly even in upholstered settings because their garb prevented any suppleness. After this point, however, costume and furnishing coincided in permitting much greater relaxation. Flapper styles were an extreme result, and the term flapper, in its implications of looser, more random body motion, was itself suggestive. Even earlier, young women who could wear loose-fitting gymnastic dress, such as Amelia Bloomer's outfits, had opportunities for less rigid posture, as they were encouraged toward greater athleticism. Men's fashions changed less abruptly, but here, too, the stiffly tailored formal coat and vest gave way to looser clothing that permitted more varied positions, particularly in sitting.¹²

These kinds of changes would have made no sense had people not been willing to alter their public images. The radical shifts in popular dance styles, from the 1890s onward, provide a revealing insight into precisely such changes in body standards, meshing with the new furniture and dependent on looser, more flexible clothing. Fashionable youth began to patronize dance settings dominated by African-American and other ethnic performers, who had never accepted the rigidity required by the elegant waltz. Soon, styles such as the cakewalk (the ancestor of swing), the suggestively named "shimmy," and then the Charleston became all the rage. Of the new fads, only the fox trot preserved an emphasis on careful posture; all the others stressed flexibility, motion, and bending of legs and torso alike. Here, too, subsequent trends merely enhanced the movement away from strict posture; the jitterbug of the 1940s bent and twirled the body with unprecedented speed. Even formal dance, while carefully preserving grace and body control, moved against rigid posture, again from 1900 onward, as innovations like Isadora Duncan's flowing movements were intended as an explicit antidote to the stiffness of classical ballet.¹³

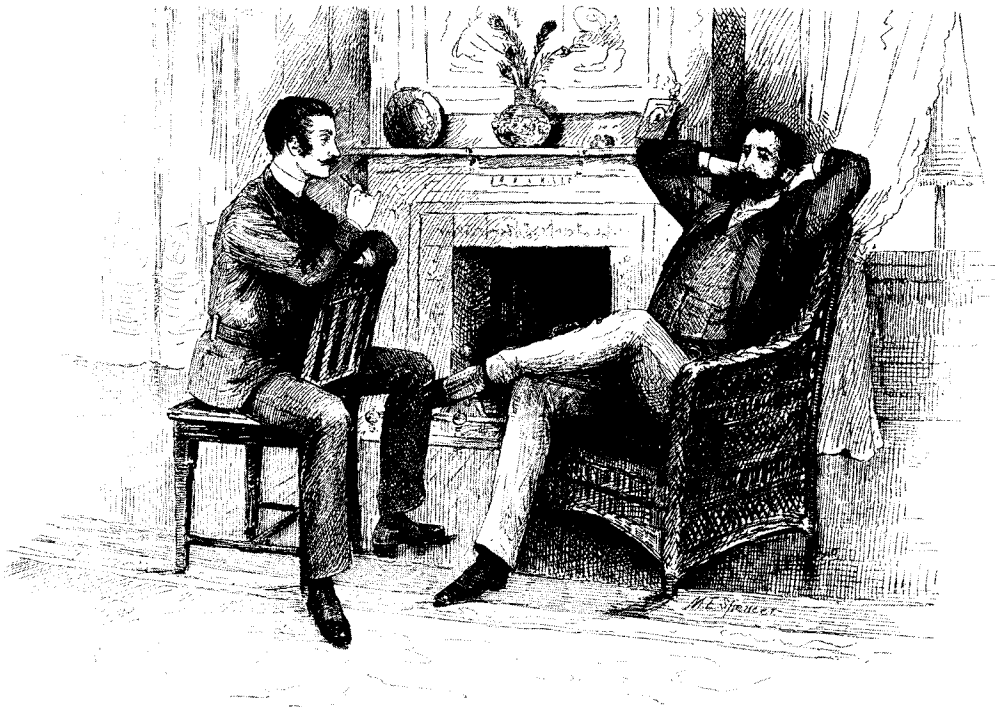
Relaxed body presentations spread particularly rapidly among youth and contributed to the various generational tensions developing around the turn of the century. Along with more daring, innovative costumes, a lounging stance helped young people display their distinctiveness, their capacity to defy adult standards. A certain degree of protest through stance would persist in youth culture through the twentieth century. But the larger trends cut across generations, enabling adults, too, to enjoy greater flexibility.

Fashionable people thus abandoned the rigid stance, encouraged also by new

¹¹ Lary May, *Screening Out the Past: The Birth of Mass Culture and the Motion Picture Industry* (New York, 1980).

¹² Banner, *American Beauty*; Kunzle, *Fashion and Fetishism*; Paul Atkinson, "Fitness, Feminism and Schooling," in Sara Delamont and Lorna Duffin, eds., *The Nineteenth-Century Woman: Her Cultural and Physical World* (New York, 1978); Jill Fields, "'Fighting the Corsetless Evil': Cultural Hegemony and the Corset Panic of 1921," paper presented to the Organization of American Historians, April 1, 1995.

¹³ Marshall Stearns and Jean Stearns, *Jazz Dance: The Story of American Vernacular Dance* (New York, 1968); Lewis A. Erenberg, *Steppin' Out: New York Nightlife and the Transformation of American Culture, 1890-1930* (Westport, Conn., 1981).



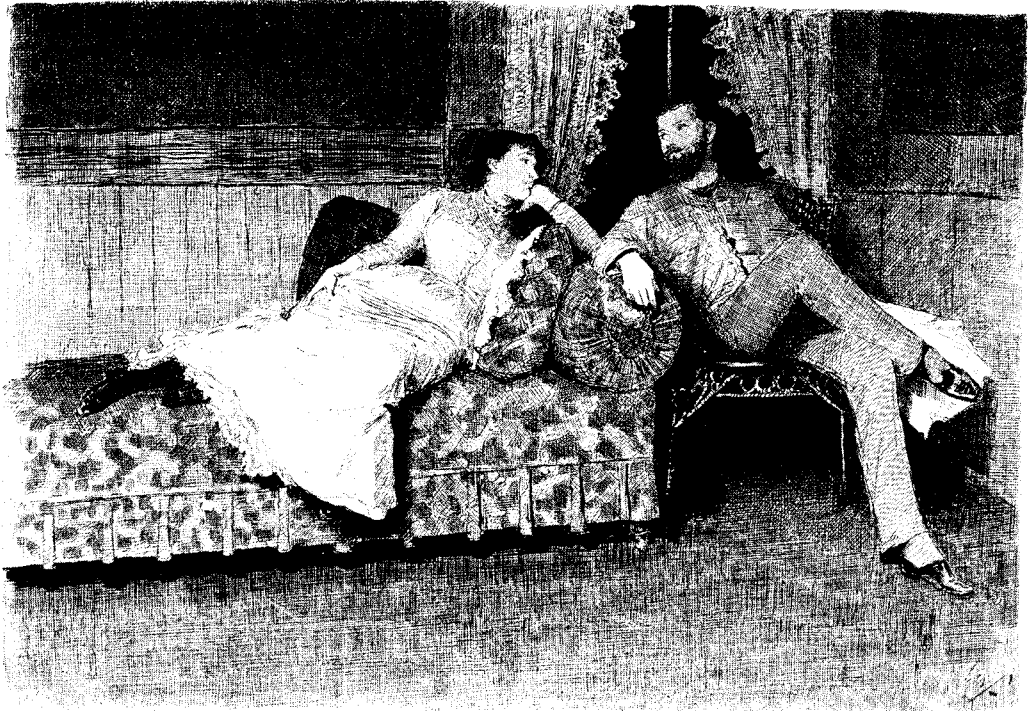
First Young Man: GOOD HEAVENS! CHARLIE, WHY ON EARTH ARE YOU PUTTING THE SULPHUR END OF THOSE MATCHES IN YOUR MOUTH?

Second Young Man: WELL, YOU SEE, BILL, I'VE BEEN SPENDING MY VACATION AT RICHFIELD SPRINGS AND BECAME SO FOND OF THE WATER THAT I AM CHEWING MATCHES NOW SO AS TO TAPER OFF.

Two men talking, signed M. E. Spencer, illustration from *Life* (New York, N.Y.) 4 (October 9, 1884): 207.

styles in illustration. *Life*, a publication in New York City in the 1880s and 1890s, carefully portrayed and often lampooned upper-middle-class behaviors. Sketches consistently showed the premium placed on casual, relaxed positions. An 1885 drawing of a gentleman in fashionable dress, wooing a young lady, shows him sitting with his legs casually spread apart and his torso resting diagonally on the back of a couch. Or in a restaurant scene, a man might be slumped casually in a chair with his legs spread before him, a woman leaning forward (against all the recommendations of the etiquette books) with her arms resting on the table. The famous Gibson girl portrayals of the 1890s, often cited in connection with the rise of a new emphasis on slenderness, typically put both men and women in relaxed positions, leaning on an arm amid the grass of a park or against a bench or wall.¹⁴ These sketches foreshadowed the graceful slouches of Hollywood sex symbols of the interwar years; in movie posters, male stars, particularly, were rarely posed standing straight when they could lean on a lamppost or a bar. This new casualness included portrayals of family fun at a beach, where strict posture was out of place entirely—although a

¹⁴ Our focus on the role of parks and beaches in relaxing middle-class deportment differs somewhat from the perspective most social historians have developed in demonstrating the disciplining function of rigorous behavior standards, especially with regard to working-class people, in nineteenth-century public spaces. See, for example, Lawrence W. Levine's discussion of parks in *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), 202–05.



TWO MONTHS AFTER.

She: WHY DON'T YOU SIT HERE, AS YOU USED TO?

He: OH! LET'S GO TO THE THEATRE AND SEE SOMETHING LIVELY.

A man and a woman talking, signed Van S., illustration in *Life* (New York, N.Y.) 5 (March 19, 1885): 157.

contemporary level of casualness in dress or body style had yet to be achieved. In the magazines, indeed, the stiffest poses began to be reserved for a stuffy older generation or outmoded upper class—a source of ridicule, not example. And again, once launched, the trends persisted. By the 1930s, political leaders (such as the labor giant, John L. Lewis) might gain creditability when depicted in casual, even sprawling poses, the relaxed position indicating self-assurance and a sense of calm purpose (though to conservative commentators, an unfortunate lack of dignity). Advertisements, similarly, increasingly emphasized lounging poses as a backdrop when selling products, such as soft drinks, designed to bring pleasure.¹⁵

The new posture, visibly insisting on the ability to be relaxed, involved the body in two crucial social trends of the first half of the century. The relationship to consumerism was obvious. Relaxed people were people capable of enjoying products, not concerned with some outdated requirement of self-restraint. Changes in posture standards also suggested a growing democracy of sentiment, as middle-class dignity no longer insisted on rigidity of stance as a distinction from less formal groups. Indeed, rigorous posture began to suggest an incapacity to relax and to mix, while holding the body casually increasingly served as an index of modernity. The

¹⁵ *Life* (New York, N.Y.) 3–5 (1884–85); “Speaking of Pictures . . . John L. Lewis Sits Down,” *Life* (Chicago, Ill.) 2, no. 18 (May 3, 1937): 10–11, 13.

coincidence, both in time and purpose, with a growing insistence on a casual air in presenting emotion, was revealing.¹⁶ Nothing should jolt body or spirit into a lack of flexibility.

College yearbook pictures offer a revealing index of changes in body presentation over time—but they also suggest important countercurrents. Yearbooks did not, of course, show how students and teachers actually carried themselves on a daily basis. But they did display how these people thought they should look on relatively serious occasions, when self-presentation was for posterity. Not surprisingly, stiffness here yielded somewhat more slowly than did poses in commercial magazines.

The Carnegie Institute of Technology was a school for an aspiring lower middle or even working class between the wars, surely a bit laggard compared to the modes of the Ivy League but rather similar to most high schools. *The Thistle*, the school's yearbook, displayed uniformly rigid poses from 1906 through 1929. Individual variants there were, but both posture and costume remained formal. Subjects sat or stood straight, legs together, with no visible differences, save in uniform, between military training groups (ROTC) and civilian organizations. Sports scenes, to be sure, were shot informally, but the team pictures remained stiff. Hesitant change first emerged in the mid-1930s. Group shots showed people leaning and bending more, particularly the men, and informal poses were now added to the organizational rosters, with casual scenes from fraternities and sororities that stressed a more informal body language. In 1941, the series added a "Queen" feature, with a coed casually posed, leaning back in the best Hollywood starlet posture. Group poses varied: some remained traditionally stiff, while others (including a drama group), were leaning and relaxed; women's organizations were characteristically more stiffly arrayed than men's, suggesting an interesting contrast between the posture women found desirable for formality and that which expressed beauty. By the late 1940s, even some faculty were pictured slumped or leaning, and the variety of poses in group scenes continued to proliferate. Finally, by the 1950s, all effort at systematically erect posture had disappeared. People leaned on chair arms or tables if sitting and sought individualized poses when standing up.¹⁷

The trend was clear. Stiffness declined. Emphasis on apparent fun displaced solemnity—and casual presentation of the body was essential for fun. Yet change did not occur overnight in these settings, which opened ordinary students to public view and to the judgments of older generations. The lag was due in part to a traditionalist impulse to assume a rigid pose on occasions of particular formality. But it also stemmed from the posture wars, which the rise of casualness helped set off, and in which the schools themselves were central participants. Here was an unexpected complication in what might otherwise be a predictable story of accelerating informality.

"PERFECT POSTURE, PERFECT POSTURE / Do not slump, do not slump": here was the kind of slogan—in a suggested grade school chorus—that heralded an explicit and

¹⁶ Peter N. Stearns, *American Cool: Constructing a Twentieth-Century Emotional Style* (New York, 1994).

¹⁷ *The Thistle*, 1906–64 (Carnegie Mellon University Archives).

systematic attempt to counter consumer habits in the name of propriety and health.¹⁸ It was not surprising that social conservatives were upset by the trends toward relaxing the presentation of the body. Thus etiquette books lagged well behind the obvious changes in body behavior. But more than traditionalism was involved. Precisely because the environmental supports for careful posture were eased, a new movement began to insist on the imperatives of careful training and self-control. In the early decades of the twentieth century, posture became a significant issue in middle-class socialization, far more widely discussed than in the nineteenth. With the standards now in dispute, with conscious effort more essential than ever before, a variety of authorities generated unprecedented efforts at enforcement.

Etiquette manuals, including the widely sold Emily Post series that began in the 1920s, contributed to the tension over posture simply through insisting on Victorian standards. The only change consisted of occasional comments about the difficulty of measuring up or about some troubling signs of relaxation. Table sitting was a particular focus. Emily Post, like her Victorian predecessors, wanted erect posture, with no hands or elbows on the table. She admitted that these goals were hard for children, but they “should be insisted upon in order to prevent a careless attitude that all too readily degenerates into flopping this way and that.”¹⁹

Far more revealing of innovation in posture was a stream of popularized medical commentary that emerged during the 1870s and 1880s, building on previous developments but with more public impact. The manuals maintained some of the medical warnings available previously, but now they framed their warnings in terms of more explicit advice to parents and against some clear changes in public behaviors. The result was a new emphasis not simply on the health implications of good posture but also on the need for compensatory strategies against a host of insidious inducements to slouch and slump.

Doctors shifted focus in several respects. Claims of the frequency of spinal defects, though not new, took on novel precision. At least superficially, diagnostic cues became more scientific. More important was a growing tendency to move from blaming middle-class habits as the primary posture culprits to a critique of larger social forces, forces of modern civilization that were worrying the middle class itself. Here, along with ongoing support for the moral signification of posture, was a key source of an expanded audience for medical warnings.

Thus Dan Newcomb, a doctor, wrote a child-rearing manual in 1872, *When and How*, which opened with contrasting illustrations. In one panel, healthy and happy children played outside, while in the other twisted, ugly, and sad children sat uncomfortably indoors, with books piled beside them. And the caption simply read: “Which?” Modern living, clearly, was deforming children physically as well as spiritually. “There is a growing opinion that our physical degeneration must find a stopping place; that we must act with the same care in rearing children that we exercise in raising our domestic animals.” Posture was central here. Parents must teach children “to stand erect as Nature made them to stand, and hold up their heads, throw back their shoulders, and expand their lungs by taking in [air] again

¹⁸ Ellen D. Kelly, *Teaching Posture and Body Mechanics* (New York, 1949), 188.

¹⁹ Emily Post, *Etiquette* (New York, 1923); see also Post, *Children Are People* (New York, 1940).

and again . . . Children and grown people, are too apt to stoop, and throw their shoulders forward, and sink the chest in, thus compressing the lungs until they will not hold air enough for aerating the blood.” Newcomb and virtually all the medical commentators condemned artifices such as corsets that distorted the natural form of bodies; posture should be a sign that the body could hold itself erect, a sign of the proper physical functioning of the whole organism.²⁰

This approach combined a number of elements that would soon be expanded. First, good posture was under threat, measurably deteriorating; the remedies must resist a host of pressures from organized society. Second, at issue was not just manners but health itself: the idea that an erect stance was essential to prevent the organs from constraining each other began to gain surprising currency among medical popularizers. Third, a current of medical commentary associated posture with wider anxieties about eugenic practices in the United States, using the real or imagined deterioration in body habits as a sign of the need for emphasis on breeding. This fringe commentary²¹ did not represent the full good posture movement, but it hovered recurrently.

Furthermore, the focus on childhood measurably increased in this new-style medical foreboding. The growing centrality of the school as the problem source would ironically lead to the school as the source of solution. Dr. D. F. Lincoln’s *School and Industrial Hygiene* (1880) ventured a clear linkage between the growing sense of posture as a systematic concern and the experience of schooling. Lincoln argued that school life was having “injurious effects” on children’s health, including stress and sleep problems but particularly posture. “A straight back may be said to be an element of beauty,” Lincoln wrote, incorporating existing aesthetic standards; “round shoulders and a twisted spine are an element of the opposite quality, beyond a doubt.” But, he continued, boys and especially girls were suffering from spinal distortion, because they sat too much in school, lacking exercise and twisting and slumping as they studied. Confinement at faulty desks, he argued, was causing between 83 and 92 percent of all students to suffer deviation of the spinal cord. A key remedy, of course, involved better desk design. But school time should be lessened as well, along with expanded opportunities for gymnastics. Soon, another authority would upbraid “the abnormal captivity of school” for its assaults on children’s bodies, although at this early stage authorities were confident that bodies would straighten up during summer vacations.²²

Doctors’ claims proliferated for several decades, and both health warnings and attacks on contemporary social habits intensified. Medical and medically related promptings began to replace etiquette as the principal spur for posture concerns,

²⁰ Danforth Newcomb, M.D., *When and How; or, A Collection of the More Recent Facts and Ideas upon Raising Healthy Children* (Chicago, 1872), 47, 116–17, and *passim*. See also James J. Caleb, *How to Beget and Raise Beautiful Children* (Dansville, N.Y., 1878), 14–16, Charles F. Taylor, *Theory and Practice of the Movement Cure* (New York, 1861), 87; Dio Lewis, *The New Gymnastics* (Boston, 1881), 1, 203. A slightly earlier statement is Catharine Beecher, *Physiology and Calisthenics* (Philadelphia, 1856).

²¹ As in Caleb, *How to Beget and Raise Beautiful Children*.

²² D. F. Lincoln, *School and Industrial Hygiene* (Philadelphia, 1880), 31–37. Tait Mackenzie, M.D., “The Influence of School Life on Curvature of the Spine,” *American Physical Education Review* (henceforth, *APER*) 3 (1898): 274–80. See also George Muller, M.D., *Spinal Curvature and Awkward Deportment* (New York, 1894), 3–4, 20, 24, 39.

particularly in the decades between 1890 and about 1930, when a broader popular literature began to develop. Doctors such as Edmund Shaftesbury purported to document the deterioration of posture in modern society and also introduced a new claim about health effects. Posture that caused the chest to slump was the particular villain, for then the organs could not operate independently and the action of heart, kidneys, and liver was impeded. Posture must be corrected, however, not only for “a physical and hygienic advance” but also for the “moral effect on the whole body.” Sneaky people, cowards, and criminals all could be identified by their bad posture, just as a healthy person shone through his erect stance. Various diagrams showed the forms of poor posture, becoming more prevalent as a result of modern life with its nervous stress.²³

Along with the sweeping, and occasionally wacky, popularized commentary, doctors were also, by the final decades of the nineteenth century, developing a serious research agenda on problems of the spine, leading to increasingly frequent diagnosis and treatment. Some European work had advanced the identification of spinal deformities in the early nineteenth century, but research accelerated from about 1870 onward. The resultant discussions of sclerosis and other deviations that inevitably caused bad posture, and could be diagnosed through posture examinations, had two noteworthy features, as far as general standards were concerned. First, they inevitably called attention to the genesis of posture issues in children and adolescents. Scoliosis, rickets, and other sources of spinal distortions occurred early in life. The importance of developing charts and diagrams for the determination of posture followed inexorably. Second, the claims of frequency of problems were truly staggering. A pediatric dictionary of 1890, citing German work and the author’s own research, claimed that well over half of all children (and disproportionately girls) suffered from spinal curvatures. Parents might or might not be capable of noticing these problems—the experts disagreed on this point—but they certainly could not appreciate their seriousness. They either missed them altogether or assumed that they were fairly normal. It behooved doctors to tell them otherwise. Examinations beginning early in life, with children carefully observed in the nude, were an indispensable part of burgeoning pediatric practice. Where severe problems were identified, a host of braces and corsets—the Shaffer brace, the Barwell dressing, and others—were available, along with suspension from a bracket, a much older treatment for deformity. For less serious instances, and in cases spotted in infancy, exercises and even parental manipulations could do the trick, though always under medical guidance.²⁴

Formal medical work on posture proceeded through the first half of the twentieth century, with emphasis on a variety of systems of measurement, on categorization, and on the strong correlation between posture and overall physical health. Thus in 1943, Walter Truslow was repeating the belief that proper posture was essential to “lessen the strain of the structures involved [and], by maintaining vital organs in their normal relationships, each to each, enhance efficient functioning of these

²³ Edmund Shaftesbury, *Cultivation of the Chest, or, The Highest Physical Development of the Human Form* (Washington, D.C., 1895), 7, 10, and *passim*.

²⁴ Bird, *Practical Treatise*; John M. Keating, M.D., ed., *Cyclopaedia of the Diseases of Children*, vol. 3 (Philadelphia, 1890), 355, 357, 990–1002, and *passim*. See also A. Jacobi, M.D., *Therapeutics of Infancy and Childhood* (Philadelphia, 1895).

organs.” The theme of deterioration also persisted, for modern living worsened the context. “In our daily habits of eating, sitting, lounging, leaning or standing, in our clothing itself, especially in shoes, lie influences upon bodily posture, which are no less abusive today for all of the influences played upon them by our schools, periodicals, physicians, and life insurance companies. The point seems clear: We are forever engaging in activities which tend toward asymmetry and derangement of our architecture.”²⁵

The period of intensive medical scrutiny drew to a close in the 1950s. To be sure, commentary included greater interest in the link between posture issues and backaches. The proliferation of measurement devices continued, as did the strong focus on childhood and adolescence as the time during which posture problems must be addressed. Categorizations embraced not only spinal deviations but also knock-knees, pigeon-toed feet, and other misalignments, insufficiently prominent chests—the range was extensive. Too many children received too little attention, and so the habits that would otherwise produce a proper stance were not learned.²⁶ But the inflated claims of statistical incidence now declined. Further, by the mid-1950s, and often after a long litany of severe problems, a specialist might now note that “it is well to remember that the vast majority of so-called postural defects in toddlers need no active corrective treatment as they . . . disappear *pari passu* with the evolution of the mechanism by which postural control is maintained.” This radical thought, a redefinition of normalcy, heralded a much different medical climate—and departed strongly from the tenor of the previous half-century.²⁷

WHILE GROWING CLAIMS BY DOCTORS HELPED redefine posture concerns around the turn of the century and maintain them for several decades, a newer and far less established would-be professional group proved even more crucial. The rise of a formal physical education movement provided new opportunities for laments about posture, for assessment, and for much grander, institutionalized efforts at remediation. Physical education instructors, initially at elite universities such as Harvard and special centers such as Simmons College in Boston, a source of training for women in the field, were eager for professional status and appropriate roles. Concern about posture was a heaven-sent opportunity. Women had few positions in formal athletic coaching, and a belief in some special issues for women sustained new professionals in the field. It also touched base with a wider interest in physically fit womanhood—a growing theme in the later nineteenth century and fundamental

²⁵ Walter Truslow, M.D., *Body Poise* (Baltimore, Md., 1943), viii, 136. See also Bengt Akerblom, *Standing and Sitting Posture* (Stockholm, 1948), a Swedish tract; European influence on American experts created an ongoing sense that American posture not only was deteriorating but also was comparatively deficient, particularly because of less emphasis on calisthenics. See Truslow's earlier work, “A Method of Recording and Charting Cases of Scoliosis,” *APER* 6 (1901): 226–30; and “The Relation of Corsets, Shoes and Gymnastics to Posture,” *APER* 18 (1913): 313–18.

²⁶ G. E. Thomas, “Postural Defects of the Toddler,” *The Practitioner* 172 (1954): 257–66; M. B. Howarth, “Posture in Adolescents and Adults,” *American Journal of Nursing* 56 (1956): 34–36; R. Harris, “A Simple Posture Matter,” *Annals of the Rheumatic Diseases* 14 (1955): 90–91; C. W. Goff, “Postural Evolution Related to Backache,” *Clinical Orthopedics* 5 (1955): 8–16; E. D. Harris, “The Child and Posture,” *American Journal of Nursing* 55 (1955): 1338–41.

²⁷ Thomas, “Postural Defects,” 266.

to the image projected by many women's colleges such as Vassar or Simmons. But men's physical education and growing preoccupation with fitness intruded as well. The result was an elaboration of concerns about health and character alike, and an enhanced attention to children and youth. The institutional products of the new campaign were dramatic. But the physical education argument also reshaped and, ultimately, narrowed the characteristic medical approach, and may, ironically, have reduced the staying power of posture concerns as a result.²⁸

Founded in 1898, the *American Physical Education Review* quickly became a leading center for expressions of concern about posture, deterioration, social causation, and the need for remedy. For thirty years, a major posture article appeared at least once a year and quite often in every issue. Early articles picked up current medical concerns about the impact of schooling on children's posture. "With his introduction to school life, the child's physical troubles begin. He is made to sit still from 3 to 6 hours, with but momentary rests at long intervals, [and] the play instinct, expressed by recurrent attacks of the 'fidgets' has to be sternly suppressed by the teacher for the sake of discipline." Dominant writing methods also came under attack, for "slanting script" forced children to twist their backs and necks in order to produce the proper shapes. An essay in 1900 even argued that the "distortion of the body in lateral curvature is usually practically identical with that assumed ordinarily in writing the old fashioned oblique script." Always, however, the general features of schooling—long hours, high pressures, and, often, more general urban characteristics—attracted particular comment. Matters might be made better with sensible furniture and writing styles, but there was a problem in the conditions of modern life and in efforts to control children outside the home that went well beyond the specifics. Graphic illustrations of distorted postures, often with children semi-nude, their bodies being manipulated by adults, accompanied these early professional blasts.²⁹

After 1900, the dominant tone of the articles changed, even as the level of concern persisted. In their own interest, physical education leaders began to think more actively about diagnoses and remedies in which trained professionals could systematically participate. Detailed methods of observation to detect scoliosis, rounded shoulders, or inadequate chest development were now the rage. The school might still be at fault, but the school also became the single most crucial institutional base in which children's deformities could be identified and remedied. Obviously, the growing role of schools in children's lives helped support this development. Recommendations for preventive or corrective furniture similarly moved toward greater detail.³⁰

²⁸ Martha Verbrugge, *Able-Bodied Womanhood: Personal Health and Social Change in Nineteenth-Century Boston* (New York, 1988); Donald J. Mrozek, *Sport and the American Mentality, 1880–1910* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1983); Harvey Green, *Fit for America: Health, Fitness, Sport, and American Society* (New York, 1986).

²⁹ Mackenzie, "Influence of School Life," 276, 277; J. S. Stone, "School Furniture in Relation to Lateral Curvature," *APER* 5 (1900): 142, 143.

³⁰ Truslow, "Method of Recording"; from *APER*: Lillian Towne, "A Preliminary Study of Pupils' Attitudes," 6 (1901): 20–21; and 7 (1902): 18–28; Robert Lovett, "Round Shoulders and Faulty Attitude: A Method of Observation and Record," 7 (1902): 169–87; Frederic Cotton, "School Furniture for Boston Schools," 8 (1903); George Fitz, "A Simple Method of Measuring and Graphically Plotting Spinal Curvature and Asymmetries by Means of a New Direct-Reading Scoliometer," 11 (1906): 18–23;

Then, from 1910 onward, the emphasis shifted yet again. While maintaining the interest in measurement and diagnosis, the next course was to teach good posture and enforce appropriate habits. Here was a much more extensive opportunity for professional posture experts, who could not only blame and detect but now also tutor and monitor, and here was a new view of the effective source of good posture: the child. In the individual lay the remedy, and this meant that a theme previously latent in the professional literature (though pervasive in Victorian commentary), that posture measured character, began to surge forward. Jessie Bancroft delineated the new approach in a 1913 article, which invoked Frederick Taylor's engineering strategies. "The first principle of the efficiency engineers embodied in this special work is that of standardizing a subject. What is reasonable for a school to produce in the posture of its children? Certainly that each child should be able to assume a correct position; second, that this correct position should be held during the general marching or movement around the building." Students must be subjected to complex posture tests, with those who failed given special lessons in attaining and maintaining good posture. Bancroft claimed that this system, introduced into public elementary schools in Brooklyn, achieved "a gain of 40 per cent in one term." Ironically, posture slipped back during summer vacation—a sign that school was turning from villain to guardian in the great posture wars. Among the experts, earlier attacks on schools had clearly yielded to excitement about the potential for institutional training.³¹

From this point onward, physical educators eagerly described one school campaign after another, designed to measure posture and then to train deficient children. Pressure by teachers and peers was intended to make lives miserable for the slumping children, until they "straightened up." Whatever the causes of bad posture—which now receded as a subject of analysis—the remedy lay in training and individual response, although an interest in furniture design and proper shoes and clothing continued to play subsidiary roles.

In 1914, Bancroft formed the American Posture League, which would enjoy a thirty-year lifespan.³² The league mixed orthopedic physicians, physical education specialists, and efficiency engineers. The group assisted various entities, such as the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company, in seating design, but their great love was the wall chart, plus the diagnostic device and educational literature designed to teach Americans the importance of postural self-discipline. "It does not seem enough that the patient acknowledge, semi-apologetically, that he stands poorly, possibly slumps or has a prominent 'stomach': he should become aware, both of the insidious effects of poor posture . . . and of the definite details of his own faulty position that needs correction."³³ Posture had become a matter of good habits and bad posture a sign of poor personal values. The job of an instructor was to drive home the diagnostic

W. A. Stecher, "An Inquiry into the Problem of Desks for School Children," 16 (1911): 453–58; Gladys Abbott, "A Study of Posture in School, as Affected by School-Room Lighting," 10 (1905): 36–41.

³¹ Jessie H. Bancroft, "New Efficiency Methods for Training the Posture of School Children," *APER* 18 (1913): 309–13.

³² American Posture League advertisement, *APER* 15 (1920): 271; "News Notes: American Posture League," *APER* 19 (1914): 411.

³³ Ethel Perrin, "Methods of Interesting School Children in Good Postural Habits," *APER* 19 (1914): 503–06; Dorothy Brock, "Some Practical Ideas about Posture Training," *APER* 28 (1923): 330–35.

issue—ideally, by having a patient stand naked before a mirror, to be commented on by the expert, or subjecting a nude photograph to the same evaluation—and then to offer specific corrective exercises whose use would simultaneously correct the problem and display appropriate self-discipline.³⁴ Whether it was character under question or the newer concept of personality, the experts were confident of their tutelage. “These attributes we claim are attained through the establishment of correct bodily mechanics, otherwise known as ‘good posture,’ better termed poise, and I would go even farther and say personality. Posture expresses personality.” One authority brought in Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde: the upright Jekyll, erect in bearing, with noble aspirations, and the groveling, crouching, and therefore evil Hyde.³⁵

With this connection between posture and character, the great medical-physical education campaign essentially revived the nineteenth-century insistence on posture as a measurement of social and personal quality. But the revival was now part of a widely publicized, institutional movement, ranging far beyond etiquette. And the moral fervor intensified as well, for now the battle was being joined not just against personal vagaries but against measurable deteriorations in American posture overall, against working-class as well as middle-class children, and, ultimately, against broader cultural trends that undermined posture and sound values alike.

ARMED WITH THESE BELIEFS, physical education teachers began to introduce extensive posture programs into American education. Institutional campaigns to correct posture began almost simultaneously at the grade school and college levels, during the second decade of the twentieth century. A “posture crusade” in Detroit schools, in 1913, was said to have “worked wonders.” Children were subjected to posture tests, with each class assigned a “posture per cent”; the children were encouraged to compete to meet and surpass the standard, and physical therapists reported that they displayed great zeal—“the spirit of doing something for the sake of the reputation of the room being a great incentive.” Students with bad posture were labeled “B’s” and were shamed until they “straightened up.”³⁶ Also involved in this campaign was a stereopticon, which made shadow pictures of each child, which would then be projected onto a screen and discussed by the whole class. Similar campaigns were of wide interest in other cities, including Springfield, Massachusetts, where the Department of Physical Education issued “posture bulletins.”³⁷

Activities of this sort continued through the next three decades. Physical education authorities, educated in university programs that emphasized posture measurement and training, argued for the sweeping benefits of posture testing and remediation, for posture was a “sign of the child’s total mental, emotional and

³⁴ Robert Lovett, “Mechanics of the Lateral Curvature of the Spine,” *APER* 5 (1900): 252–67.

³⁵ Lillian C. Drew, “Ways and Means of Overcoming Inefficient Posture,” *APER* 28 (1923): 3–8.

³⁶ Perrin, “Methods of Interesting School Children,” 506.

³⁷ Bancroft, “New Efficiency Methods,” 311; Springfield Public Schools, Department of Physical Education, *Posture Bulletins*.

physical well-being." "Experience teaches us to expect enthusiasm for living, initiative, self-confidence and self-respect from a person with an early erect posture." And the contrary also held: "It is just as natural and normal to slump when one feels personal and social inadequacy." Experts argued that many parents simply neglected their children in the posture area, and the most grandiose posture claims also implied that other family problems would show up in posture—and possibly be corrected through posture training. The fault went beyond the family, as school campaigns continued to implicate wider themes: "Modern daily living . . . requires little muscular strength." Again, the problem was held to be endemic: "Faulty body mechanics is an almost universal finding among children and untrained individuals."³⁸

Many schools either photographed children or, more commonly, had them stand in front of mirrors in swimsuits, underwear (with brassieres for girls "if necessary") or other minimal garb, as experts assessed their stance. The Bancroft test, widely applied, involved painstakingly recording posture measurements in standing and walking, and a host of scales and assessment procedures were available. In the 1940s, an Iowa Posture test added sitting to the postures observed. Elaborate forms, printed and widely disseminated, allowed teachers to write down student performance with regard to spine, shoulders, chest, knees, and feet.³⁹

How widely these measurement activities were carried out is impossible to determine, although they were discussed nationwide, save in the South. Ordinary teachers might be trained to do the job where physical education programs were unavailable at the grade school level. An elaborate instructional, measurement, and recording literature was available to guide these novices, along with diagrams for a host of corrective exercises. Posture posters were widely circulated in the schools. The most ambitious authorities also provided inspirational plays and poems to press the effort. In one dramatization, children were asked to choose between role-playing classmates exemplifying good and bad posture for a variety of jobs. "But it is the career woman who enters an office like this who gets the job." "And this is the soldier for me." "I'd be afraid to take medicine from him" (a role-played doctor who slouched). In the early 1940s, posture was directly associated with military success and the war effort, as schoolchildren were told that their posture training was derived from programs instituted in the army. "We need [these programs] to win the war."⁴⁰

Discussion of active school programs persisted into the later 1950s. By this point, television could be added to the modern vices that were undermining posture in the home. The resultant slouching still expressed an insecure "attitude toward life," and it could lead to "adult physical handicaps." The teacher remained responsible "for early detection of her pupils' divergences," as authorities urged periodic screening

³⁸ Kelly, *Teaching Posture and Body Mechanics*, iii, 6, 17, and *passim*. Ellen Kelly was chairman of the physical education department at the University of Oklahoma; Joel E. Goldthwaite, Lloyd T. Brown, Loring T. Swan, and John G. Kirkus, *Body Mechanics in Health and Disease* (Philadelphia, 1941), 241. See also Armin Klein, "What Price Posture Training," *Journal of Health and Physical Education* 10 (1932): 3.

³⁹ K. Hansson, "Posture and Body Mechanics," *Journal of Health and Physical Education* 16 (1945): 549; Ellen D. Kelly, "Taking Posture Pictures," *Journal of Health and Physical Education* 17 (1946): 464.

⁴⁰ Kelly, *Teaching Posture and Body Mechanics*, 187–88.

of students walking and standing through observations in front of mirrors and through photographs.⁴¹

College programs were particularly intense in the private, East Coast schools—the Ivy League, the Seven Sisters, and a few wannabes. Physical education instruction at Harvard, offered to instructors from other institutions in summer school programs during the 1890s, launched many of the specific initiatives. Harriet Ballantine, a physical education leader at Kenyon College, was also prominent in these early efforts. Even before this, in 1884, Vassar began to maintain records on the physical condition of each student, including posture data.⁴² With further training in posture efforts, this practice was soon converted into annual measurements, including a final evaluation near graduation. A widely known program of posture photographs developed at both men's and women's elite colleges, by the 1920s if not before. Each admitted student was photographed in the nude, sometimes at various angles, for posture assessments—a policy that continued at many eastern schools for several decades and that later led to the revelation that these nude photographs had been kept in archives long after the programs themselves had been abandoned.⁴³

College practices were widely shared and discussed. A meeting of the Eastern Society of College Directors of Physical Education for Women, held at Vassar in 1921, canvassed a variety of health issues, posture prominent among them. A round table allowed various representatives to discuss what kinds of posture-measurement charts and machines were in use. Goucher College, noting it lacked space, time, and money for a machine, argued that “we waste a great deal [of] nervous energy and valuable time when we lay so much stress on ‘Posture.’” The Goucher director urged general exercise instead. Bryn Mawr, Cornell, and several other institutions admitted they had no machines but pointed to the posture instruction they offered in gymnastics and dancing classes. Simmons and Wheaton measured carefully and referred severe cases to orthopedic surgeons. Vassar, Barnard, and the University of Pittsburgh encouraged posture through efficiency tests and awards, even though the Barnard doctor thought that the posture problem warranted no special instruction. Smith, Wellesley, and other women's schools, along with Syracuse University, used shadowgraphs, schematographs, and posture tracings, Wellesley in particular relying on them to “carry to the mind of the student what posture means.” Smith graded tracings, while Vassar noted its photograph program and conducted a “Posture Drive” in 1919–1920.⁴⁴

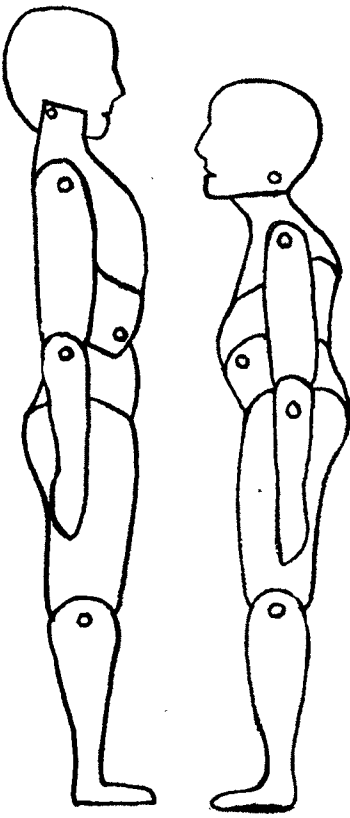
These efforts tended to escalate, at least into the 1930s and 1940s at the women's schools. Vassar, under a new physical education director in 1930, and seeking support for a larger gymnasium, elevated physical training to a “liberal art” and began to claim the right to dismiss students if their posture or other aspects of their

⁴¹ A widely used manual for ordinary teachers was Loraine Foot, *Posture and Body Mechanics* (Iowa City, 1944). See also Evelyn A. Davies, *The Elementary School Child and His Posture Patterns* (New York, 1958), 2, 3, 7, 29.

⁴² For various data and insights, and materials from the Vassar College Archives, Poughkeepsie, New York, we are greatly indebted to Professor Elizabeth Daniels.

⁴³ Ron Rosenbaum, “The Great Ivy League Nude Posture Photo Scandal,” *New York Times Magazine*, January 15, 1993.

⁴⁴ Seventh Annual Meeting, Eastern Society of College Directors of Physical Education for Women, *Minutes*, April 22–23, 1921, Vassar College Archives, Poughkeepsie, New York.



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"Dwight Posture Model," advertisement in *American Physical Education Review* 33, no. 3 (March 1928): 175.

physical condition proved inadequate at enrollment. "Severe posture defects" were noted as one of the most common sources of concern. Posture problems of some sort led to special exercise assignments for about one-third of all first-year students. "A system of records, photographs mostly, shows, particularly to those with posture defects, steps in progress and furnishes an incentive for going on."⁴⁵ Two years later, the college began its Fundamentals course, required of all freshmen, strongly emphasizing posture training, with additional special exercises and individual counseling for students identified (through the assessment of the photographs) as having some curvature. The course taught not only general posture but also management of the body in getting out of cars, picking up luggage, and so on. The Fundamentals program continued into the 1960s. Photographs at many schools (including several men's institutions) were still carefully discussed with students, their tracings marked by pins to show where the body was out of proper conformity.

The proliferation of costly and intrusive campaigns at the college level, and the leadership offered by some of the most prestigious schools, recalls the Victorian role for posture in training a distinctive kind of body control for the middle and upper middle classes, although the simultaneous, if more diffuse, grade school programs suggest the larger democratic component. Women, long identified as suffering from poorer posture (either by nature, or because of restrictive costumes and lack of exercise) received disproportionate attention, but it is important to remember that the nude posture pictures and attendant evaluations occurred at men's universities such as Yale as well. The institutionalization of posture standards was unquestionably the most striking instantiation of the expert counterattack of the early twentieth century.

It was in many ways a bizarre campaign in its assumptions, not only about the importance of posture but about the failures of natural impulse: human beings have to be systematically taught how to hold their bodies. The campaign expressed professional interests, to be sure, but also a need to impose discipline against key currents in modern society, including the new experience of extended schooling; both components captured an important moment in the socialization of American youth.

And the momentum persisted, even though the most vigorous discussions had ended by the 1930s. In the 1940s, posture photographs in the elite colleges were given new support by a Columbia authority, William H. Sheldon, an evolutionist eager to demonstrate the relationship between key body types (endomorph, mesomorph, and ectomorph) and personality. This approach, in arguing for a variety of "natural" somatic forms, carried the seeds of destruction for key posture assumptions, but, given prior momentum, it took some time before the contradictions became clear.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Memorandum on the Need of a New Physical Education Building at Vassar College, September 12, 1930, Vassar College Archives.

⁴⁶ William Sheldon, *The Varieties of Temperament* (New York, 1942); Rosenbaum, "Great Ivy League Nude Posture Photo Scandal."

THE SAME PRINCIPLES AND ANXIETIES found their way into more generalized child-rearing literature, here focused both on quite young children and on adolescents. This site developed a bit later than the school campaigns, becoming commonplace only from the 1920s onward. And it was more ecumenical in its arguments, picking up themes from the later nineteenth century as well as the more contemporary arguments of the physical education and pediatric contingents. Thus, in the parental literature, schools were still widely blamed for bending the spines of hapless elementary students, even as school authorities themselves began to claim a special mission of correcting neglect in the home. But the ubiquity and shrillness of the arguments carried over, along with the kinds of measurements and exercises widely suggested.

The transition to the burgeoning field of child-rearing advice was facilitated, in the 1920s, by school publications that might be used by parents as well. Thus several deans of girls in Chicago high schools put out a book called *Manners and Conduct in School and Out*, which offered general advice about sitting up straight and holding the legs forward: "The way you sit or work or stand shows culture or lack of it." (Rigorous specific recommendations followed.) While some passages were directed toward school settings—how to stand erect when reciting—other emphases had wider applicability. Above all, the book not only stressed the importance of posture but also the individual responsibility of the student for its maintenance.⁴⁷ Other signs of transition included the evolution of the widely sold government pamphlet, *Infant Care*. Not surprisingly, given the age focus, this brochure originally ventured no posture concerns, but by 1929 it recommended that doctors check posture as part of regular medical examinations as soon as a child was old enough to stand. This emphasis on very young children was strikingly new in the parental guidance field and potentially very troubling, since toddlers almost automatically fell short of ideal posture. And the reification of posture in standard child-rearing literature—the pamphlet was perennially a government best-seller—was another sign of its growing hold in American culture.⁴⁸

Intensifying concern, including the shift away from any simple etiquette base toward more medical criteria along with the persistent impulse to use posture as an index of civilization, emerged clearly in child-rearing literature during the 1930s. One manual after another argued for the direct connection of posture to good health. Bad posture contorted muscles and organs, preventing full functioning. At the same time, of course, posture revealed moral qualities. As Florence Sherbon put it, "Posture is a definite index of well being or the reverse, but it is more than a physical index, it is also a spiritual and emotional index." And it must not be taken for granted. Parents, consulting doctors when any problems arose, must begin to guide children in infancy. While a few problems might correct themselves, most would not—this last echoing the alarmist themes of the prior decades. A number of pamphlets, including a Children's Bureau venture on posture issued in 1933 and republished in 1946, provided standard illustrations against which parents could

⁴⁷ *Manners and Conduct in School and Out*, by the Deans of Girls in Chicago High Schools (Chicago, 1921), 6–7.

⁴⁸ United States, Children's Bureau, *Infant Care* (Washington, D.C., 1914); and (Washington, 1929). See also 11th edn. (Washington, 1963), 64.

evaluate slumped backs, knock-knees, bowed legs, and poorly placed feet. Rating scales were available, based on photographs of normal and deviant postures, allowing parents to grade their offspring, with a specific system recommended.⁴⁹

Concern about adolescents matched that now applied to toddlers. D. A. Thom, a major figure in the field of children's health, authored a government-sponsored report in 1933. Adolescence was an awkward age, and many children, even well-trained ones, might slip; girls, particularly, often slouched from embarrassment about their sexual development. Parents must be careful not to tease teenagers about their bodies and should help pick out appropriate shoes and clothes. Thom stressed the physical side of things, "the importance of good posture habits in maintaining the various organs of the body in the proper position and enabling them to work to best advantage." But other authors maintained the larger correlation between posture and appropriate self-esteem, a crucial factor in the adolescent period. More popularized efforts intensified the alarm: "It will require much bravery on the part of a mother to face the problems that will come as the child approaches adolescence . . . Many children, regardless of their previous physical care, seem to slump at this time." Schoolwork became more difficult at the secondary level, with inevitable repercussions on posture. Parental monitoring remained crucial: mothers were urged to have their teenage children periodically lie on their backs on the floor, so that the spine could be observed. Parental sponsorship of corrective exercise might also be called for.⁵⁰

Parents continued to be targeted in the 1940s and 1950s. Josephine Kenyon, in 1945, urged the importance of preventing any posture slumps, even in babies. The best pediatricians, she claimed, were routinely taking posture pictures, from all angles, so that they could be compared annually to determine any deterioration. Kenyon also recommended that parents urge the child to inspect him or herself in the nude, in front of a mirror, pushing the back straight to demonstrate what good posture is while exercising the crucial muscles of the buttocks. (But this practice should be discontinued if a child showed any interest in the genital area.) In addition, the scrupulous parents checked clothing and furniture, while also guarding against undue homework, always consulting a doctor when necessary. A *Better Homes and Gardens* encyclopedia, in 1954, repeated the standard wisdom: good posture is essential for the organs to stay in place, a sign and cause of good health; children should not be nagged but must be guided, their confidence boosted; bad posture might indicate a lack of family love or other psychological issues, which of course might make it hard to correct. Posture skills must be learned in early childhood. Another 1954 offering argued that it was as easy for toddlers to learn the "correct way" as to loll about.⁵¹ Dr. Benjamin Spock's classic work on child care

⁴⁹ Children's Bureau, *Good Posture in the Little Child* (Washington, D.C., 1933, rpt. 1946); M. Robinow, V. L. Leonard, and Margaret Anderson, "A New Approach to the Quantitative Analysis of Children's Posture," *Journal of Pediatrics* 22 (1943): 655-63; Winifred Rand, Mary Sweeny, and E. L. Vincent, *Growth and Development of the Young Child*, 3d edn. (Philadelphia, 1940); Florence Sherbon, *The Child* (New York, 1934), 252; C. Sweet, "The Teaching of Body Mechanics in Pediatric Practice," *Journal of the American Medical Association* 110 (1938): 419-25; Billie Crook, "The Posture of the Young Child," *Childhood Education* 13 (1937): 317-21.

⁵⁰ D. A. Thom, *Guiding the Adolescent* (Washington, D.C., 1933), 7, 9; Zella van Ornum Glimm, "This Way to Good Posture," *Parents' Magazine* (November 1931): 28.

⁵¹ Josephine Kenyon, *Healthy Babies Are Happy Babies*, 3d edn. (Boston, 1945), 192, 256; Gertrude

devoted considerable space to posture, particularly in its earliest editions: again, parental nagging was counterproductive, but posture problems were both common and serious, suggesting either health or psychological difficulties. "Many children slouch because of lack of self-confidence. It may come from too much criticism at home, or from difficulties in school, or from an unsatisfactory social life." The best recourse might be a school service, a doctor, or a posture clinic—places where a more "businesslike" atmosphere could help the child focus. Parents could contribute most by guiding exercise and by providing a reassuring atmosphere in which children could feel adequate.⁵² Again, posture surpassed nineteenth-century etiquette and character concerns in this new vision: it became an index not just of individual place in society but of individual psychic status.

Attention to adolescents persisted. Margaret Beery in 1949 discussed her goals as "director of social conduct" at an Ohio high school. Posture is the most important signal available to others, to decide what they think about a person. It should be maintained in the home—no sprawling or putting feet up on furniture—and at school, in play as well as at work. It required, in sum, constant attention. Walking with a book on the head—widely recommended and a frequent scene in movies made between the 1930s and 1950s—was a classic posture corrector, particularly in dealing with stairs. "People who see you descend in this manner will know that you have confidence in yourself." Explicit instruction in "posture correctness," urged a number of manuals reissued as late as 1960, might be essential for teenagers.⁵³

The role of posture concerns in child-rearing advice was faithfully chronicled in *Parents' Magazine*. From its inception in the mid-1920s, the magazine carried about one article a year on posture issues—below the level of hot items like sibling rivalry but still a staple topic. Revealingly, parental letters on the subject were infrequent, which may suggest, as many of the experts warned, that most parents dealt with bad posture only by direct verbal imperatives, urging their progeny to sit up, stand straight, get feet or elbows off the furniture. But the articles certainly might feed parental concern, as they indicated posture's central position in mental and physical health. "Mental slackness is not necessarily caused by a bad walk, but almost invariably when this condition exists, the bodily movements are uncertain." Posture as window to the soul, launched in conventional middle-class wisdom and medical opinion in the nineteenth century, was an idea that could readily feed anxiety in a parent. The need to start training early and putting children in front of a mirror, so they could directly see the unattractive results of bad posture, were themes shared with the popular child-rearing manuals.

The *Parents' Magazine* posture sequence continued into the 1940s, when articles

E. Chittenden, *Living with Children* (New York, 1944); Sidonie Gruenberg, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Child Care and Guidance* (New York, 1954); Elizabeth Hurlock, *Child Growth and Development*, 2d edn. (New York, 1956), 128; Willard Olson, *Child Development* (Boston, 1949), 82; Lois H. Meck, *Your Child's Development and Guidance* (Philadelphia, 1951); Harold C. Stuart and Dane G. Prugh, eds., *The Healthy Child* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), 112; Marian E. Breckenridge and E. Lee Vincent, *Child Development*, 4th edn. (Philadelphia, 1960), 296, 298; Martha May Reynolds, *Children from Seed to Sapling* (New York, 1951), 113; Catherine MacKenzie, *Child Development* (New York, 1949), 166.

⁵² Benjamin Spock, *The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care* (New York, 1946), 364–65. See also Spock and Michael Rothenburg, *Dr. Spock's Baby and Child Care* (New York, 1985), 473–74.

⁵³ Margaret Beery, *Manners Made Easy* (New York, 1949), 17, 50–54.

still advised about the importance of posture to “social poise,” good looks, and health. U.S. Army directives were cited in showing that posture made the body a more “efficient instrument.” “A body that is out of line is like any machine out of alignment.” Tests, including standing against a wall, walking straight lines, and mirror observation, helped parents identify the problems.⁵⁴

During the heyday of the posture counterattack, it was hardly surprising that bodily carriage was seen as a criterion for evaluating personnel. Some of the school programs, as we have seen, already mentioned the professional relevance of good posture, in convincing employers or clients of one’s competence. Small wonder that the new breed of personnel experts, beginning to emerge in the 1920s and eager to provide employers with as many testable criteria as possible in evaluating job applicants, routinely included posture in their descriptions. Bad posture was held to indicate introversion, itself predictive of poor group skills and also of inferior health. Thus posture, along with blood pressure, anemia, and a few other characteristics, should be carefully assessed in physical examinations, and it could and should be visually evaluated by interviewers as well. Correspondingly, literature aimed at preparing applicants for interviews commonly included reminders about careful posture, in standing and sitting, as a fundamental feature of self-presentation.⁵⁵

INTENSIFYING STANDARDS AND RELAXING BEHAVIOR present an obvious paradox. Two issues stand out from the complex posture signals of the early decades of the twentieth century: why so much interest, when basic behaviors suggest a growing willingness to let the body lounge? And what did it matter—how much impact did it have, outside the offices and training programs of eager-eyed body professionals?

Some elements of the twentieth-century posture reaction are fairly obvious, though significant. The rise of consumer society created genuine anxieties about a loss of discipline; the fact that relaxed posture was one measurable result, as evidenced in furniture design or dance styles, naturally called attention to the need for new zeal in defense of literal and figurative backbones. Traditional standards of body control required novel methods of support, including, in this case, the heightened appeal to self-discipline.

This general context served certain new professional groups well. Doctors had voiced posture concerns for some time; now they were in a position to reach a larger audience and provide a greater array of services, particularly for children at a time when pediatric consultation was just becoming common. Growing anxieties about health in general made it relatively easy to call attention to a host of possible

⁵⁴ From *Parents’ Magazine*: Janet Lane, “Does Your Child Slump?” (January 1945): 23, 56; Marguerite Angiel, “Overcoming That Teenage Slouch” (September 1930): 26–27; Helen Kaufman, “Cultivating Good Looks” (February 1930): 22, 64; E. T. Wilkes, M.D., “Start Early for Good Posture” (February 1942): 29, 68–70; Mary B. Noel, “Improving Your Child’s Posture” (June 1934): 33–34, 75; Lillian Montanye, “Good Posture Can Be a Habit” (November 1937): 22–23, 74–76; Metropolitan Life Insurance, “Toes Straight Ahead” (March 1932): 5; Phoebe Radcliffe, “Posture Present and Future” (January 1944): 22.

⁵⁵ Theodosia C. Hewlett and Olive P. Leiter, “Measuring Introversion and Extroversion,” *Personnel Journal* 6 (1927): 358.

sources of trouble. Posture was no newcomer to the list of health issues, although specific arguments about interference with the organs were new. Focus on children's health, intensified by growing success in reducing traditional illness, helped support not only pediatricians but also the various educators who staked claims in the diagnosis and correction of posture disorders. The use of posture to advance the physical education movement and its practitioners was a major component of the whole campaign.

Interest in posture was also supplemented by longstanding beliefs in the body as machine—an argument still being used as late as the 1940s—which made posture a logical part of mechanistic precision. The newer impulse toward efficiency, which linked posture experts such as Jessie Bernard with the industrial engineering movement, gave additional vigor to the mechanistic argument. Bodies should be able to operate smoothly, their parts harmoniously coordinated without the disruption of misaligned muscles or organs.

But the symbolic elements of the posture campaign went well beyond engineering imagery. People concerned about growing hedonism or the rise of a corporate economy or other unfamiliar developments might see in posture a means of personal control: at least one's own body could be brought up to standard. The use of posture to express anxieties about schooling also fit a larger framework, which included outright attacks on homework and other products of the increasingly tight equation between childhood and study. And of course posture campaigns provided parents and other adults an ideal opportunity to interfere quite intimately with children, at a time when authority was becoming somewhat more diffuse.⁵⁶

Concern about immigrants, another familiar turn-of-the-century theme, also entered in, helping to explain both the new vigor of commentary and the focus of redress in the schools. Posture had long been linked to belief in social hierarchy, often with a racial component. Amid wider concerns about deteriorating standards, use of posture discipline as a means of firming up American character made excellent sense. The result was an intriguing bifurcation, not uncommon at the time. On the one hand, the leading proponents of good posture, especially in the physical education group, held the standards out to all and tried to enforce them through educational programs. Everyone had a democratic chance and obligation to measure up, and deficiencies were individual. On the other hand, posture programs flourished in elite colleges, helping their students master the graces of upper-class carriage and distinguish themselves from the hoi polloi.

Finally, there was a new ingredient. The concern with posture suggests a reassessment of the body itself, male and female alike. Posture discussions from the 1890s onward frequently had a sexual element, if only because bodies were best portrayed nude, in the professional literature, or examined in as unclad a state as possible, in real life. Did posture discipline help some people adjust to more overt sexuality in real life, providing standards that would compensate for new indulgence? Americans were frequently chided by European experts for their prudish-

⁵⁶ T. J. Jackson Lears, "From Salvation to Self-Realization: Advertising and the Therapeutic Roots of the Consumer Culture, 1880–1930," in Richard Wightman Fox and Lears, eds., *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880–1980* (New York, 1983), 1–38; Peter N. Stearns, *Fat History: Bodies and Beauty in Modern Western Society* (New York, 1997).

ness concerning nudity, which prevented the circulation of some European posture literature.⁵⁷ Granting ongoing ambivalences about sexuality, the posture campaign surely played a role in helping many people come to fuller terms with the sight of the body, whether unclad or not. The emphasis on observing oneself, concurrent with the adoption of more revealing, less structured clothing, suggests a new set of encounters with one's own form. Posture, here, could help justify self-observation and, if successful, provide a discipline that could help make the body palatable.

In this connection, the widespread references to mirrors are revealing. New methods of glass manufacture (a continuous process for annealing plate glass, in 1897, followed by a machine to draw continuous sheets of glass in 1902) greatly expanded the availability of full-length mirrors. These were not of course new; they appear in literary references, in aristocratic settings, as early as the seventeenth century. But most mirrors in middle-class homes in the nineteenth century were smaller affairs, suitable for facial observation. Interestingly, even larger mirrors in upper-middle-class homes were frequently placed at shoulder level, revealing the face and the surrounding room rather than the body. This was now changing, as even children's bathrooms or bedrooms acquired full-length mirrors, and posture advice utilized this fact. People saw their own bodies more often, and the posture standards may have played a role in the assimilation of this experience.⁵⁸

The many facets of the posture campaign thus represented the confluence of several major developments. New or growing professional groups used the concern to solidify their social role, presenting a mixture of old claims and new. Traditional beliefs about character and discipline were defended amid wider social change. Posture thus combated the potential impact of immigrants and the adverse effects of consumerism and heightened leisure alike. The context for the campaign was completed, finally, by growing attention to the body and concern about mechanistic efficiency. Promoting good posture served values of the past but more novel interests as well.

Yet the actual campaign involved a certain selectivity, and here the innovations were greater than many proponents may have realized. First, obviously, attention riveted on children. Etiquette books and job tests called for some continued attention to adults, but the fundamental task involved childhood training. Injunctions had been more evenly distributed in the nineteenth century, with adults more clearly called to account. The new approach made sense in terms of medical knowledge and the growing place of schools, and of course it was true that success might have lifelong impact. Children certainly encountered yet another source of adult attention and interference, parents another cause for anxiety. But the reduction of standards for adults themselves was noteworthy, creating obvious opportunities for growing informality even as a release from childhood constraint. This was not the only case where adult concerns were symbolically focused on children in these decades, but it was an important one.

⁵⁷ Bess M. Mensendieck, M.D., "Your Posture, Right or Wrong, Is Up to You," *Life* (Chicago, Ill.) 2, no. 15 (April 12, 1937): 52–56. Mensendieck, American born, ran a posture program in Germany and wrote books that could not be published in the United States because of nude illustrations.

⁵⁸ Ethel Spencer, *The Spencers of Amberson Avenue: A Turn-of-the-Century Memoir* (Pittsburgh, 1983); an upper-middle-class household in the 1880s might have large mirrors atop mantles and as backdrops for china cabinets but not for full-body viewing.

More significant still was the tendency, particularly in the dominant physical education literature, to turn away from general social commentary to focus on institutional settings and on individuals. The theme of posture as a corrective to modern ills, vivid in medical writing in the 1870s and 1880s and in furniture critiques even earlier, receded. Clear villains, like overstuffed furniture, were not usually attacked. Rather, the approach concentrated on the schools and on personal responsibility (once individuals were properly trained). Posture was thus not made into as full a symbol for defense of vital discipline as might have been expected—throwback references such as Robert Bork's notwithstanding. There were two reasons for this. First, the interests of the leading posture group, the physical education instructors, called for a focus on causes and remedies that could be addressed in school and college programs. If posture was being undermined by larger modern forces, the task might be too great. Second, the emphasis on personal responsibility encompassed both the longstanding belief that posture was a matter of character and also a fairly widespread American distaste for taking on larger social trends, such as consumerism, too directly. The result was a very difficult set of goals, involving assumptions that individuals, properly schooled, could personally, one by one, constrain the nefarious impact of the fashions and devices that were facilitating ease and relaxation. Not surprisingly, the campaign ultimately failed.

This is not to argue that the standards, and their institutional incarnations, had no impact on several generations of twentieth-century Americans. The campaign was not merely a reactionary ploy against new forms of indulgence; it both reflected and furthered some middle-class beliefs about the body and about discipline.

Many people were exposed to posture training and to doctors' examinations, and this had real results in terms of anxieties and efforts to live up to standards. The image of a book-balancing teenager, usually a bit funny when portrayed in film, was also an artifact of real life: many people worked for better posture. Parents, unquestionably, called their children to account for sloppy sitting and standing habits; probably most middle-class children between the 1950s and the 1970s experienced routine admonitions of this sort, though precise percentages cannot be offered. Posture standards were also real enough to allow youthful defiance through lounging; it is small wonder that adolescent rebellion in the 1950s was symbolized by the exaggerated lounging and leaning of stars such as James Dean.

It is even possible that, for two or three generations of youth, posture efforts served to encourage new attention to, and comfort with, the body and its mirrored images. Given less encompassing costumes and growing emphasis on the body as measured by health and sexuality, the use of posture recommendations to study oneself, and the availability of standards to legitimate a successful body, could prove important.

Yet the posture campaign did not really impede the steady advance of more relaxed body standards. Furniture continued to soften, yearbooks and other public presentations to suggest more diverse poses. The use of school pictures to highlight informal poses suggests how the tensions in standards were being managed. In addition to its real impact in shaping training, sometimes in causing embarrassment, and probably in accustoming Americans to a new awareness of the body, the

posture efforts conduced to a complex awareness of the need to venture different body alignments depending on circumstance, at a time when different social and economic spaces were proliferating. Leisure settings, family gatherings around the radio (despite an occasional parental admonition), groups of peers—here were occasions to display a flexible body, free from rigidity. Relaxation could be a requirement in its own right. Yet the posture standards had to be recalled as well, for the formal occasion, certainly the job interview. A 1950s musical recalled that one's own mood might require a revival of posture: when afraid, whistle a happy tune, in the casual manner, but also: hold one's head erect. Posture became part of a larger complexity in the choices that were now essential in the presentation of the self.⁵⁹

THE FINAL CHAPTER OF THE EVOLUTION of American posture to date involves the greater reconciliation of actual behavioral trends with expert advice on almost all fronts. The end of the campaign was itself a change, and it had further ramifications. Posture ceased to be an overt issue, and the decline of attention had dramatic results in certain areas.

Retreat occurred on virtually every front, beginning with some new disputes over the priority of posture in the 1940s and ending with the virtual disappearance of posture concerns by the 1960s. Once-vital initiatives and institutions simply ended. The American Posture League closed in 1943, and most posture clinics followed suit by the 1950s. School programs ceased, save for specific hygienist checks for scoliosis (usually in middle school, not grade school). Posture cameras were shuttered, charts relegated to the archives. Vassar dropped the posture pictures and the Fundamentals course in the 1960s, with little discussion, in an atmosphere in which required physical education of any sort seemed outmoded. The physical education that remained turned more to recreational exercise and athletics. One optional course, "Movement Analysis," focused on increasing body awareness and grace, but while an understanding of anatomy was mentioned in the course description, posture was not.⁶⁰

The decline of commitment to Victorian posture standards can be traced fruitfully in etiquette, medicine, and child-rearing literature. These had been three significant sites of the posture campaign of the earlier twentieth century, and they also reveal the new kinds of thinking that lay behind the otherwise quiet termination of programs in other fields.

Etiquette, to be sure, harbored some ambiguities. New editions of classics such as Emily Post's continued to repeat some older advice. "There is no doubt that a person—man or woman—who stands and sits erect shows himself off to his best advantage." Admittedly, contemporary children sprawled all over the place—"in all manner of contortions"; the Post heirs could not deny a changing reality. But

⁵⁹ Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein II, composers, *The King and I*, film version, 1956. On the need for careful choice that comes with greater informality, see Cas Wouters, "On Status Competition and Emotion Management," *Journal of Social History* 24 (1991): 699–717.

⁶⁰ Elizabeth Daniels provided information on this shift, from personal recollection and catalogs in the Vassar College Archives; the abandonment of compulsory physical training became part of the shift to coeducation in 1969.

children should be taught, so that they could at least respond to posture-critical settings. People should sit up straight, a particularly challenging task for women, given the need to manage legs and skirts. Wedding attendants should hold themselves erect. Sitting properly elicited elaborate instructions, given the ubiquity of overstuffed furniture. But even Emily Post relaxed a bit when it came to sitting at the table. People should not fidget, but they could certainly put their elbows on the table when not actively eating, for instance to participate better in conversations. Even newer manuals, such as Letitia Baldrige's effort after her service as social secretary to the Kennedy administration, might urge the old standards as essential in polite society, though again bemoaning the fact that fewer and fewer people measured up. "How nice you look at the table when your body sits straight in the chair." First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy herself apparently received letters commending her good posture—"good posture attracts an admiring eye."⁶¹

A newer breed of etiquette adviser, however, increasingly downplayed strict posture and derided the rigidity of traditional manuals. Amy Vanderbilt, while admiring Victorian posture, had to admit the inevitable: "today with fewer and fewer uncompromising chairs being manufactured, we are more or less forced to lounge as we sit." It was now all right for women to hold their legs in various positions when sitting—absolute standardization was no longer necessary. Vanderbilt forbade sprawling; attention to body presentation was still important. But the old norms simply did not fit. Sitting at the table required little comment, beyond not interfering with others; the placement of hands and elbows was a matter of good sense, not rigid prescription. By the 1980s, Judith Martin, "Miss Manners," took positive glee in deriding outmoded ways. "A less formal posture . . . is no longer punishable by hanging." Correspondingly, the issue commanded little space of any sort.⁶²

The evolution in child-rearing literature, and related school programs, was even clearer and more dramatic. By the 1940s, more manuals omitted posture considerations altogether (and by the 1960s, this had become virtually universal, with the interesting and important exception of key writers, such as Dr. Spock, whose careers had begun in the posture era). In between, some revealing way-stations emerged. First, more and more manuals reduced the moral component in their posture discussions. The issue was a physical one, nothing more; and it should be addressed mainly by physical means, by appropriate furniture and clothing with medical assistance where needed. A strand of the earlier posture campaign, in other words, was now isolated at the expense of the larger analysis. Character implications receded.⁶³ Second, growing recognition developed that body types vary widely, which meant that rigid single standards were simply inappropriate. William Sheldon, whose concerns helped sustain the posture photo programs at several

⁶¹ Elizabeth Post, *The New Emily Post's Etiquette* (New York, 1975), 158–59, 396, 656; the same points were repeated in a 1984 edition. Letitia Baldrige, *Complete Guide to the New Manners for the '90s* (New York, 1990), 132; and *Complete Guide to a Great Social Life* (New York, 1987), 148–49.

⁶² Amy Vanderbilt, *New Complete Book of Etiquette* (Garden City, N.Y., 1963); Judith Martin, *Miss Manners' Guide to Excruciatingly Correct Behavior* (1983; New York, 1992), 128.

⁶³ Stuart and Prugh, *Healthy Child*; Louis Thorpe, *Child Psychology and Development*, 2d edn. (New York, 1955), 125; Ernest H. Watson and G. H. Lowry, *Growth and Development of Children* (Chicago, 1951), 78, 80: poor posture is only bad when it results from a health problem, and body forms are "highly variable."

colleges, was actually interested not in rigid body control but in the varieties of bodies that would predict different personality types. An endomorph, by definition, could not be held to the same posture as an ectomorph. The implications of this faddish interpretation penetrated only slowly, but they ultimately took hold. Sheldon and his colleagues began arguing that traditional standards reified the pleasures of mesomorphs, making both the other body types needlessly miserable.⁶⁴ These ideas were taken up in an advice series on children and teenagers overseen by Arnold Gesell and Frances Ilg, in the mid-1950s. Ectomorphs, in this rendering, were naturally round-shouldered and liked to sit with their legs up; let them be. To be sure, a few reversions might mix in; Ilg, for example, stuck in the illogical comment that a time might come when the ectomorphic child “will develop ‘better’ posture.” But the notion of the natural, not-to-worry variety increasingly dominated. And as this kind of reevaluation was assimilated (along with the additional realization that toddlers not only varied greatly but would grow out of awkward posture quite naturally), posture stopped eliciting comment altogether. As early as 1952, a book on children’s growth and development talked of good posture as a sign of health but in a virtual one-sentence aside. There was no separate section, no measurements or exercise instructions.⁶⁵

Child development studies that were issued in revised editions during the late 1950s provide a revealing measure of change. Redoing a book that initially appeared in 1940, which maintained full-bore posture concerns as late as a 1948 edition, Marian Breckenridge and M. N. Murphy, in 1958, drastically reduced the section devoted to posture. Health concerns remained present, but individual differences now made rigid standards quite inappropriate. Parents should guide and, in cases of really bad posture that suggested a health problem, should certainly consult a doctor. But habit formation was unnecessary (though again, a recidivist aside: “habits can change”). The government pamphlet *Infant Care* by 1956 was noting that children could not stand straight until they were five or six anyway, so worry was usually pointless. Then they should develop good posture naturally—that is, if the parents stood and walked straight themselves. And there would certainly be individual variation by skeletal type. No doctors’ visits need be involved; there was no major issue here.⁶⁶

By the 1960s, posture was mentioned, in child-rearing manuals or developmental studies, only in terms of a need to remediate old parental habits. Parents had long been urged not to chide; now this recommendation took on greater force. Children’s posture should not be a matter for discipline of any sort. The same insouciance applied to a growing interest in making children proud of their bodies: posture did not enter into this discussion one way or another.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Sheldon, *Varieties of Temperament*.

⁶⁵ Frances Ilg and Louise Bates Ames, *Child Behavior* (New York, 1955); Karl Garrison, *Growth and Development* (New York, 1952).

⁶⁶ Marian Breckenridge and M. N. Murphy, *Rand, Sweeny and Vincent’s Growth and Development of the Young Child*, 6th edn. (Philadelphia, 1958), 171–76; Children’s Bureau, *Infant Care*, 10th edn.

⁶⁷ Haim Ginott, *Between Parent and Child* (New York, 1965); Penelope Leach, *Your Baby and Child: From Birth to Age Five* (New York, 1990). See also Berthold E. Schwarz and Bartholomew A. Ruggieri, *You Can Raise Decent Children* (New Rochelle, N.Y., 1971), for a typical no-comment approach. See also T. Berry Brazelton, *Doctor and Child* (New York, 1976); and M. T. Lewis, *Parents’ Book of Physical Fitness* (New York, 1975).

Parents' Magazine again provides a final barometer. The journal stopped carrying posture articles by the late 1940s, implicitly suggesting a marked transition. Then, in 1958–1959, a brief flurry occurred, designed to instill the new wisdom. Parents must not nag, for this would merely make children self-conscious or hostile. Short of a structural deformity, which was quite rare, posture will “take care of itself.” Doctors must be called in for deformities, and exercise remained important on general grounds. But there were no absolute standards. Tests were silly, because no two individuals had the same posture. There was no proof anyway that bad posture harmed health. Posture changed with age, and this was part of the process by which almost all children acquired the stance they needed naturally. The most important goal was to make children feel attractive. Young children were naturally round-shouldered, teenagers (so one author claimed) liked to display a more military stance. “A healthy and happy child will assume good posture naturally.” Again, elements of a mixed message persisted, in that, despite all the verbiage, some standards were assumed. But the urgency had clearly disappeared. And with this, the magazine dropped the subject entirely—just as phrenology and other body-measurement fads had disappeared in the past.⁶⁸

The virtual cessation of posture discussions as a component of social criteria or child rearing undermined the basis for medical attention. While doctors had contributed mightily to the posture campaign, the bulk of their efforts had always depended on social support, rather than a vital body of medical research. When posture no longer measured character or social worth, doctors had no reason to claim that a majority of people suffered from posture defects. Pseudo-medical research on diverse body types also supported this shift. Quietly, other prior beliefs, such as the much-trumpeted notion that poor posture forced internal organs to collide and so interfered with somatic efficiency, disappeared as well. This change was also supported by the reduction of several posture-related diseases, notably rickets and infantile paralysis, thanks to larger nutritional or preventive campaigns.

Medical commentary, diagnosis, and measurement shifted dramatically away from posture by the 1960s, save for very specific disease areas such as scoliosis. What had once induced a rich flow of articles in the medical and physical therapy journals now produced only a trickle of scattered comment. And some of this, such as a 1970 piece entitled “A Straight Back—a ‘Nonsyndrome,’” was designed to remind practitioners of the irrelevance of older concerns.⁶⁹ Even earlier, an article in the *Journal of School Health*, by an academic physician, had explicitly derided the hoary tradition of the school nurse and physical education instructor. “Another favorite focus of misguided concern by school personnel and excessively worried parents, is the matter of posture and fitness. We still hold the notion, research findings to the contrary, that a healthy child should, somehow, perform his daily duties more successfully if he tried to resemble an alert West Point Cadet—

⁶⁸ Edith Stern, “Relax about Your Child’s Posture,” *Parents’ Magazine* (January 1958): 36, 56; Benjamin F. Miller, M.D., “Posture Changes,” *Parents’ Magazine* (October, 1959): 120.

⁶⁹ D. M. Doran, “Mechanical and Postural Causes of Chest Pain,” *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 62 (1969): 876–80; M. B. Menelaus, “Posture and Gait in Children,” *Medical Journal of Australia* 1 (1969): 1312–13; J. G. Williams, “Impact of Television on Medicine: Posture and Physical Fitness,” *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 62 (1969): 683–85; M. E. Tavel, “Straight Back—a ‘Nonsyndrome,’” *Annals of Internal Medicine* 79 (1970): 335–36.

preferably at attention. There are no scientific facts to substantiate the benefits of this aesthetic ideal.” Posture, Dr. J. P. Keeve continued, has nothing to do with character or personal adjustment; it does not relate to diseases of the organs, nor does it cause defects such as scoliosis; it is arrant cultism to make posture a subject of school inspections or training.⁷⁰ The claims of a prior generation of physical education specialists were truly fraudulent, and they must be stopped.

On the whole, as medical support for the posture campaign withdrew in concert with the broad social uses of posture standards, the institutional basis for posture work itself withered on the vine. Even orthopedic medicine, concerned certainly with body mechanics and increasingly preoccupied with adult complaints about backache, largely eschewed a systematic posture approach, its practitioners sometimes arguing that back pain had no more to do with posture than did some of the other diseases so long mythically tied into the posture campaign. Many of the few comments that did appear were British, not American. In medicine and in school health programs, the extreme reversal of previous interests strongly suggests a collective embarrassment at past naïveté and culturally motivated hyperbole.

The end of extensive struggle over posture coincided with a revealing development in bedding. By the 1960s and particularly the 1970s, mattresses, for the first time, began to be advertised in terms of their implications for posture maintenance and back support. Prior to this point, twentieth-century claims for commercial mattresses, relatively thin affairs in any event, had emphasized criteria of low cost and easy cleaning. Cotton, “sanitized” contents, and attendant covers met a demand for improved hygiene, as the battle against germs and contagions spread through American households. At most, an absence of “lumpiness” might be touted. Correspondingly, posture experts had rarely mentioned the relationship between sleep and the spine, although the subject emerged very occasionally in the pediatric advice literature, concerning infants’ sleeping positions. When posture was a talisman of character, to be won through personal struggle, or even when posture problems were seen as symbolic extensions of concerns in waking life—such as the impact of schooling on beleaguered children—the neglect of sleep was quite logical. Obviously, this does not mean that individuals were unaware of the relationship between bedding and back comfort. Yet the absence of fanfare is, at least, suggestive. But with the 1960s, standard references to the importance of mattresses in providing support—“deep-down firmness for luxuriously relaxing support,” “won’t sag,” references to “ortho” types—began to dominate the newspaper advertisements. With waking posture slumping, with no character issues involved, it was both proper and sensible for American buyers to look for easy compensation in bedding. By the 1970s, explicit invocations of posture began to replace the vaguer comments about “support”; this included the introduction of a “Posturepedic” brand name and other lures such as “patented heavy-duty posture grid foundations.”⁷¹ The use of bedding to sustain the back, rather than personal discipline or

⁷⁰ J. P. Keeve, M.D., “‘Fitness,’ ‘Posture,’ and Other Selected School Health Myths,” *Journal of School Health* 37 (1967): 8–15.

⁷¹ Mattress advertisements were checked for at least a two-month span during the fifth year in each decade from the 1920s through the 1970s, in the *New York Times*, the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* and the *Pittsburgh Press*. See *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* (September 3, 1965): 7; *Pittsburgh Press* (October 17, 1965): 19; *Pittsburgh Press* (March 16, 1975): A-24; *New York Times* (March 23, 1975): 28.

any conscious effort, signaled the end of an era. An issue that had long been important, a more recent campaign that had enlisted great moral fervor, simply faded into nonexistence. Something like Victorianism had survived far longer than might have been expected, suggesting the various values that the posture emphasis had served, but the rearguard action had not sufficed.

AS WITH THE LONG POSTURE CAMPAIGN ITSELF, both causes and consequences of the final chapter—the abandonment of systematic training—demand assessment. After more than a half-century of contest between behaviors and advice, why did the posture effort collapse? Much of the explanation, surely, rests simply on the ongoing effects of relaxed body standards over time. The proliferation of consumer products paralleled growing approval of comfort and physical pleasure, and it reinforced these values as well. Furniture after World War II moved to new levels of informality, with reclining lounging chairs and suburban lawn gear. Clothing, on the whole, became still looser, accommodating a variety of stances. It was simply too difficult to maintain the old standards against these trends in daily life. Key symbolic issues, notably the genuine anxiety about the burdens of schooling for children, largely ceased, as time eased concern and priorities shifted to a fear that children were not in school enough. Further, a generation of devoted experts—in child rearing, physical education, and medicine—increasingly passed from the scene, opening the field to others raised amid looser standards. Doctors developed other emphases, and while the physical education profession faced some difficult adjustments, new sports interests, for example among women, provided outlets. Specific developments, such as the marked decline of posture-related diseases and a new set of faddish ideas about diverse body types, encouraged these larger trends. Finally, the need for posture discipline as a concomitant part of greater attention to one's own body may well have declined, as full-length mirrors, for example, became an inescapable part not only of domestic life but now of restaurants and public waiting rooms as well.

The result was a wider field for relaxed, informal presentations of the body. Bodies should increasingly show themselves free from the tension that rigid posture might imply, ready for pleasure and geared for the informality that marked a person in proper control of life. A relaxed stance also suggested the superficial friendliness increasingly urged in business dealings. In a period when business contacts began to adopt first names on initial acquaintance, informal posture contributed greatly to the suggestion of open amiability—just as Victorian posture standards had been intended to convey more structured dignity in the presence of strangers. In this sense, continuing changes in posture and the collapse of the neo-Victorian counterattack meshed with larger trends in American social life—the acceleration of consumerism, the corporate style of management, and a service economy.⁷²

The diminution of the posture campaign predated the fabled permissiveness in child rearing that garnered such wide attention in the 1960s—and some presumably permissive experts, such as Dr. Spock, in fact continued to wave the posture

⁷² Stearns, *American Cool*.

banners. But the sheer surge of young people in the Baby Boom, supporting a youth culture already enamored of more relaxed posture, and the decline of parental authority over teenagers promoted a context in which adults, expert or not, may have abandoned the posture campaign as hopeless.⁷³

Yet undue emphasis on the inevitability of contemporary relaxation risks oversimplification. There is real truth in the gradual triumph of a different canon of body presentation—the relaxed mode—as part of the American version of a consumer society, more oriented to leisure and to service-sector friendliness. However, this causation risks ignoring the potent counterattack and its failure and also the fact that in other respects bodily discipline continued to increase steadily in the twentieth century. Hygiene requirements have become more rigorous, while injunctions of slenderness have intensified (admittedly, not always with a successful response). Why, in this sense, was posture an exception?

Here, along with the general forces of informality, additional factors merit consideration. Posture may have been tainted by its association with Victorianism (compared to slenderness, a more recent interest). Conceivably, posture advocates erred in failing to generate enough goods to sell in association with an erect stance. Dieting and hygiene flourished as slightly anomalous but definite parts of a consumer economy, urging discipline but also the purchase of additional materials and services. Posture advocates may have inadvertently narrowed the focus unduly to childhood, which provided opportunities for school professionals but not a larger compass. They tended also, as we have seen, to restrict their case in another respect: by reducing their attack on ease and focusing more on specific school problems, they unwittingly limited posture's service in a moral counterpoise to consumerism. Dieting, which required far more sacrifice of intake, at least in principle, and in adulthood more than in childhood, offered more usable guilt and therefore more compensation for indulgence through worry and discipline than posture did. The posture tradition could have rendered a similar service, but, partly because of the professions that took it up, it was phrased differently. Its function in demonstrating character tended to recede as a result. Further, posture differed from weight and hygiene concerns because the medical justifications proved both feeble and in part erroneous. Nothing in the posture field matched the introduction of germs or cholesterol. Causes of personal morality work best in the twentieth-century United States when health clearly figures in. The decline of posture concerns was thus linked to specific features of the campaign designed to save it, some of which could conceivably have been handled in a different fashion by a variety of groups. The school association of posture, once a strength, receded in force as Americans became more comfortable with extensive schooling. Finally, posture may have lost out partly because more satisfying forms of discipline displaced it: it proved better to present a slender body than an erect one.⁷⁴

Like all once-vital issues that largely disappear, the end of an emphasis on

⁷³ Spock and Rothenburg, *Dr. Spock's Baby and Child Care*, 473–74. Youthful defiance was not the only factor in posture changes for children. The advent of book bags and massive textbooks—ironic, given earlier worries about school and spine—encouraged a bent-over walk at key points of the day, at least by the age of middle school attendance. Clearly, literally weighty knowledge had taken precedence over erect stance.

⁷⁴ Stearns, *Fat History*.

posture had a few interesting ramifications even in the final decades of this century. The juxtaposition with the growing importance of the military in American life is fascinating. Here, as in other areas, civilian trends countered military tradition. A specific result was enhanced need, within the military, for posture training. Reserve Officer Training Corps units on campuses had to institute more formal procedures, such as early exposure to “sitting at attention,” causing considerable discomfort to recruits unaccustomed to this kind of classroom stance. More broadly, particularly after posture gurus had invoked World War II in their last defenses, might the decline of posture emphasis, though spurred by other factors, have served as a useful outlet against growing military presence in other facets of American life?

Changing posture standards clearly affected youth culture, which for several decades had used the posture campaign as a foil for developing defiant alternatives. To be sure, even in the mid-1990s, a reference to posture might serve: a song by the group Nirvana, a pioneer in alternative music and the grunge look, included the lyric, “I’m on my time with everyone, I have very bad posture.” The juxtaposition of youth posture and the military stance had been a basic visual ingredient of the protest musical *Hair* in the 1970s. Overall, however, sloppy posture no longer stated very much, which might spur youth fashion leaders toward other forms of body presentation, including tattooing and multiple piercing, in the continued modern quest for alternative modes of identification.⁷⁵

The reactions against a half-century of posture advocacy continued to leave their mark in the field of medicine. Far more than decline of standards was involved here. We have seen that prolonged dependence on social, even moral, criteria for posture and some shaky empirical claims led, once the social pressure for posture norms essentially disappeared, to a striking collapse of interest. Doctors ignored the topic with a vengeance, from the 1970s to the 1990s—despite the surge of orthopedic medicine and the backache laments of an aging population. Most orthopedists sidestepped posture questions, assuming that backaches had little or nothing to do with posture (and were usually transient anyway, with 95 percent of all patients improving rather quickly). Conventional wisdom paralleled the child-rearing advice—posture varied, often depending on parental models, and did not normally matter. Posture training—the need for “good posture”—might be vital in cases of spinal damage from accidents, but it was handled as part of individual rehabilitation, not as a systematic social concern. Another new source of specific commentary derived from computer use and resultant “repetitive stress” injuries, such as “tired neck syndrome,” where good posture was rated as an important preventive or antidote. Here, of course, the need to remind about posture was an important confirmation of the ways in which times and habits had changed—even though it was true that a brief reference to “maintaining proper posture at all times” could be regarded as sufficient. Still, the medical field overall held back. Research focused mainly on artificial remedies—back supports of various types—once a back problem had been diagnosed. While some interest developed in the mid-1990s about posture improvements as an alternative to surgery, the field has not been systematically studied, and doctors are largely unaware of the contemporary

⁷⁵ The Nirvana song was entitled “Pennyroyal Tea.” Our thanks to Cordelia and Clio Stearns for calling this passage to our attention and for their (slightly divergent) interpretations.

contrast with the rich (if flawed) posture literature of the past. Is an implicit aversion to a medical paradigm, one that could no longer be supported and that had previously been overblown, an ongoing cause of a strange lack of balance in contemporary practice and preventive measures?⁷⁶

Finally, the decline of older standards creates the important task of interpreting what, exactly, the replacements are and mean. Greater individual variety does not indicate a complete vacuum. Clearly, contemporary Americans are supposed to be able to adjust stance to situation, which requires a new demand on attentiveness and an awareness of older standards. Manuals on job-seeking thus spell out a very traditional message: "Enter the room with a straight back and your head held high. Use good posture throughout the interview." Revealingly, "good" did not require further definition. Here, an authority proudly urged, was a key ingredient in the "secret language of success."⁷⁷ Yet in other settings, a relaxed air now became a demand of its own, indicating comfort with one's own body and a friendly openness. Surely some Americans found this new requirement a bit demanding, if only because it was more subtle than the norms it replaced.

Both the vividness of the prolonged attempt to maintain posture and the factors that undermined older standards and the campaign itself continued to reverberate in the 1990s. In some sectors, a semblance of tradition persisted or could be revived, leading to judgments about individuals and perhaps even the state of American society on the basis of posture. In other sectors, reactions against the failed campaign might produce their own distortions, causing more inattention to posture than other professed goals might logically imply; this was an active possibility in orthopedic medicine. The posture wars had not been a trivial experience. Compared to a variety of fashion changes, like the decline of the corset or the advent of shorter skirts, posture was contested over a surprisingly long period of time. This meant that more was at stake in this aspect of body presentation than in some of the hotly but briefly disputed changes in costume. Posture long served as a social marker and even longer worked as a means of identifying good personal management—whether evaluating oneself or others. Supplemented by the rise of new professions that could use posture claims, posture mattered in American history well into the contemporary era. Even the longstanding tensions between asserted standards and real behavior served genuine needs.

As with other aspects of behavioral history, American posture warrants compar-

⁷⁶ Our thanks to Dr. David Stone for information about current orthopedic thinking. Carnegie Mellon University, "Computer-Related Repetitive Strain Injuries," report of January 1996. S. Gracovetsky and H. Farfan, "The Optimum Spine," *Spine* 11 (1986): 543–73; H. Farfan and Joan Baldwin, "Tired Neck Syndrome: Chronic Postural Strain," *Trends in Ergonomics* (1986): 651–58; Maynard Williams, *et al.*, "A Comparison of the Effects of Two Sitting Postures on Back and Referred Pain," *Spine* 16 (1991): 1185–91. Posture history also, of course, relates to the twentieth-century evolution of chiropractic. The movement's first surge, in the 1920s and 1930s (after its founding in Iowa in 1895), clearly correlated with the widespread posture concerns—although professionals played no central role in the education programs. The retreat of the chiropractic movement, after the 1940s, was due primarily to attacks by orthodox medicine, but it also reflected declining interest in posture; the more recent revival (since the late 1970s) certainly signals the movement's ability to deal with posture-related complaints at a time when formal medicine offers no overriding model. Wilbert Gesler, "The Place of Chiropractors in Health Care Delivery: A Case Study of North Carolina," *Social Service Medicine* 28 (1988): 785–92. Our thanks to Margaret Brindle for this reference.

⁷⁷ Robbie Miller Kaplan, *The Whole Career Sourcebook* (New York, 1991), 154; David Lewis, *The Secret Language of Success* (New York, 1989).

ison with other societies. The seedbed of new standards was Europe, where promotion of a more erect stance began in the seventeenth century. Here, as in other respects, American etiquette, stressing posture, began to model itself after Europe in the late eighteenth century. But once embarked on more rigorous manners, Americans could easily press toward extremes—in part because of a sense of inferiority in relation to Old World polish, in part to help deal with the distressing diversity of a society of immigrants. One result, directly involved in posture, was the opening of schools to programs of personal discipline and the creation of professions, such as physical education, that did not develop as fully in Europe. Americans also confronted the early incidence of consumerism and new leisure forms, pioneering in casualness but also creating a distinctive tension between modernity and a deep disciplinary urge that carried through a full half-century. Precisely because posture revealed wider trends and concerns, American developments hover characteristically between general Western patterns and a more strictly national enthusiasm.⁷⁸

Ultimately, however, posture failed, for a number of reasons including competing disciplines and some flaws in the training campaign. Its ineradicable association with stiffness underpinned its demise, in an age in which consumer, athletic, and sexual standards favored suppleness and a more open bodily demeanor. So, after a noteworthy run in American personal life, a key form of self-restraint eased. Posture bent to the times.

⁷⁸ Roodenburg, "How to Sit"; Kasson, *Rudeness and Civility*; Cas Wouters, "Etiquette Books and Emotion Management in the Twentieth Century: American *Habitus* in International Comparison," in Peter N. Stearns and Jan Lewis, eds., *An Emotional History of the United States* (New York, 1998), 283–304.

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Creating Asia: China in the World at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century

REBECCA E. KARL

IT HAS BECOME A RECENT COMMONPLACE to recognize that regions, like nations, are imagined constructs, that they possess historical specificity and are imagined differently by different people at various times.¹ It is less well acknowledged, however, that there are also flexible imaginaries that perhaps are related to and extend already existing structures, or that turn against these structures and contest their claims.² These flexible imaginaries require looking at specific moments and episodes that have either been repressed by state-centered narratives of history or displaced by nostalgic yearnings for the local in an environment of dominating global and total structures.

This essay focuses on a moment in early twentieth-century China during which Asia was first created as a regional construct by a small but influential group of Chinese intellectuals, who, in collaboration with other peoples residing in Tokyo, attempted to rethink modes of political action and organization. The “Asia” that resulted from these activities and rethinkings was shaped by, albeit not limited to, two simultaneous structures: imperialism and ongoing attempts to subject the non-West to a Western-dominated world system; and state-dominated concepts of national and regional formation. These two structural trends helped produce a concept of Asia that is well known to historians: an anti-imperialist and yet state-centered regional formation that has episodically resulted in various state-led pan-Asianisms over the course of the ensuing century. Sun Zhongshan’s (Sun Yat-sen) state-based, anti-imperialist vision of Asia is the most familiar of these

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¹ On imagining nations, see, for example, Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn. (London, 1991); and Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation* (Honolulu, 1994). Also see Martin W. Lewis and Karen E. Wigen, *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of Metageography* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997). As will become evident below, this essay makes neither a national nor a meta-geographical argument.

² As Partha Chatterjee has emphasized, one needs to specify who is doing the imagining and in what contexts. *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, N.J., 1993).

versions.³ However, a different discourse of “Asia” was also produced at this time, one that was rooted in non-state-centered practices and in non-national-chauvinist culturalism. This alternative “Asia” discourse and practice represented an attempt to create a radically politicized cultural regional concept, whose historical resonance seems, however, to have been almost permanently displaced by the more strident versions of the region that uphold the primacy of the nation-state and capitalist developmentalism.

The proponents of the alternative Asia highlighted below sought to contest state domination by linking the substantive content of their Asia concept to the plurality of cultures and contemporary practices in the region that were embedded in the historical flows of people. Made possible by a complex conjuncture of events, histories, intellectual influences, and explicit organizational activity, their vision of Asia was intended to subvert, rather than confirm, both the emerging imperialist or statist status quos. The politically subversive nature of their intervention was ineffective; however, their rethinkings helped establish conceptual relationships between geography, race, culture, and history within an expansive global consciousness, through which “Asia” emerged as a vital location of political and intellectual energy. In the first part of this essay, I unravel these tangled conceptual relationships, while in the last part, I turn to a consideration of one little-known early pan-Asian organization, the Asian Solidarity Society, organized in Tokyo in 1907 by Chinese intellectuals along with Japanese socialists and exiled Indian, Filipino, and Vietnamese activists. Even though this organization was short-lived and in fact accomplished little of lasting significance, a discussion of its premises will demonstrate how Asia could and did become a material site of political action for Chinese intellectuals at a moment when crises in Chinese and global world orders produced an urgent attempt to rethink the very bases of politics, culture, and activism—on a local as well as a regional and global level.

The radical potential of the Asian Solidarity Society’s version of Asia was ephemeral, like all the activities it spawned, but the legacy of aspirations for regional unity to which it points, along with the conceptual relationships that were established at this time to articulate such aspirations, have remained potent over the past century, albeit in wildly differing guises and for consequentially different political and historical projects. With these legacies in mind and yet against current tendencies to reify Asia⁴ as a geographical, a cultural, or an economic entity,⁵ I

³ For an analysis of pan-Asianism that focuses on the more usual object of study, Sun Zhongshan, see Prasenjit Duara, “Transnationalism and the Predicament of Sovereignty: China, 1900–1945,” *AHR* 102 (October 1997): 1030–51. For an anthology of essays on Sun Zhongshan and Asia, see “*Sun Zhongshan yu Yazhou*” *guoji xueshu taolunhui lunwen ji* [Collection of Essays from the “International Conference on Sun Zhongshan and Asia”], Guangdongsheng Sun Zhongshan yanjiuhui, ed. (Guangzhou, 1994). Because Sun is the usual focus of attention, I will not be dealing with his version of pan-Asianism in this essay.

⁴ For recent reifications of “Asia,” “Asia-Pacific,” and “the Pacific Rim,” see Arif Dirlik, ed., *What Is in a Rim? Critical Perspectives on the Pacific Region Idea* (Boulder, Colo., 1994); Dirlik, “The Asia-Pacific Idea: Reality and Representation in the Invention of a Regional Structure,” *Journal of World History* 3, no. 1 (1992): 55–79; and Ravi Palat, “Reinscribing the Globe—Imaginative Geographies of the Pacific Rim,” *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 29, no. 1 (1997): 61–69.

⁵ There is a growing scholarship on the formation of the region from a Chinese perspective that focuses on population diasporas, their cultural implications, and the regional economic networks that emerged from transnational economic activities. While these flows are indeed important, here I am not interested in such accidental formations of the region but in the purposive construction of Asia for an articulated radical political purpose. For the transnational networks, see essays in *Ungrounded Empires*:

propose to dismantle any self-evident notion of this region, either as an always-present geographical unit presuming an uncontested ahistorical given-ness or, in this instance, as a necessarily *Chinese* identification. At the same time, by historicizing its emergence at a particular moment and in recovering one radical origin of its conceptualization at the moment of its appearance more broadly in China and in the area itself, I also wish to point out that Asia has not always been articulated by its proponents as a natural component of global capitalism, as a necessarily Japano-centric concept, or as an adjunct to state-dominated internationalisms.

IN 1901, ONE OF THE MOST PROMINENT Chinese intellectuals and journalists of the late Qing period (1895–1911), Liang Qichao, wrote an introduction to what he hoped would become a full-fledged revisionist history of China.⁶ In the conclusion to his outline for this project, Liang proposed that the traditional dynastic divisions of Chinese history be discarded in favor of a broad tripartite periodization—“antiquity,” “medieval,” and “modern”—derived from European historical writing. The central datum of “antiquity,” according to Liang, was China’s unification. The “medieval” period—from the Qin unification (220 BC) to the Qianlong reign of the Qing dynasty (late eighteenth century)—was characterized, Liang wrote, by a history of “China of Asia” (*yazhou zhi zhongguo*). This was a time, Liang explained, during which “the Chinese related to, had business and competed most intensely with various peoples of Asia [*yazhou ge minzu*].” The “modern” period, he went on to note, is characterized by a “China of the world,” during which “the Chinese people [*zhongguo minzu*] united with all the Asian peoples [*quan yazhou minzu*] in struggle and competition with Westerners [*xiren*].”⁷

Without going into the significance for Chinese historiography of this seminal essay,⁸ I want to note here how—in reverse of Liang’s narrative order—it is only from the view of the modern period—China-in-the-world—that both Asia and China emerge as relevant formations. Specifically, there is an elision between Liang’s two concepts of Asia: for his “medieval” period, Liang’s list of the “peoples of Asia” with whom the Chinese had business includes only those successfully incorporated into the Manchu Qing Empire (1648–1911), that is, the Tibetans, Mongols, Tongus, Xiongnu, Manchus, and the Han. This medieval Asia corresponded to the territorial extent of the Qing Empire, as well as to the boundaries of what Liang was figuring as the territory of the modern Chinese nation. By contrast, Liang’s modern Asia encompasses something much larger: it is an entity whose boundaries transcend the Qing Empire, since it is the “Chinese” (understood as the combined “Asians” of the prior period) with other Asians (a formation distinct from “China,” which thus indicates a regional configuration) who are posed

The Cultural Politics of Modern Chinese Transnationalism, Aihwa Ong and Donald M. Nonini, eds. (New York, 1997).

⁶ Liang Qichao, “Zhongguoshi xulun” [Introductory Essay to a History of China], *Yinbingshi wenji* [Collected Essays from the Ice-Drinker’s Studio; hereafter, *YBSWJ*], 8 vols. (rpt. edn., Taipei, Taiwan, 1978), juan 6: 1–12.

⁷ Liang, “Zhongguoshi xulun,” 11–12.

⁸ For a discussion linking this essay to developments in Liang’s historical consciousness, see Xiaobing Tang, *Global Space and the Nationalist Discourse: The Historical Thinking of Liang Qichao* (Stanford, Calif., 1996), chap. 2.

against the “Westerners.” Both of Liang’s conceptualizations, in other words, are symptomatic of what Xiaobing Tang calls the emergence of the “global space of modernity” in China at the end of the nineteenth century.⁹ For, despite Liang Qichao’s narrative, in which Asia predates China-in-the-world, it is clear that Asia can only emerge as an operative category of analysis and of articulated historical process *co-temporally* with the emergence of the idea of China as a nation in the world. In short, China only became both specifically national (not an empire) and regionally Asian at the same time as, and only when, China became worldly.

It was the long last decade of the Qing dynasty—spanning the Chinese defeat in the Sino-Japanese war of 1895 and the overthrow of the dynasty in 1911—that witnessed a transformation in both national and global consciousness. This period saw the simultaneous breakdown of the dynastic socio-political order and the emergence of a broad consciousness of an unstable global order among Chinese intellectuals.¹⁰ Internally, the traumatic defeat of the Qing by Japan spurred new efforts by a small but influential group of Chinese intellectuals to encourage the reform of the crippled dynasty. These efforts climaxed in a short-lived movement in 1898—known as the *wuxu* reforms—that attempted to alter certain aspects of socio-political power relations within China’s dynastic structure. The movement was crushed after 103 days by a coup d’état perpetrated by conservative factions of the court. Many intellectuals, who had led or supported the 1898 reform movement (including Liang Qichao), fled the debacle to exile in Japan.

Just as the internal Chinese situation reached this nadir, and as leading reformist intellectuals were pessimistically settling abroad, anti-colonial and nationalist movements in the Philippines, South Africa, India, Poland, Vietnam, Hawaii, Cuba, and elsewhere erupted and drew these intellectuals’ attention, sympathy, and support. Analyses of these events were soon related to and incorporated into analyses of China’s situation, helping on the one hand to clarify possibilities for action in China and on the other to produce and consolidate among Chinese intellectuals a notion of a global space of action that China shared with other countries and peoples. For many intellectuals, this space was in fact defined by the ongoing non-Western popular struggles against both internal power structures and imperialist/colonial controls.¹¹ This broad contestatory global space suggested to many Chinese intellectuals and activists the significance and radical potential of the regional formation of Asia itself. Fashioned out of peoples and places generally ignored in China (Filipinos, Siamese, Indians, Burmese, etc.), or who had in the past been gathered into different conceptual rubrics altogether (such as the

⁹ Tang, *Global Space*. As Tang explains, Liang’s nationalist historiography—of which the above-cited essay is an incipient version—was premised on the global space of modernity, which “corresponds to a global, cosmopolitan space and civilization” and conjoined China “with the ultimate historical space known to humanity”: the modern world (45).

¹⁰ I refer to this period interchangeably as the late Qing and the turn of the century. The phrase “long decade” derives from Chinese scholar Wu Tingjia’s designation—the *wuxu* period—which refers to the fact that the 1898 reforms (the *wuxu* reforms) were intellectually and socially influential well beyond the failure of the reforms themselves. See Wu Tingjia, *Wuxu sichao zongheng lun* [A Cross-Cutting Analysis of the Intellectual Trends of the Wuxu Period] (Beijing, 1988).

¹¹ For a detailed analysis of this process, see Rebecca E. Karl, “Secret Sharers: Chinese Nationalism and the Non-Western World at the Turn of the Twentieth Century” (PhD dissertation, Duke University, 1995).

nanyang, or Southern Seas), “Asia” offered a way to rethink the terms of both global and internal power arrangements.

THE INITIAL TERM FOR “ASIA” IN CHINESE, *yaxiya*, was a phonetic transcription, and had been introduced to China in the seventeenth century by Jesuit missionaries.¹² Yet *yaxiya* as a classificatory schema was not widely used in Chinese histories or geographical treatises until well into the nineteenth century. It was simply not relevant to them.¹³ In the first and most influential modern world geography published in China, written by the scholar-official Wei Yuan in 1844 immediately following the Opium War, there is no category for Asia. Rather, Wei’s multivolume work is divided according to the traditional classificatory “seas” (as in “Southeastern seas island states,” “Five Indias of the Southwestern seas,” “States of the Ouluoba [European] Continent of the Great Western Seas”).¹⁴ In his discussion of India in the second volume, Wei does mention that “India . . . is in Asia [*yaxiya*],” yet he does not elaborate and rushes on to discuss other matters.¹⁵

By contrast, in the geography of another scholar-official, Xu Jiyu, published in 1848 and in part based on Wei Yuan’s work, the classification *yaxiya* is introduced. In trying to clarify the unfamiliar designations used in his work, Xu notes that these names were mostly transcriptions from English and Portuguese. As regards Asia, Xu states in the preface to the volume on the region: “Asia is the name for what, in ancient times, was called Turkey Minor. Westerners call everything east of this Asia.”¹⁶ He later elaborates: “Russia’s territory is 6/10ths in Asia, however, its capital is in Europe . . . Turkey’s Eastern and Central territories are in Asia, however, its Western territories are in Europe.”¹⁷ And so on. No matter what its “accuracy” in expressing the state of knowledge then being produced in Europe and transmitted to China via missionaries,¹⁸ this convoluted explanation was of little epistemological consequence in China at the time, in addition to being all but meaningless to the majority of Xu’s readers—highly educated elites themselves. Thus, despite the fact that both Wei Yuan’s and Xu Jiyu’s geographies re-map the

¹² John W. Witek, “Understanding the Chinese: A Comparison of Matteo Ricci and the French Jesuit Mathematicians Sent by Louis XIV,” in Charles E. Ronan and Bonnie B. C. Oh, eds., *East Meets West: The Jesuits in China, 1582–1773* (Chicago, 1988), 71.

¹³ Lydia Liu has explored the need to examine the arrival of new locutions in terms of their “manner of becoming,” or the process through which they become meaningful. See Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China, 1900–1937* (Stanford, Calif., 1995), 16.

¹⁴ Wei Yuan, *Haiguo tuzhi* [Illustrated Gazetteer on Maritime States] (1844; rpt. edn., 7 vols., 1847, Taipei, 1967).

¹⁵ Wei, *Haiguo tuzhi*, 2: 679.

¹⁶ Xu Jiyu, *Yinghuan zhilue* [A Short Account of Maritime Circuits] (1848; rpt. edn., Taipei, 1967), 1: 24 (for the decision on transcriptions) and 59 (for the cited text).

¹⁷ Xu, *Yinghuan zhilue*, 1: 60.

¹⁸ Discussions of Wei and Xu usually focus on the accuracy of their reproduction of Western knowledge. See Jane Leonard, *Wei Yuan and China’s Rediscovery of the Maritime World* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984); Wang Jiaqian, *Wei Yuan nianpu* (Taipei, 1964); Fred W. Drake, *China Charts the World: Hsu Chi-yu and His Geography of 1848* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975); Zhang Mingjiu, “*Yinghuan zhilue*” *yu* “*Haiguo tuzhi*” *bijiao yanjiu* [A Comparative Analysis of the *Yinghuan zhilue* and the *Haiguo tuzhi*], *Jindaishi yanjiu* 67 (January 1992): 68–81; Suzanne Wilson Barnett, “Wei Yuan and Westerners: Notes on the Sources of the *Hai-kuo T’u-chih*,” *Ch’ing-shih wen-t’i* [Problems in Qing History] 2, no. 4 (November 1970): 1–20. For a good discussion of epistemological issues, see D. R. Howland, *Borders of Chinese Civilization: Geography and History at Empire’s End* (Durham, N.C., 1996), chap. 1.

world and China's place in it in very significant ways—ways that were to become extremely influential a half-century later¹⁹—it is relatively clear that, in the mid-nineteenth century, Asia had little autonomous significance as a meaningful category in Chinese conceptualizations of the world and China.

By the late nineteenth century, the situation had changed. China had become more imbricated in the world and the world more imbricated in China. Another word for Asia emerged alongside the first one: unlike *yaxiya*—a phonetic transcription—this second word, *yazhou*, implicitly indicated a region that was part of a multi-continental globe, in which there were several *zhou* (continents), of which *yazhou* (Asia) was one.²⁰ (Note that *yazhou* is the term that Liang Qichao uses throughout the 1901 text cited above.) Indeed, by the turn of the century, *yazhou* was an accepted geopolitical term, and, as both place and space, it became potentially deployable in a newly reconfigured late nineteenth-century global, regional, and national politics. As historian Zhao Junyi notes:

yazhou and *yaxiya* as words at the time [turn of the century] implied the meanings “non-Europe” [*fei ouzhou de*] and non-Western [*fei xifang de*]; at times, they were rendered and deployed . . . as terminological opposites of *ouzhou* and *ouluoba* [both “Europe”]. . . . So, at the turn of the twentieth century, “Asia” did not solely and simply designate a geographical area or concept; rather, it incorporated quite an abundant coloring of politics.²¹

Zhao's comment is suggestive, yet it would be misleading to see Asia merely as a binary opposite of Europe. For, in addition to being a term of geographical negation (“non-Europe”), or one of pure resistance or reaction to Europe (“anti-Europe”), Asia also became a more diffused and fluid concept, with multiple contingent meanings.

One aspect of this contingency inhered in the joining of concepts of race to a radical understanding of the global historical situation in which China found itself at the turn of the century. For it was then that the concept of race came to the fore of Chinese intellectual conceptualizations of the world.²² In its various forms, “race” often referred not to phenotypical similarities, nor necessarily to historical cultural borrowings, but initially, more commonly, and more radically, to China's perceived connections to those peoples anywhere in the world who were struggling against various types of oppressions. It denoted, in other words, a broad, non-Western global space.

¹⁹ Liang Qichao later proclaimed, “Knowledge of world geography among Chinese elites really began with Wei Yuan's *Haiguo tuzhi*.” Liang, *Zhongguo jin sanbai nian xueshu shi* [Chinese Intellectual History of the Past Three Hundred Years] (Taipei, 1955), 1.

²⁰ The turn of the century also saw the emergence of: *dongfang* (the East), previously used to refer only to Japan but now denoting “the East” or “the Orient” in relation to the West; *yuandong* (the Far East), which also adopted the “West's” perspectival lens; and *dongya* (East Asia). *Taipingyang* (the Pacific) also came into usage to denote a more expansive region, prompted by the U.S. annexation of Hawaii and colonization of the Philippines.

²¹ Zhao Junyi, *Xinhai geming yu dalu langren* [The Xinhai Revolution and “Mainland Ronins”] (Beijing, 1991), 16–17.

²² For race analysis in relation to the dissemination of Social Darwinism in China at the time, see James Reeve Pusey, *China and Charles Darwin* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983); for another perspective, see Frank Dikötter, *The Discourse of Race in Modern China* (Stanford, Calif., 1992).

BEFORE ATTAINING THIS EXPANSIVE MEANING, however, the discourse of “race” in China had to be detached from its predecessor, the discourse of “civilization,” which linked China to Japan. As D. R. Howland has demonstrated, prior to the mid-1890s, Chinese scholars had rediscovered—after close to two centuries of neglect—a connection between China and Japan via a notion of “shared Civilization” (*tongwen*). To the Chinese, this idea presumed that Japan’s history of cultural borrowings from China demonstrated and confirmed its subordination to China. Yet, just at the moment that this “shared Civilization” model was being revived by Chinese scholars and diplomats in the 1870s and 1880s, Japan was distancing itself from China, marking out a global/regional space of its own, in which China was to be subordinated to Japan. As Howland notes, the removal of Japan from the Chinese worldview after 1895 was “intrinsically destabilizing” to Chinese elites, for when Japan could no longer be contained by a universal Chinese civilizational norm, the universality itself became suspect.²³

Thus, after China’s defeat in the 1895 Sino-Japanese war, many Chinese conceptualizations of commonality began to move away from a bilateral Sino-Japanese focus to a wider, more global formulation. One possible reason for this, as mentioned above, was a dawning recognition by Chinese intellectuals of a patterned world system, in which China was not the only one suffering the effects of Western incursion but was one of many countries similarly positioned in an increasingly polarized late nineteenth-century world. After 1895 and particularly after the failure of the 1898 reform movement, this shared condition came to be known as *wangguo* (lost state/country), a term that was originally used in China to denote internal dynastic change but that, in its rearticulation in the late nineteenth century, came to mean two things simultaneously. For some intellectuals of the time, the most relevant meaning of *wangguo* referred to the modern era of global imperialism: as Chen Duxiu wrote in 1904, “Historically, when the surname of our emperor changed, we called this *wangguo* . . . but this is merely a change of dynasties, it cannot be called *wangguo*.”²⁴ For other intellectuals, however, the most central datum of *wangguo* was located in the transition from the Han-Chinese Ming dynastic rulers to the Manchu rulers of the Qing dynasty in the seventeenth century. The Manchu usurpation, according to this latter group, was later reinforced by Western might. In other words, for the latter group, who were overwhelmingly Han-Chinese, the Manchus had caused the “loss” of the Han-dominated Ming, and thus the first urgent task was to rid the country of the Manchu rulers before Western imperialism could be vanquished. This split in interpretation—*wangguo* as a central datum of modern imperialism versus *wangguo* as an ethnic national issue centrally figured as a Han/Manchu split—eventually helped structure a deeper ideological and political division between revolutionary and non-revolutionary

²³ Howland, *Borders of Chinese Civilization*, 2–3. For a discussion of Japan’s distancing itself from China, see H. D. Harootunian, *Things Seen and Unseen: Discourse and Ideology in Tokugawa Nativism* (Chicago, 1988). For Meiji Japanese views of “Asia” in which China was subordinated, see Stefan Tanaka, *Japan’s Orient: Rendering Pasts into History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993); and Yumiko Iida, “Fleeing the West, Making Asia Home: Transpositions of Otherness in Japanese Pan-Asianism, 1905–1930,” *Alternatives* 22 (1997): 409–32.

²⁴ Chen Duxiu, “Wangguo pian” [An Essay on *wangguo*], orig. pub. in *Anhui suhua bao* [Anhui Vernacular Journal] 8 (July 27, 1904), in *Chen Duxiu zhuzuo xuan* [Selected Important Works of Chen Duxiu], 3 vols. (Shanghai, 1993), 1: 67.

solutions to China's problems.²⁵ Yet, prior to this rigid division, in the 1895–1903 period, the two interpretive strands of *wangguo* substantially overlapped and sustained one another.

One forceful articulation of this overlapping came from Liang Qichao, in his sarcastically angry essay “On the New Rules for Destroying Countries” (1901).²⁶ Written and published just as the punitive protocol that ended the disastrous Boxer Rebellion was being negotiated—a capitulation by the Qing to foreign demands that led to a new loss of confidence in the dynasty—Liang's essay summed up the lessons he and his fellow intellectuals had learned from their experiences and observations of the world. It exposes what Liang facetiously called the “new rules” used by Westerners to extinguish a country (*mieguo*) and to subjugate its people—rules soon to be applied to China itself. These included sending the country into spiraling debt (Egypt), dividing the country territorially (Poland), using internal divisions to advance Western interests (India), and overwhelming a foe with military might (Philippines and the Transvaal). The West, Liang implied, having perfected the techniques elsewhere, was now prepared to combine them to bear down on China.

Placing these countries and techniques into a synchronic historical space, which linked them contingently to China's own contemporary situation, Liang's essay both recognized and was pessimistic about the global commonality of *wangguo*.²⁷ Such despair and its role in fueling nationalism at the turn of the century have been the focus of many historians of modern China.²⁸ Yet this global space was not always and not stably figured as a “negative unity”;²⁹ as suggested above, it was also often seen (even by Liang himself) as a positive and enabling space of activity. This space of activity was often figured through a particular invocation of “same race” (*tongzhong*) discourse.

In the late Qing, central to the precipitous rise in the use of Social Darwinian language and concepts to describe the world and China's precarious position in it was the concept of race.³⁰ Frank Dikötter, in his book on the discourse of race in modern China, has emphasized how closely Chinese racial attitudes seemed to parallel the prejudices of white Euro-Americans; in its “scientific” formulations, he

²⁵ In other words, after 1903, the Ming-Qing transfer interpretation of “loss” increasingly denoted the necessity for conflict between the Hans and the Manchus, a necessity that took revolutionary priority over a resolution to the imperialism question. This position is most often associated with Sun Zhongshan's Revolutionary Alliance (*Tongmeng hui*), formed in 1905.

²⁶ Liang Qichao, “Mieguo xinfu lun,” serially published in *Qingyi bao* [Journal of Pure Critique] 85, 86, 89 (July 16–August 24, 1901); in Liang, *YBSWJ*, juan 6: 32–47.

²⁷ Synchronicity indicates co-temporality, rather than causality or diachrony.

²⁸ For example, see Hao Chang, *Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Intellectual Transition in China, 1890–1907* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971); Li Zehou, *Zhongguo jindai sixiang shi lun* [Discourse on Early Modern Chinese Intellectual History] (Beijing, 1979); and his *Zhongguo xiandai sixiangshi lun* [Discourse on Modern Chinese Intellectual History] (Beijing, 1987). Li's paradigmatic formulation of modern Chinese history, in which “saving the nation” (*jiuguo*) consistently overwhelmed efforts at “enlightenment” (*qimeng*) starkly stages the tragic emplotment of China's modern history that has dominated much analysis.

²⁹ Richard Wright's term, in *The Color Curtain: A Report on the Bandung Conference* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1956).

³⁰ Pusey, *China and Charles Darwin*, has demonstrated that the scholar Yan Fu's late 1890s translations of Darwin and Herbert Spencer, while not the first introduction of Darwin's thought to China, fell on fertile soil at the turn of the century and soon swept the Chinese intellectual field.

is in many ways correct. However, by paying attention to the historical moment at which “race” actually gained epistemological force in China, it is less possible to elide the global contextual circumstances under which “race” became available not merely as a marker of “difference”—as a scientific discourse suggests—but also as a new marker of global “sameness” or commonality.³¹ It was particularly through the post-1898 popularization of the compound concept *tongzhong*—same kind/race—that this global commonality was expressed, even while *tongzhong* remained an extremely fluid concept, rarely containable by any self-evident trope of equivalence with “race”—if there even were such a thing.³²

Tongzhong as a principle was first publicly promoted in 1898 by Zhang Zhidong, a leading Qing dynastic official known for his work in education, to refer to Chinese affinities with Japan; he used it specifically to encourage Chinese students to go to Japan to study.³³ Indeed, already in 1897, the erudite classical scholar Zhang Binglin (Taiyan), who was to become one of the leading voices for cultural-racial revolutionary nationalism in the first decade of the twentieth century, used *tongzhong* in this narrow sense, by explicitly joining Chinese-Japanese sameness to global politics, while reversing the previous emphasis on China’s civilizational superiority to emphasize contemporary Japanese global leadership. For instance, he called for an alliance of Japan and China against Russia’s expansionism in order to “revive Asia [*yazhou*].”³⁴ For both Zhang Zhidong and Zhang Binglin, then, *tongzhong* and Asia were substantially contained by China’s relationship to Japan: in its official formulation, *tongzhong* expressed Chinese dynastic aspirations to emulate some of Meiji Japan’s state-led projects; while in other formulations, *tongzhong* denoted a recognition of the altered sphere of geopolitics, where Japan would lead and China would follow.³⁵ (As will be evident below, Zhang Binglin’s conceptualization of Asia changed utterly within a decade.)

When the concept of *tongzhong* entered into wider intellectual usage after 1898, however, it underwent a fundamental metamorphosis. As it appeared from 1898 to 1903 in essays of every ideological stripe (albeit not expressing official dynastic views), *tongzhong* was often a very expansive concept. At times, those who were *tongzhong* with China included such proximate neighbors as the Filipinos, Vietnamese, and Koreans; at other times, the designation also included more distant peoples such as the Poles, Afrikaners, Turks, Cubans, Indians, and Hawaiians.³⁶

³¹ Dikötter, *Discourse of Race*, argues that Chinese racism was deeply historically rooted, and thus was not dependent discursively or in practice on the Euro-American influence. While the Chinese were clearly not free of prejudice or devoid of xenophobia, to conflate those with racism and to attribute the rise of “race”-based analyses at the turn of the century to inherent racist attitudes is, in my view, to do violence to the historically contingent nature of the concept.

³² “Trope of equivalence” is borrowed from Liu, *Translingual Practice*.

³³ Howland notes that Zhang Zhidong used the expression *tongwen tongzhong* (“of the same language/civilization and same race/kind”), and that in this official usage, *tongzhong* was explicitly linked to *tongwen* and remained narrow in its conceptualization. *Borders of Chinese Civilization*, 261–62, n22. Hwang Dongyoun notes that, in the 1930s, Wang Jingwei’s pan-Asianism and collaboration with the Japanese was also articulated through a *tongzhong* formulation; see Hwang, “Some Reflections on Wang Jingwei’s Collaboration,” *Working Papers in Asian-Pacific Studies* (Durham, N.C., forthcoming).

³⁴ Zhang Binglin, “Lun Yazhou yize wei chunchi” [It Is Best for Asia to Stand Together Firmly], *Shiwu bao* [China Progress] 18 (February 1897).

³⁵ For China’s official relationship to Japan in this period, see Douglas R. Reynolds, *China, 1898–1912: The Xinheng Revolution and Japan* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993).

³⁶ For details on this, see Karl, “Secret Sharers.”

There was, evidently, nothing particularly racial about this grouping (nor anything strictly geographical). Indeed, such an expansive conceptualization was made possible by a recognition of the shared threat of political annihilation, or by the actuality of having lost territorial sovereignty, situations faced by all of these countries/peoples: “lost country” interpreted globally. And, as shared global “lostness” was linked to “same race/kind” discourses, conceptualizations of China’s situation and potential solutions to its dire position went far beyond the purely internal—or strictly national—to engage a *global* possibility of activity, in which the potential for resolutions inhered in peoples and their common activities, not in states. This possibility was first glimpsed through and analyzed in commentaries on the Philippine revolution against the United States, beginning in mid-1898.

IN THE NUMEROUS ESSAYS ON EVENTS IN THE PHILIPPINES published in China between 1899 and 1903, the Filipinos were repeatedly referred to as *tongzhong* “pioneers of the yellow race” in the global struggle against the “white race.”³⁷ While designating Filipinos “yellow” is at best a phenotypical stretch, such a labeling dramatized their “sameness” with the Chinese in a global political context. This sameness was used to demonstrate possible solutions to problems that the Philippines, China, and Asia were perceived to face and share.

In an 1899 essay, Ou Jujia, an associate of Liang Qichao’s in Japan, noted that the Americans, labeling the Filipinos “primitives,” had “conspired against” both them and the Chinese, preventing both from “attaining a unity of kind/race [*tongzhong*] and from protecting” themselves:³⁸

It is said that Asia [*yazhou*] is unable to promote independence [on its own], yet it has begun in the Philippines. The Philippines sea is close to us; there are tens of thousands of us [Chinese] on their territory. When they hear of the righteousness of freedom and independence, they will blow the wind of freedom and independence over our whole country . . . Then our 400 million compatriots will cultivate patriotism in their hearts, and it will have been the Philippines that aided us in overcoming our current precarious situation.³⁹

In Ou’s usage, *tongzhong* indicates both a shared global condition—Filipinos and Chinese as separate but linked peoples—and a more literal ethnic-racial sameness—Chinese on the Philippines linked with Chinese in China. However, what is most noteworthy is that it is Asia—as a site of people’s struggle for independence—that enables both concepts to be activated within the same conceptual and practical space. In other words, Ou connects China to the Philippines through an Asia formation, and indicates that only a linked, active solution that involves the masses

³⁷ Liang Qichao, “Lun Meifei Yingdu zhi zhanshi guanxi yu Zhongguo” [On the Relationship to China of the U.S./Philippines and the England/Transvaal Wars], *YBSW*, juan 11: 2.

³⁸ Ou Jujia, “Lun Feilübindao zhi duli” [On the Independence of the Philippine Islands], *Qingyi bao* 25 (August 16, 1899) (rpt. edn., Beijing, 1991), 6 vols., quotations from 2: 1587–94. *Qingyi bao* was edited by Liang Qichao in Yokohama and was one of the most influential journals of the time.

³⁹ Ou, “Lun Feilübindao zhi duli,” 1594.

of people in an uprising could solve their common problems.⁴⁰ Indeed, for Ou, the issue was not merely the regeneration of China but the creation of Asia itself.

Ou's perceptions of the Philippine events,⁴¹ and their crucial significance for China and for Asia in these years (Liang Qichao characterized them in late 1899 as among the most important of the era),⁴² were reinforced by the direct relationships that Chinese intellectuals formed with Filipinos who were based in Japan at the time. Many of the Chinese had, like Liang, fled China immediately after the 1898 coup; others had left later.⁴³ In the relatively tight-knit circles of foreign students in the Tokyo-Yokohama region, many Chinese had occasion to meet with and exchange ideas and experiences with one another, as well as with people from other places—not only with Japanese (the usual focus of historians' attention) but with Filipinos and others as well. As Ma Junwu, a prominent intellectual also linked to Liang, noted in his preface to an essay on the writer Jose Rizal—acknowledged by many Filipinos as the “first Filipino”:⁴⁴ “Those of us who live in Japan communicate with one another frequently. In the course of drinking together, we listened carefully to recitations of Rizal's [writings], so he became famous [among us].”⁴⁵

Ma's commentary on Rizal, part of a larger essay on patriots in general, is appended to his translation of Rizal's final poem, *Mi último adios* (My Final Farewell), which was written as Rizal awaited execution by the Spanish colonial government in 1896. It is no accident that Rizal was chosen by Ma as the quintessential Asian patriot, from whom China and other Asians must learn. The first two lines of the poem are:

Adios, Patria adorada, región del sol querido
[Farewell, dear land, beloved of the sun]
Perla del mar de Oriente, nuestro perdido edén.
[Pearl of the Eastern seas, lost paradise.]

⁴⁰ That the problems were not so similar as Ou and others represented is perhaps clearer in hindsight: while the Philippines had been a Spanish colony, and the United States was at the time fighting to assert its own rights to the islands, China was a colony of nobody's, although its dismemberment at the hands of the several Western powers (plus Japan after 1895) provided points of comparison. Nevertheless, the central dynastic structure in China, as weakened as it was, made the situations quite different. These differences were generally fudged in these analyses.

⁴¹ My observations could include a consideration of Vietnam and Korea; both were subjects of essays and rethinkings at the time. I concentrate on the Philippines because it had been neglected in China in the past, yet, by 1898–1902, it was seen as one of the most dynamic arenas of action, thus perfectly staging the creation of the new “Asia” of which I am speaking.

⁴² Liang Qichao, “Lun Meifei Yingdu zhanshi zhi guanxi yu Zhongguo,” 1–3. Liang reiterated this point in December 1901: “Qingyi bao yibaice zhuice bing baoguan zhi ziren ji benguan zhi jinli” [Congratulatory Message on the Occasion of the 100th Issue of the *Qingyi bao*; on the Responsibilities of Journals and on the Experience of This Journal], *Qingyi bao* 100; in YBSWJ, juan 6: 47–57.

⁴³ On Chinese students in Japan after 1898, see Wang Qisheng, *Zhongguo liuxuesheng de lishi guiji* [Historical Tracks of Chinese Students Abroad] (Wuhan, 1992).

⁴⁴ Vincent Raphael, “Nationalism, Imagery and the Filipino Intelligentsia in the Nineteenth Century,” *Critical Inquiry* 16 (Spring 1990): 591–611.

⁴⁵ Ma Junwu, “Feilübin zhi aiguoze” [A Filipino Patriot], *Xinmin congbao* [New People's Miscellany] 27 (March 12, 1903); rpt. in *Xinshijie congbian* [Compendium of the New World], vol. 8, juan 13, part 2, 4b–5b. At the time, Ma was an associate of Liang Qichao's; Liang was the editor of the *Xinmin congbao*. Ma split with Liang in 1905 and joined Sun Zhongshan's Revolutionary Alliance.

Interestingly, in Ma's translation of these lines, "Eastern seas" becomes "Asia" (*yazhou*), and "pearl" becomes "new pearl" (*xinzhū*).⁴⁶ The newness of the pearl and the transformation of "Eastern seas" into "Asia" forcefully underscores the idea of the creation of an Asia in which Ma and Rizal both reside, and of which both are authorized to speak. Indeed, Rizal and the Filipinos helped successfully create a new Asian identity for those such as Ma and his fellow Chinese in Tokyo.

One Filipino who many of the Chinese met in Tokyo (and from whom Ma must have heard Rizal's poetry) was Mariano Ponce, the representative to Japan from the Philippine Revolutionary Government.⁴⁷ Sun Zhongshan, through his acquaintance with Ponce, was quite involved with the Filipino revolutionaries from 1899 to 1900: he was instrumental in twice arranging the shipping of arms and military assistance to them, although both times the missions failed.⁴⁸ At the time, Sun recognized the mutual dependence of the Philippine revolution and his own plans to foment an uprising in China. Upon his departure from Yokohama in June 1900 in preparation for what came to be known as the Huizhou (Waichow) uprising, Sun indicated one reason for the timing of his action: "The Philippines' party of unrest [*luandang*] has great expectations riding on us [because they were awaiting the second shipment of arms], and we also hope in the future to be able to borrow their strength to complete our own process [of revolution]."⁴⁹

In short, the Filipino revolution was immediately appropriated by Chinese intellectual-activists for China, and the Philippines were centrally constitutive for many of them of a conceptualization of modern Asia itself. As Liang, Ou, and others frequently noted, the Filipinos were "pioneers of independence for Asia," and, as Liang wrote in 1899, if they were successful in their actions, they would "bring to two the number of new states [*guojia*] in the Eastern Pacific (one being Japan, the other the Philippines)." With their combined strength, Liang proclaimed, "a united Asian force that could resist the thrust of Europe's drift eastward" could be formed.⁵⁰

This new formation was not an "Asia" limited to China and Japan, or to existing state structures, or to a Western-dominated hegemonic position. To the contrary, this "Asia" was conceptualized in terms of a shared race (*tongzhong*), as this latter concept intersected with a common global condition of the threat to existence, through the redefinition of *wangguo* (lost country) and with the mobilization of

⁴⁶ Ma, "Feilübin zhi aiguo zhe." 5a.

⁴⁷ For an account of Ponce's relationship to the Chinese in Japan, see Karl, "Secret Sharers," 250–64; for Ponce's general activities in Japan, see Enrique Corpus, "Japan and the Philippine Revolution," *Philippine Social Science Review* 6 (October 1934): 249–98. After the failure of the revolution in 1902, Ponce remained close to Sun Zhongshan (eventually writing an adoring biography of him) and to Sun's Japanese associate, Miyazaki Toten (Torazo). The narrative similarities of the Chinese accounts of the Philippine revolution to Ponce's account—written in Spanish toward the end of 1900, translated into Japanese in 1901, and into Chinese in 1902—establish that he was a major source for Chinese information on (and interpretations of) the Philippine events.

⁴⁸ Briefly, a first attempt to ship arms was made in July 1899, arranged covertly through the offices of Inukai Ki, member of the Japanese Diet and a leader of the Progressive Party. The ship sank in a storm near Shanghai. The second attempt was arranged in the spring–summer of 1900, but the plot was betrayed by one of the Japanese participants, who embezzled the funds entrusted to him by Inukai and Sun. See Marius B. Jansen, *The Japanese and Sun Yat-sen* (1954; Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 59–74.

⁴⁹ "Li Hengbinqian de tanhua" [Speech Prior to Departure from Yokohama], *Sun Zhongshan quanji* [Complete Works of Sun Zhongshan] (Beijing, 1981), 1: 188–89.

⁵⁰ Liang, "Lun Meifei Yingdu zhi zhanshi guanxi yu Zhongguo," 3.

peoples to combat the threat. In this way, this “Asia” was posed as a people’s Asia: a space of popular action that heralded a new future—for the Philippines, for China, for Asia, and possibly for the world at large.

The moment of optimism was brief. With the collapse of the Philippine effort and the effective colonization of the islands by the United States by the beginning of 1903,⁵¹ analysis moved into a different realm, that is, the practice of global history itself. In 1903, Tang Tiaoding (Erhe) wrote in a long and sorrowful summary of the Philippine events (which had reached their tragic denouement) that it had only been upon reading Spanish versions of Philippine history that he had finally understood “the reasons for the distinguishing labels ‘civilized’ [*wenming*] and ‘primitive’ [*yeman*].” Phrased in terms of a dynamic and a mutually constitutive relationship between “race,” losing one’s country, and the (Western) practice of writing global history, Tang’s commentary concludes:

I read white people’s national histories [*guoshi*]. When writing of the colonies they built up, they always decorate [their histories] with glamorous rhetoric exaggerating their orderly rule by law. They provide plenty of indisputable evidence on the extent of the primitive customs and ignorance of the native people, as proof of why these people deserve to be conquered. This type of praise [for themselves] and condemnation [of others] is done with an eye towards the final judgment of history. Egypt, Poland, Cuba, India, South Africa, all these regions: just read the books on the history of their perishing [*wangguo shi*]! . . . I had often felt that the situation demanded that these countries could not but perish . . . But now I know that these books were all written by white people, where truth and falsehood are confused . . . I know one thing for sure: if you seek the truth about the Philippines in the history books of the Spaniards, you would not doubt for a moment that the country is ignorant and vile, and you would only wonder why it had not perished [*wang*] sooner . . .

Learned people of my country! Are there any of you who are getting ready to write our history? Do not let white children, laughing behind our backs and clapping their hands with glee, take up their pens and paper [to write our history for us]!⁵²

Tang depicts the Philippine experience of history as an intersection between lived events and representational practice, and he reworks this specific insight into a general commentary about the world’s and China’s contemporary circumstances.⁵³

⁵¹ The Boer War (1899–1902) also contributed to this moment of optimism; it was widely heralded by Chinese commentators as a liberatory struggle of a “weak people” against the superior might of the British. The Boer effort collapsed at the same time as the Philippine revolution. The double collapse was devastating to many Chinese intellectuals, who had hoped that these two struggles—separately and in combination—were harbingers of a twentieth century that was no mere continuation of the oppressions of the nineteenth. For the Boer War in China, see Karl, “Secret Sharers,” chaps. 7–8.

⁵² Tang Tiaoding [Erhe], “Feilübin zhanshi duduan” [Fragments on the History of the War in the Philippines], *Xinshijie xuebao* [New World Scholarly Journal] 12 (April 12, 1903).

⁵³ Among the biographies of foreign heroes written at the turn of the century are quite a number on non-Western figures: Emiliano Aguinaldo (Philippines), Jose Rizal, Paul Kruger (Transvaal), etc. For a partial listing, see Yu Danchu, “Ershi shiji chunian waiguo aiguo renwu zai zhongguo de jieshao he yingxiang” [The Introduction and Influence of Foreign Patriots in Early Twentieth-Century China], in Modern Chinese History Institute Research Group, eds., *Zouxian jindai shijie de Zhongguo* [China on the Path to the Modern World] (Chengdu, 1991). For one of the most famous examples, see Liang’s preface to *Yuenan wangguoshi* [The History of the Loss of Vietnam], by the early-century Vietnamese reformer Phan Boi-chau, in Liang, *Yinbing shi zhuanji* [Collected Writings from the Ice-Drinker’s Studio], 16 vols. (Shanghai, 1936), 4: 19, 1–23. Excerpts from Phan’s book were also published as the seventh installment of Liang’s *Ziyou shu* [Book of Freedom], section entitled “Ji yuenan wangren zhi yan” [A Record of the Words of a Lost Person from Vietnam], *Xinmin congbao* 67 (April 19, 1905).

Adding density and historical specificity to Liang Qichao's 1902 lamentation, that "the story of the Aryan race . . . is very often erroneously entitled 'World History,'" ⁵⁴ Tang Tiaoding recognized that the production of Eurocentric world history—and of uneven global space itself—was not only dependent on the European conflation of (world) History with their (local) history of the Aryan ("white") race but, more important, was centrally dependent on representing non-Europeans in a relationship of inferiority.

This sounds perhaps a familiarly postcolonial note. And indeed, already a century ago, prior to any properly postcolonial moment, Chinese intellectuals, confronted with an emerging recognition of a global context to their own and thus also to world history and events, formulated a non-Western consciousness through the lens not merely of Western political and social philosophies but of the actual experiences of the modern world that they shared with others similarly placed structurally. These intellectuals attempted to link diverse local histories to a world history in a pro-active way intended to facilitate and stimulate global political action.⁵⁵ That they seized upon the Philippines, and thence upon Asia, as one central site for these constitutive practices was clearly more a product of history than it was an inevitable outcome of geocultural affinities. Nevertheless, the historical product, "Asia," that is tied from within Asia to this moment soon was turned into a new attempt to reorganize the region as an even larger site of political action based on popular cultural commonalities.

THE CONTRAST BETWEEN AN INERT AND PASSIVE PEOPLE complicit in the "lostness" of their countries that was sometimes evoked in the most pessimistic reportages and representations of the non-Western world during the late Qing years and the dynamic model of Asia denoted by the hope for solidarity and political action can be dramatized by the juxtaposition of a 1904 story and the formation in 1907 of an organizational base for Asia-wide political and cultural rejuvenation. In contrast to the immediately preceding moment, in both of these new formations, Indians rather than Filipinos were central.

In 1904, the popular Tokyo-based Chinese journal *Jiangsu* published the first part of a short story that tells of an encounter between an unemployed and indolent Chinese literati named "Huang Shibiao" (literally, Representative of Yellow Elites) and a mythical old man who appears to Huang in a daydream and leads him on a brief foray into the near future. In this displaced time, they walk along the streets of Shanghai and encounter a military formation marching toward them, with a white person bringing up the rear.

⁵⁴ "Dongji yuedan" [Guidelines to Japanese Books], *Xinmin congbao* 9, 11 (June 6, July 5, 1902); in *YBSWJ*, juan 4: 90–91. For further discussion, see Tang, *Global Space*, 31–33.

⁵⁵ Prasenjit Duara has recently argued that the practice of universal history is profoundly flawed because its premise and teleological end is the "nation." Yet his analysis does not acknowledge that "nation" was never merely an internal problem for any one people but, rather, that it also appeared as a historical *problematic* within a global context. There is a useful distinction to be made between universal history (as narrative) and global history (as process). See Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* (Chicago, 1995).

Shibiao looked closely at these people, and they all had faces black as coal. They were wearing a piece of red cloth around their heads like a tall hat; around their waists, they wore a belt holding wood clubs. Shibiao asked the old man: are these Indians? The old man said, yes, the English use them as police . . . Shibiao asked, why do they not use an Indian as the chief of police? The old man answered: who ever heard of that! Indians are people of a lost country [*wangguo zhi min*]; they are no more than slaves!⁵⁶

Later in the story, Shibiao and the old man are at a streetside foodstall; a man wearing a red turban approaches and orders some tea. Shibiao notices that he has a yellow face and a short, squat stature. Curious, Shibiao inquires after his origins. The “Indian”—that is how he is identified—answers that he is Chinese. The man explains: “Don’t you know? Now the English want us Chinese to . . . dress like Indians.” As they leave the stall, Shibiao observes disbelievingly that everyone on the street is now wearing red turbans. Resuming their stroll, they pass an elementary school, and Shibiao notes that English is being taught from textbooks identified as British missionary-designed “India Readers.”⁵⁷ Shibiao is now thoroughly shaken.

The story disappeared unfinished from the pages of the journal. Yet the terror of the doubling—the immanence of Chinese as a “lost people” evoked by the fearful plausibility of the interchangeability of Chinese and Indians—lingered. Indeed, Indians as the quintessential “lost people” (*wangguo zhi min*), became a discursive fixture in many Chinese essays of the period, metaphorically evoking the terror-filled implications of a similar Chinese “loss.” However, in a parallel to what happened between Chinese and Filipinos, who became known to Chinese intellectuals through reports on their revolutionary efforts and through actual relationships forged in Japan, Indians, too, became a different type of figure for Chinese intellectuals residing in Japan. For there, some Chinese activists met Indians involved in the incipient elite anti-colonial struggle against the British, and, rather than remaining the “lost” figures of subordination typified by the Indians seen in the British-owned concessions in China, these Indians in Tokyo came to suggest the promise of a constitutive radical regional activity and cultural-political revival: for China, for India, and for Asia.⁵⁸ Indeed, as with the early Filipino moment, it was precisely this activity that defined Asia.

In mid-April 1907, Indian students in Tokyo—who numbered perhaps twenty⁵⁹—

⁵⁶ “Fengehou zhi wumin” [My People after Partition], *Jiangsu* 8–10 (January–March 1904). Sikhs were just used by the British in their Chinese concessions and in their colonies as menials and policemen.

⁵⁷ “Fengehou zhi wumin.” “India Readers” were used in British-run schools in India; in 1896, Young J. Allen, an English missionary in China, wrote an essay for the journal he edited, the *Wangguo gongbao* [Review of the Times], entitled “Indu li yinguo shi’er yi shuo” [Twelve Advantages to India’s Subordination to England], in which he advocated, among other things, the introduction of these “Readers” into Guangdong and Fujian on an experimental basis. The “India model” of colonization and education for China was vigorously promoted by Allen and other missionaries. See Yuan Weishi, *Wanqing dabianjuzhong de sichao yu renwu* [Intellectual Trends and Figures in the Late Qing Transformations] (Shenzhen, 1992), chap. 7; and Hu Fengyang and Zhang Wenjian, *Zhongguo jindai shixue sichao yu liupai* [Trends and Schools of Modern Chinese Historiography] (Shanghai, 1991), 149–73.

⁵⁸ There is insufficient space to discuss the class dimensions of these recognitions of commonality. I would just note that one condition of possibility for the mutual recognition of “sameness”—however universally articulated—was the shared elite social status of the Chinese and other “Asians” in Japan with whom they were in contact.

⁵⁹ It is difficult to ascertain how many Indian students were there. According to “Wangguo zhi

convened a commemorative meeting for Shivaji, a seventeenth-century rebel who had initiated an uprising to overthrow the Mogul Empire. Some Chinese intellectual-activists attended the meeting. Zhang Binglin, in particular, was quite moved by the occasion, and in the beginning of May, he published a stirring report on the meeting in the *Minbao* (People's Voice), a mouthpiece of the Revolutionary Alliance headed by Sun Zhongshan.⁶⁰ Soon after this meeting, the Chinese and Indian activists formed an organization.⁶¹ Its Chinese name was the *Yazhou heqin hui* (generally translated as the Asian Solidarity Society), its official English name was the Asiatic Humanitarian Brotherhood, and its Japanese name was the *Ashū washinkai*. (I will refer to it as "the society" below.) The society's stated goals were to establish the principle of mutual assistance among any and all peoples engaged in struggles for national and cultural independence in Asia. The only explicit criteria for joining were opposition to imperialism (*diguo zhuyi*)—defined broadly—and commitment to "protect solidarity" (*zibao qi bangzu*).⁶² The founders of the society included such prominent radical Chinese intellectuals as Zhang Binglin, Zhang Ji, Liu Shipai, and He Zhen, among others.⁶³ They were joined by at least two, and perhaps as many as six, Indians, whose names are now lost but who all had been involved in the Shivaji commemoration.⁶⁴ We do know that the Indians were

xuesheng" [Students of a Lost Country], *Jingzhong ribao* [Alarm Bell Daily] (May 12, 1904), there were twenty Indian students in Tokyo. The report notes that, due to financial difficulties and the unwillingness of Indian merchants in Yokohama to assist them because of pressure from British and Japanese authorities, the students' original activities had ceased. By 1907, a group had apparently reorganized.

⁶⁰ "Ji yindu xipoqi wang jinianhui shi" [A Report on the Commemorative Meeting for the Indian, King Shivaji], *Minbao* 13 (May 5, 1907): 93–97. For an annotated translation, see Shimada Kenji, *Pioneer of the Chinese Revolution: Zhang Binglin and Confucianism*, Joshua A. Fogel, trans. (Stanford, Calif., 1990), 78–82. In the report, Zhang likened Shivaji to Zhu Yuanzhang, the Han Chinese military hero who had led the overthrow of the Mongol Yuan dynasty to establish the Ming Dynasty (mid-fourteenth century). For a discussion of Shivaji, see James W. Laine, "Shivaji as Epic Hero," in Gunther-Dietz Sontheimer, ed., *Maharashtra: Culture and Society, Folk Culture, Folk Religion and Oral Traditions as a Component in Maharashtrian Culture* (Delhi, 1995), 1–24.

⁶¹ Takeuchi Zensaku, a Japanese socialist involved in the organization, dates the founding to the summer of 1907. "Meiji makki ni okeru chūnichi kakumei undō no kōryū" [Late Meiji Exchanges between Chinese and Japanese Revolutionary Movements], *Chūgoku kenkyū* 5 (September 1948): 74–95. Chinese historian Tang Zhijun dates it to April 1907. "Guanyu yazhou heqin hui" [On the Asian Solidarity Society], in Wuchang Xinhai geming yanjiu zhongxin, eds., *Xinhai geming yu jindai zhongguo: 1980–1989 nian lunwen xuan* [The Xinhai Revolution and Modern China: A Selection of Essays Written from 1980–1989] (Wuhan, 1991), 221–28. Those involved in the Shivaji memorial only met on April 20, thus the organization must have formed after that.

⁶² "Yazhou heqin hui yuezhang" [The Constitution of the Asian Solidarity Society], in *Zhang Taiyan xuan ji* [Selected Works of Zhang Taiyan], Zhu Weijing and Qi Yihua, eds. (Shanghai, 1981), 429.

⁶³ Tao Zhigong lists the following Chinese participants in addition to the ones named above: Su Manshu, Tao himself, Chen Duxiu, Lü Fu, and Luo Xiangtao. Tao, "Bayu" ["Afterword" to the Society's Constitution], in *Xinhai gemingshi congkan* [Journal of Xinhai Revolution History] 1 (1940). Takeuchi lists Sakai Toshihiko, Yamakawa Hitoshi, Morita Ariaki, Morichika Umpei, Ōsugi Sakae, and himself as the Japanese participants. He notes that the anarchist Kōtoku Shūsui was in sympathy, although it is unclear if Kōtoku ever attended the society's meetings.

⁶⁴ Both Tao and Takeuchi mention a Mr. D (or Dai) as the leader of the Indians; Zhang Binglin (Taiyan) records a Mr. Boluohan and a Mr. Baoshen as his contacts among the Indians. For Zhang's account, see "Song Yindu Boluohan Baoshen erjun xu" [Preface Sent to Two Indian Gentlemen, Boluohan and Baoshen], *Minbao* 13 (May 5, 1907): 97–100. I have been no more successful than Joshua Fogel in tracking down the identity of these two men. (For Fogel's efforts, see Shimada, *Pioneer of the Chinese Revolution*, 158 n101.)

connected to Shyamaji Krishan Verma, the organizer in London of the first Indian anti-colonial center of activism outside India.⁶⁵

In order to attract members, the society's constitution was written in both Chinese and English,⁶⁶ and was printed as a pamphlet for distribution in Tokyo's lively radical circles.⁶⁷ The founders intended the society to include not only Indians, Chinese, and Japanese but also Koreans, Vietnamese, Siamese, Filipinos, Burmese, and Malaysians. (The pamphlet thus presumed an English *lingua franca* for those peoples colonized by Britain or the United States and a classical Chinese education for the rest).⁶⁸ The first meeting was held at the India House in Tokyo's Aoyama section⁶⁹ and was attended by the Indians, Chinese, and Japanese. All those in the latter two groups were socialists or anarchists connected to the Socialist Lecture Group.⁷⁰ At the second meeting, held at a Unitarian church in Tokyo's Kudanshita section, these initial members were joined by several Vietnamese and Filipinos.⁷¹

⁶⁵ Shyamaji established a biweekly journal, *Indian Sociologist*, in London in 1905; the paper was subtitled: "an organ of freedom and political, social, and religious reform." Within two years, he had initiated anti-colonial centers in Paris, San Francisco, Tokyo, and Berlin. On his connection to Indian students in Tokyo, see T. R. Sareen, *Indian Revolutionaries, Japan and British Imperialism* (New Delhi, 1993), 12; A. C. Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad, 1905–1922: In the Background of International Developments* (Patna, 1971), chaps. 1–3; and Naito Masao, "Meiji Intellectuals and India," in Okhata Kohei, ed., *Nihon to Indo* [Japan and India] (Tokyo, 1978), 33–36. Also see indications of this network in Liu Shippei, "Yazhou xianshi lun" [On Recent Trends in Asia] *Tianyi bao* [Natural Justice] 7 (1907).

⁶⁶ It is assumed by Chinese historians that Zhang Taiyan was the author of the Chinese text; however, Takeuchi suggests that Zhang Taiyan's name was used by Zhang Ji and Liu Shippei—the real authors—because Taiyan was more famous. The English text was either written by the Indian participants or was translated from the Chinese by the poet, Su Manshu. Takeuchi suggests Indian authorship; Chinese historians suggest Su Manshu's translation. (Despite efforts by Wang Lie in Beijing, I have been unable to locate a copy of the English version.)

⁶⁷ Takeuchi records that the pamphlet was printed on 100-jin weight paper (good quality paper), relatively large in size (54 by 21 centimeters). With the English text on the back and Chinese on the front, the pamphlet was folded seven times; the Chinese text was thus on the inside and the English text on the outside. He comments: "Judging from the way it was folded, the Chinese might be considered the more important text, but in fact, it was the English text that was more clearly visible. The English text was four pages long and the Chinese text was five." "Meiji makki," 78.

⁶⁸ Vietnamese, Korean, and Japanese intellectuals trained in the traditional fashion would have been able to read the classical Chinese text.

⁶⁹ The India House was inaugurated in late 1906 by Surendramohan Bose (perhaps the Mr. Baoshen of Zhang Taiyan's acquaintance?) and the aforementioned Mr. D, a student at Tokyo's Imperial University, and was located at 17 Gondawara-chō in Aoyama. Bose wrote to Shyamaji Krishan Verma, then in London, informing him of the formation of this collective. Sareen, *Indian Revolutionaries*, 12; Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad*, 66–70.

⁷⁰ The Socialist Lecture Group (Chinese: *Shehui zhuyi jiangxi hui*; Japanese: *Shakaishugi kōshūkai*) was also called the Friday Lecture Group (C: *Jinyao hui*; J: *Kinyō kai*) in order to circumvent Japan's Public Security laws prohibiting socialists from organizing. For more on these groups and on Chinese anarchists in Tokyo, see Arif Dirlik, *Anarchism in the Chinese Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991), chap. 2.

⁷¹ One of the Vietnamese involved was Phan Boi-chau. Phan's memoirs mention that he participated in and jointly managed with Zhang Ji and others, the *Toa Dōmeikai* [Chinese: *Dongya tongmeng hui*; East Asia League]. Kawamoto Kuniye states that this league was one and the same as the Asian Solidarity Society. "The Viet-nam Quang Phuc Hoi and the 1911 Revolution," Okui Yaeko, trans., in Eto Shinkichi and Harold Z. Schiffman, eds., *The 1911 Revolution in China: Interpretive Essays* (Tokyo, 1984), 115–27, 125. This is reinforced by Tang Zhijun, "Guanyu yazhou heqin hui," 223; and Hue-Tam Ho Tai, *Radicalism and the Origins of the Vietnamese Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), 59. It is almost certain that Mariano Ponce was involved, although no direct evidence places him at the society's meetings.

The society was short-lived. It fell apart eighteen months after its founding,⁷² and its practical accomplishments were also apparently few.⁷³ Despite the brevity of its existence, the society's formation brought to fruition the accumulated experiences and observations of the world of the previous decade: it marks the development of a new type of Asianism reflective of a newly discovered relationship between political praxis and cultural solidarity in the context of a rapidly changing world. Indeed, the society consciously did not attempt to replicate would-be hegemonic Japanese state Asianisms of the time, which were often defined *against* China and intended to *distance* Japan theoretically and historically from its neighbors in order to tie it more firmly to Europe and capitalist/imperialist expansion.⁷⁴ To the contrary, the Asia envisioned by the society was clearly intended to *connect* China more firmly to its neighbors, to facilitate unified action in the present. It had its roots in a moment of struggle and related conceptualizations of shared global space. Yet the prospects for global action that had looked so promising a short five years before had by 1907 receded, and thus the new focus centered not on any one moment of ongoing global struggle but on the fluid concentration in Tokyo of various activists from the region. It was in the context of this activity that these activists discovered and elaborated a history of cultural sharing as a premise for regional political solidarity.

The society's constitutional preface notes that, historically, there had been a diversity of religious and cultural traditions among India, China, Persia, and the "Southern Island" countries of the Malay Peninsula and beyond. Aside from India's Buddhism and Brahmanism, there were Persia's Zarathustra, the Sanskrit cultures of the "Southern Islands," not to mention China's Confucianism, Moism, Daoism, and so on. These cultures, it was asserted, had lived in mutual respect and peace for centuries, maintaining separate identities and rarely bothering one another.⁷⁵ Deeply aware that there was little unitary cultural legacy to hold these disparate places together, the author(s) of the preface nevertheless asserted that there was great political urgency to the formation of a society, or brotherhood, to unite this diversity under the banner of the modern category Asia. The stated reason for this urgency was:

⁷² Marius Jansen notes that the society was forcefully disbanded by the Japanese authorities in 1908 because it "did not constitute the kind of Greater Asian movement that the Tokyo government favored." *Japanese and Sun Yat-sen*, 124.

⁷³ For reports on the society's activities, see essays written by Zhang Taiyan and Tang Zengbi, *Minbao* 16–22 (1907–08). For Tang Zengbi's involvement in the society, see Zhou Nianchang, "Tongmeng huiyuan Tang Zenbi xiansheng ersanshi" [A Few Things about Tang Zengbi, Member of the Revolutionary Alliance], *Jiangxi shehui kexue* (1981): 81–87.

⁷⁴ Tanaka, *Japan's Orient*, has demonstrated this tendency among mainstream and state-affiliated scholars of the late Meiji. As H. D. Harootunian notes, the "dehistoricization" of China helped earlier nativist Tokugawa thinkers produce a concept of a homogeneous Japan; while, in the early Meiji, when the actual historicity of nineteenth-century China—in all its decline and despair—was incorporated into Meiji thought, Japanese scholars such as Fukuzawa Yukichi began to advocate Japan's "dissociation from Asia." See Harootunian, "The Function of China in Tokugawa Thought," in Akira Iriye, ed., *The Chinese and the Japanese: Essays in Political and Cultural Interactions* (Princeton, N.J., 1980), 9–36. By contrast, Chinese intellectuals, in historicizing China's neighbors, moved toward solidarity with them, rather than dissociation from them.

⁷⁵ There is a conspicuous absence of Islam here. Zhang Binglin, the ostensible author of the constitution, generally placed Islam into the same category as Christianity: "harmful" and "obstructive" of people's thinking. See Shimada, *Pioneer of the Chinese Revolution*, 30, 120.

In the past one hundred years, as Europeans have drifted Eastward, Asia [*yazhou*] has become increasingly weak . . . India was first lost, and China followed at the hands of the Manchus. The Malaysian Island group [Malaysia, Indonesia, etc.] was taken by whites; Vietnam and Burma were subsequently swallowed up. The Filipinos, who began under Spanish control, gained independence only to be annexed by the United States. Only Siam and Persia still stand independent, and that cannot be for long!⁷⁶

Asia appears here as a historical cultural formation, where cultures are plural and where this plurality can be seen as potentially unified only through a synchronic spatio-temporal narrative of common historical experiences of modern imperialism.

In other words, the cultural heterogeneity suggests nothing inherently Asian about these various places. It is only by presenting the individual states that comprise the region in terms of a “century of European drift” that it is possible to name Burma, Vietnam, Siam, etc., a regional formation and to mobilize it as Asia. In such a view, while Asia is certainly not *constituted* by Europe, it is only possible to constitute it as a cultural-regional formation *in light of* European drift. The distinction is important with regard to current debates about the status of the Third World in world histories, as the common assumption that the “third world” can be “constituted by the singular experience of colonialism and imperialism” has recently been attacked and discredited. Aijaz Ahmad in particular has argued, cogently, that it is inadequate to view societies as being defined by their “unitary ‘experience’ of national oppression” and that the internal organizations of various states and peoples is more relevant.⁷⁷ In the case of the society (as with the Filipino moment before it), differences in the internal organizations of the various national units were elided by those seeking to form solidarities across boundaries. These erasures no doubt facilitated both the formation of solidarities and the disappearance of this moment of radical solidarity.⁷⁸ Yet the brief Asian Solidarity Society episode explicitly demonstrates that there was a time when non-Western peoples’ perceptions of shared experiences of oppression led them to construct for themselves global blocs that were independent of existing states and incipient national formations, and that allowed them to link up for radical political purposes and to construct regional solidarities out of their perceived global structural commonality.

In contrast, then, to the short story where Indians are presented as the paradigmatic “slaves of a lost country,” in the society’s rendering, “loss” is precisely the condition of possibility for solidarity and struggle. In the society’s view, this condition was made visible by understanding the history of each people individually and of all collectively in terms of a global historical trajectory and through its blending of local and world histories together. In the society’s constitutional preface, this blending is most clearly illustrated by the figuring of the “loss” of India as *predating* the “loss” of China, where, in other words, the central datum of loss for

⁷⁶ Zhu and Qi, *Zhang Taiyan xuanji*, 428.

⁷⁷ Aijaz Ahmad, *In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures* (London, 1992), 102. Ahmad is responding to Fredric Jameson, “Third World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism,” *Social Text* 15 (Fall 1986): 65–88.

⁷⁸ There is plenty of evidence to suggest that this disappearance of possibility is precisely what happened, especially after the success of the 1911 revolution in China, which helped reconsolidate a notion (among Chinese historians and actors, at least) of revolutionary China’s centrality in Asia, which thereby served to demote other Asian revolutionary movements to cameo moments in China’s success. See the next note for works that do just that.

India is implied to be the Mogul takeover of the sixteenth century (not the British conquest), while the Manchus' overthrow of the Ming dynasty in the seventeenth is the central event dating China's "loss." Both moments are fully part of the society's understanding of modern imperialism,⁷⁹ where emphasis is not exclusively on the *wangguo* (lost country) suffered at the hands of the West but on a figuration of *wangguo* as an internal event that predates the arrival of the West.

In the preface, the Moguls are blamed for crushing India's fine cultural legacy and sending the country into division and decline (making it ripe for British picking),⁸⁰ while the Manchus in China are blamed for stifling the true Chinese tradition of cultural contention.⁸¹ Chinese and Indian commonality, then, is visible through the Western moment of *wangguo*, which is the condition of possibility for the contemporary linkage of the various peoples in global space, as well as through a cultural reading of Asia in which "loss" is figured as a common internal state suppression of history and culture. However tenuous the equivalence being drawn between the Moguls/Manchus and Europeans, it is evident that the spatialized global historical consciousness forged in the course of the previous decade had, by 1907, enabled the emergence of a politicized cultural Asia. This version of Asia could only be discovered within the context of the contemporary globalized world, through a historicization of the plurality of cultural traditions. It was, in short, a cultural Asia-in-the-world constituted and actualized through local organizational activity, albeit with explicit reference to ongoing cultural-political struggles globally.

This point was underscored and elaborated by one of the society's most vigorous participants, the noted anarchist Liu Shipai, who published a lengthy essay entitled "On the Recent Trends in Asia" in November 1907.⁸² It begins with an uncompromising statement of the problem: "Today's world is a world of brute force. And the territory of Asia is a ground upon which the white race uses its brute force . . . [W]e

⁷⁹ PRC historians chide late Qing intellectuals for their "naïve" view of imperialism. For this argument as it pertains to the society, see the prefatory remarks to the reprint of the constitution, which deplores its "confused idea of imperialism" and its "naïve reliance upon the banner of religion" (Zhu and Qi, *Zhang Yaiyan xuan ji*, 428). Also see Tang Zhijun, "Guanyu yazhou heqin hui," 222; Wang Youwei, "Shixi Zhang Taiyan 'Yazhou heqin hui yuezhang'" [A Preliminary Analysis of Zhang Taiyan's "Constitution for the Asia Solidarity Society"], *Xueshu yuekan* 6 (1976): 68–70; Peng Shuzhi, "Minbao yu Indu duli yundong" [Minbao and the Indian Independence Movement], *Nanya yanjiu* 1 (1982): 1–10; and Ding Zeliang, "Zhang Binglin yu Indu minzu jiefang douzheng" [Zhang Binglin and the Indian People's Liberation Struggle], *Lishi yanjiu* 1 (1957): 26–40.

⁸⁰ This version of India's modern history was standard in the books and essays published in China at the time. See *Yindu canshi zhanshi* [The Wars of Nibbling Away at India], Wang Younian, trans., *Lixue yibian* [Journal of Translations to Encourage Learning] 1–12 (April 3, 1901–February 22, 1902); *Indu shi* [History of India], Wang Benxiang, trans. (Chiwenshe, 1903); and *Indu miewang shi* [The History of the Destruction and Loss of India], Xia Qingfu, ed. and trans. (Kaiming shudian, 1902). Zhang Binglin, having met the Indians in Tokyo, asserted that these unflattering versions of Indian history were taken from British histories of India, which were false. Zhang's own interest in Mahayana Buddhism also led him to claim that China and India were the only genuinely "historical" Asian countries, and that both needed to recover their pasts from the hands of foreigners.

⁸¹ It had long been one goal of Zhang Binglin's "national essence" (*guocui*) studies to de-center Confucius in Chinese learning through the recovery of the writings of the *zhuzi*, or the "Hundred Schools and Nine Streams." For Zhang, the Manchu promotion of imperial Confucianism had served to quash the genuine diversity of Chinese learning. See Shimada, *Pioneer of the Chinese Revolution*, 90–95.

⁸² "Yazhou xianshi lun," *Tianyi bao* 2/3 (November 30, 1907); rpt. in *Wuzhengfu zhuyi sixiang ziliao xuan* [Selection of Materials on Anarchist Thought], Ge Maochun, et al., eds., 2 vols. (Beijing, 1984), 1: 120–33. Quotations are from the reprinted text.

must eliminate their involvement in Asia.”⁸³ Liu soon includes Japan in the “white race” category and states that Japan is part of the problem, not the solution.⁸⁴ After an extended discussion of the various precarious situations in which India, Korea, the Philippines, Vietnam, Persia, Burma, and Siam find themselves as a consequence of this “brute force,” and a similarly long discussion of their respective impressive efforts to combat their problems, Liu ends the first section with the conclusion that it is only with the solidarity of the “weak peoples” (*ruozhong*) of Asia that China and the rest of the region can escape the dual clutches of Japan and the West.⁸⁵

Yet, for Liu, “Asia” is Asia not merely because of its common experience of Western-Japanese domination but, more important, because of the popular flows of culture and people that had fostered borrowings and communications through the centuries. Placing these cultural flows in the context of a utopian “one-worldism” (*datong zhuyi*), Liu writes:

Korea and Annam [Vietnam] were once within the Chinese sphere; their written language and customs are similar [to China’s] . . . Siam’s and Japan’s written language is also based on China’s.⁸⁶ This would make it easy for East Asia to unite together. India is the source of Buddhism, which has flowed all over Asia . . . Islam entered from the Arab countries and is popular in Persia, and when the Persian Muslims were dispersed in their encounter with Arab incorporation, they spread all over India. Muslims and Indian Brahmins also went east from India and are now all over the Southern Seas [*nanyang*]. Today, Indians and Filipinos are familiar with British and American culture, and this too makes it easier for Western and Southern Asia to unite.⁸⁷

Liu’s account is a rendition of the construction of a region, in which the interplay of past and present establishes both historical dynamism and contemporary relevance. Liu’s emphasis on the flows of culture that are dispersed with the movement of people, and his de-emphasis of the state, explicitly elevates the people’s mobility to a central position of cultural-historical agency. That this agency and the Asia constructed out of it significantly include the appropriation of language and culture from imperialist expansionism poses no problem for Liu, as Liu is not concerned here with establishing an ontological authenticity to cultural Asia but in establishing a popular basis for contemporary political solidarity. This is quite a different view of culture from that espoused by the *tongwen* (same civilization) scholars a decade previously—whose focus was on the centrality of Chinese learning and on bilateral Sino-Japanese civilizational sameness.⁸⁸ It is the alternative, generously inclusive view that lends Liu’s vision such a radical potential.

⁸³ “Yazhou xianshi lun,” 120.

⁸⁴ “Yazhou xianshi lun,” 123, 124.

⁸⁵ “Yazhou xianshi lun,” 123–24. The phrase *ruozhong* (weak peoples) started to appear more frequently than the phrase *tongzhong* (same race/kind) at this point. By the 1920s, *ruozhong* coexisted with and was eventually displaced by the phrase *bei yapo renmin* (oppressed peoples).

⁸⁶ These are exaggerated claims for the centrality of Chinese linguistic culture. Yet the point of these claims is not to reinscribe Sinocentrality but precisely the opposite.

⁸⁷ “Yazhou xianshi lun,” 125.

⁸⁸ As Lydia Liu has noted, distinctions between anthropological notions of culture and historical notions of civilization (both expressed in Chinese by *wenming* or *wenhua*) were just being worked out at this time. Liu Shipai and Zhang Binglin were two of the foremost scholars involved in this endeavor. See Liu, *Translingual Practice*, chap. 9.

Linking Liu's views with those of the society's, it is thus possible to see that, far from representing a conservative revival of "culturalism," in effect, both Liu and Zhang Binglin, by attaching culture to people rather than to the state or to bureaucratic elites, were attempting to enable a radical popular politics of regional-global solidarity. Indeed, as Arif Dirlik has pointed out, their inscription of native ideals (Buddhism, Confucianism) upon the new global situation "expressed a new cosmopolitanism that would ultimately rephrase those ideals in the language of a global political discourse."⁸⁹ Part of this rephrasing was their historicized discovery of a politicized cultural commonality and the deployment of this commonality in the new regional formation Asia. This Asia, moreover, was explicitly *not* state-centered and depended for its vitality both on *displacing* would-be hegemonic states and ideologies, as well as on contesting the emerging hegemony of Western power.

IN SUM, ASIA EMERGED IN CHINESE THOUGHT and political practice at the same time as there emerged a global consciousness among Chinese intellectuals that facilitated a globalized sense of China's position in the world. The sources for the construction of this regional formation came not only from European, Japanese, or traditional Chinese views but also and importantly from Chinese experiences of the modern world derived from both an abstract and a concrete non-Western space of discourse and struggle. It is this space that suggested to Chinese intellectual-activists the significance and potential of the category Asia itself. The reformulation of culture as a non-state-produced popular mode of being—whose regional integrative properties were dispersed through people's historical mobility and contemporary revolutionary activism, not through state-sponsored efforts—was crucial to this Asia's radical potential. For the conjunctural condition for trans-cultural organization was the actual gathering in Tokyo of various nationalists, revolutionaries, cultural activists, and radicals from far-flung places around the region: it was thus *their* mobility and the fungibility of their cultures within a new global context that enabled a radical Asianism to flash up among them at this particular moment in history.

Indeed, what is perhaps most striking about this radical construct of Asia, despite its ephemerality, is the dynamic and critical role it played at the time in articulating relationships among a cluster of concepts that have remained central to modern Chinese (and other) historiography to this day. These concepts—culture, geography, race, history—singularly and in relation to one another have endured as uncertain political and discursive legacies ever since. The initial radical formation of Asia at the turn of the century, in contrast to subsequent evocations, did not conceal its construction out of a heterogeneous cultural/geographical space and claim for itself some ahistorical essence or unity; rather, it acknowledged the historicity of space by *emphasizing* the structural contingency of relationships among cultures and races and by proposing to bridge this contingency through political commitments to localized global activism. It was in the dialectical

⁸⁹ Dirlik, *Anarchism*, 52.

relationship forged between discourse formation and organizational activity that Asia as place and Asia as global historical space were rendered meaningful by and for Chinese intellectuals at the turn of the century.⁹⁰

By the same token, this radical Asia was no doubt flawed in many ways. At the very least, it was flawed by the fact that embedded within it was an acceptance of the very epistemological foundations that were its condition of possibility, that is, the partitioning of the globe from a Eurocentric perspective.⁹¹ It was also flawed by the

fact that, however much “the people” were invoked, they remained an abstraction, while the culture of which they were purportedly the wellspring and carriers remained essentially text-based. This Asia was, then, an ideal elite construct that undoubtedly had little to do with how “the people” lived their lives and bore little relevance perhaps to the categories within which they understood their environments. These flaws are perhaps most apparent when considering the fate of Asia, which, as cultural discourse and political site, was soon reified and appropriated for various distinctly unradical purposes.

“Asianism” has been a recurrent theme of twentieth-century Chinese (and “Asian”) history. Yet far from always meaning the same thing or even including the same configurations of peoples and states, it has been mobilized for very different purposes at different times. It has reappeared, in Chinese thought at least, in the guise of the 1930s culture debates that linked India and China in an “Eastern spirituality and Western materialism” confrontation, as the pan-Asianism of Sino-Japanese sameness advocated by Wang Jingwei under the Japanese occupation of China during the War of Resistance in the 1940s, and in the guise of Mao Zedong’s revolutionary rhetoric of Third Worldism. Most recently, it has emerged in the context of contemporary China’s joining and promotion of the so-called “Confucian capitalist” network, which is based on a narrow and teleological cultural foundationalism.⁹² It is this diversity of Asianism in history that should alert us to the historical erasures on which reifications of ahistorical “Asian-ness” rely. It can equally serve as a caution against taking Asia as an always-extant stable unit of analysis.

⁹⁰ For the distinction between “space” and “place”—where space dynamizes place, or, “space is a practiced place”—see Michel de Certeau, “Spatial Stories,” *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984; Berkeley, Calif., 1988), 117.

⁹¹ For more on this epistemological dilemma, see Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse?* (London, 1986), chaps. 1–2.

⁹² Arif Dirlik, “Critical Reflections on ‘Chinese Capitalism’ as Paradigm,” *Identities* 3, no. 3 (1997): 303–30.

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From Child Bride to “Hindoo Lady”: Rukhmabai and the Debate on Sexual Respectability in Imperial Britain

ANTOINETTE BURTON

IN MARCH OF 1884, DADAJI BHIKAJI petitioned the Bombay High Court to direct that his wife, Rukhmabai, move into his house and live with him. Rukhmabai (1864–1955), a Hindu woman who married Dadaji in 1876 when she was eleven and he nineteen, had resided for over a decade with her stepfather, the noted Bombay physician Dr. Sakharam Arjun, her mother, and several siblings.¹ Although Dadaji was a distant relative of the doctor’s and had visited the house on occasion, their marriage had never been consummated. When Dadaji requested her to live with him, she refused. He filed a case for the “restitution of conjugal rights,” thereby initiating one of the most publicized court cases in Bombay and indeed, in India, during the nineteenth century.²

At first, it looked as if Dadaji’s suit would be in vain. Justice Robert Hill Pinhey dismissed the case in the fall of 1885 on the grounds that it was not maintainable—first because restitution could not be claimed where no conjugal relations had occurred and second, because such claims had no foundation in Hindu law.³ As

This essay went to press before the publication of Sudhir Chandra’s book, *Enslaved Daughters: Colonialism, Law and Women’s Rights* (Delhi, 1998). My own efforts have benefited from careful, critical readings by Gary Daily, Shelly Eversley, Geraldine Forbes, Kali Israel, Madhavi Kale, Philippa Levine, Jennifer Morgan, Barbara Ramusack, George Robb, Mrinalini Sinha, and Amy Smiley. Doug Peers’s help was invaluable in the final stages. Participants in the symposium on European Women’s History at Monash University, Australia, in the summer of 1996 were also enormously generous in helping me to clarify some of these issues; I would especially like to thank Barbara Caine, Dorothy Helly, and Jim Hammerton.

¹ Rukhmabai, letter to the editor, the (London) *Times* (April 9, 1887): 8; and her *Rukhmabai’s Reply to Dadajee’s “Exposition”* (Bombay, 1887). See also Sudhir Chandra, “Whose Laws? Notes on a Legitimising Myth of the Colonial Indian State,” *Studies in History*, new ser., 8, no. 2 (1992): 187–211, rpt. in Vasudha Dalmia and Heinrich von Stietencrom, eds., *Representing Hinduism: The Construction of Religious Traditions and National Identity* (New Delhi, 1995), 154–75; and Padma Anagol-McGinn, “The Age of Consent Act (1891) Reconsidered: Women’s Perspectives and Participation in the Child-Marriage Controversy in India,” *South Asia Research* 12 (November 1992): 100–18.

² A review of the (Anglo-Indian) *Bombay Gazette* law columns reveals that this was by no means the first such case; see, for example (January 6, 1884): 3 and (October 3, 1884): 3; in the latter case, *Jeewa Jussa vs. Jaloo et al.*, Telang, who defended Rukhmabai, was also the defendant’s counsel (October 6, 1884: 3). Perhaps significantly, the *Bombay Gazette* began by headlining Rukhmabai’s case as “A Novel Suit for the Institution of Conjugal Rights” (March 4, 1887): 3; only after this was her case referred to as a restitution of rights (emphasis mine). For a full discussion of Indian newspapers’ responses to the trial, see Sudhir Chandra, “Rukhmabai: Debate over Woman’s Right to Her Person,” *Economic and Political Weekly* (November 2, 1996): 2937–47.

³ Indian Law Reports, Bombay series, 9: 529–35. Also quoted in Chandra, “Whose Laws,” 188. According to Meera Kosambi, “‘Hindu law’ as understood by the British state meant the British codifications which were commonly used in law suits, but which did not enjoy unchallenged authority. The obvious effect of this codification was rigidification and fossilization through the omission of

Sudhir Chandra has noted, Pinhey so doubted the legality of Dadaji's claim that the counsel for the defense was not even called on at this juncture. After trying unsuccessfully to recover costs, Dadaji appealed Pinhey's judgment, and in March of 1886 two appellate judges ordered that the suit be remanded for a decision. Rukhmabai's case was heard this time before a Justice Farran. He determined in March of 1887 in favor of the plaintiff, persuaded in part by the argument that while Hindu law did not order restitution, neither did it forbid it. Rukhmabai was ordered to go and live with Dadaji within a month or else submit to the court's directive—six months' imprisonment.

Farran's judgment created a sensation among "native" newspapers in India and reached the highest echelons of the British government in India, in part because the Matrimonial Causes Act had removed such penal provisions for English spouses as recently as 1884.⁴ Even the viceroy followed the proceedings, cabling A. R. Scoble, the Law Member for India, with this admonition: "I hope you are keeping your eye on the Rukhmabai case. It would never do to allow her to be put into prison."⁵ An appeal was filed against Farran's judgment, and there was talk of Rukhmabai presenting her case to the Privy Council in England. In one last attempt by Dadaji to recover costs from Rukhmabai and her family, he agreed to relinquish his claims in July of 1888 for a payment of 2,000 rupees—even though, as Meera Kosambi has pointed out, the status of the marriage remained unclear: because it was not legally dissolved according to Hindu law, it was still considered by some to be valid and binding.⁶ Through the influence of Edith Pechey-Phipson, a British medical doctor practicing in India, and with the patronage of some English feminists in London, Rukhmabai traveled to Britain shortly thereafter, where she trained at the London School of Medicine for Women and qualified as a doctor in 1893. She was appointed head of a women's dispensary at Surat and was eventually hailed as one of India's "pioneering medical women." She died in 1955, "still unattached," as Jim Masselos has recently observed.⁷

Historians of nineteenth-century Indian culture and society have read Rukhmabai's trial as one of the precursors to the Age of Consent Act of 1891—legislation that raised the age of consent for girls in India from ten to twelve years of age, making sexual intercourse illegal with a girl below the stipulated age.⁸ The act's most

customary law, which was constantly evolving," as well as the introduction of British common law "almost by the back door." See Kosambi, "Gender, Reform and Competing State Controls over Women: The Rukhmabai Case (1884–1888)," *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, new ser., 29, nos. 1–2 (1995): 270; rpt. in Patricia Uberoi, ed., *Social Reform, Sexuality and the State* (New Delhi, 1996), 265–90.

⁴ See Chandra, "Rukhmabai," 2937.

⁵ Chandra, "Whose Laws," 189. The Law Member was assigned to the executive branch of the government of India for the purpose of drafting legislation.

⁶ Kosambi, "Gender, Reform and Competing State Controls over Women," 274.

⁷ Jim Masselos, "Sexual Property/Sexual Violence: Wives in Nineteenth Century Bombay," *South Asia Research* 12 (November 1992): 85. See also Edythe Lutzker, *Edith Pechey-Phipson, M.D.: The Story of England's Foremost Pioneering Woman Doctor* (New York, 1973), 207–09; "Dr. Rukhmabai," *World Medical Journal* (January 1964): 35–36; Meera Kosambi, "The Meeting of the Twain: The Cultural Confrontation of Three Women in Nineteenth Century Maharashtra," *Indian Journal of Gender Studies* 1, no. 1 (1995): 1–22.

⁸ This included the consummation of child marriages when the bride was under the age of twelve. According to Dagmar Engels, "such illegal sex was defined as rape and was punishable by a maximum

vociferous advocate was Behramji Malabari, a Parsi reformer and Bombay journalist whose "Notes on Infant Marriage and Enforced Widowhood" were published in 1884 and who championed Rukhmabai's cause not just in Bombay but in Britain as well. Malabari contended that Britain's claims to be a civilizing power were hollow, and its government in India a "sleeping giant," if legislation to ameliorate the fate of child brides were not enacted.⁹ Opposition to the act was just as vociferous: B. G. Tilak led the agitation against the act in western India on the grounds that it violated Britain's post-Mutiny pledge of noninterference in religious custom—a campaign that coincided with his emergence as a nationalist leader and with the rise of Hindu militancy in that region. Opposition was also fierce in eastern India, where, according to Dagmar Engels, the mobilization against the Age of Consent Act "played an important part in radicalizing the nationalist movement in Bengal."¹⁰

The trial of Rukhmabai and the social reform movements that were galvanized in its wake are thus inextricably bound up with the history of Indian nationalism, especially when we understand how debates about sexual respectability "politicized the restructuring of (hetero)sexual family norms in both colonialist and official nationalist rhetoric in India" from the nineteenth century onward.¹¹ In keeping with presumptions about Hindu conjugality articulated by male reformers supportive of the legal prohibition of *sati* (widow immolation) (1829) and the Hindu Widow Remarriage Act (1856), those nationalist leaders who endorsed the 1891 legislation had their own agendas with regard to the bodies of Indian women—rooting the notion of marital "consent" in biological imperatives (age of puberty) rather than in considerations of choice or compatibility.¹² It is in this context that Tanika Sarkar urges us to consider how Rukhmabai's actions "violently foregrounded the sexual double standard" at the heart of Hindu conjugality and "prised open the imagined community [of Hindus] along the lines of caste and gender." In this respect, the trial

of ten years imprisonment or transportation for life." See Engels, "The Age of Consent Act of 1891: Colonial Ideology in Bengal," *South Asia Research* 3 (1983): 107.

⁹ See Behramji Malabari, *An Appeal from the Daughters of India* (London, 1890); Dayaram Gidumal, *The Life and Life-Work of Behramji M. Malabari* (Bombay, 1888); Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The "Manly Englishman" and the "Effeminate Bengali" in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester, 1995); and Antoinette Burton, *At the Heart of the Empire: Indians and the Colonial Encounter in Late-Victorian Britain* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998), chap. 4.

¹⁰ Anagol-McGinn, "Age of Consent Act," 100–18; Charles Heimsath, "The Origin and Enactment of the Indian Age of Consent Bill, 1891," *Journal of Asian Studies* 21, no. 4 (1962): 499–500; Jim Masselos, *A History of Indian Nationalism* (New Delhi, 1991), 95–103; Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India, 1885–1947* (Madras, 1983), 71–72; Stanley Wolpert, *Tilak and Gokhale: Revolution and Reform in the Making of Modern India* (Berkeley, Calif., 1962), 45–56; Radha Kumar, *The History of Doing: An Illustrated Account of the Movements for Women's Rights and Feminism in India, 1800–1990* (London, 1993), 27; Engels, "Age of Consent Act," 107; and Uma Chakravarti, "The Myth of 'Patriots' and 'Traitors': Pandita Ramabai, Brahmanical Patriarchy, and Militant Hindu Nationalism," in Kumari Jayawardena and Malathi de Alwis, eds., *Embodied Violence: Communalising Women's Sexuality in South Asia* (London, 1996), 190–239.

¹¹ Mrinalini Sinha, "Nationalism and Respectable Sexuality in India," *Genders* 21 (1995): 34.

¹² See Lata Mani, "Contentious Traditions: The Debate on Sati in Colonial India," in Kumkum Sangari and Sudesh Vaid, eds., *Recasting Women: Essays in Colonial History* (New Delhi, 1989), 88–126; Lucy Carroll, "Law, Custom and Social Reform: The Hindu Widows' Remarriages Act of 1856," in J. Krishnamurthy, ed., *Women in Colonial India: Essays on Survival, Work and the State* (Delhi, 1989), 1–26; Tanika Sarkar, "Rhetoric against Age of Consent: Resisting Colonial Reason and the Death of a Child-Wife," *Economic and Political Weekly* (September 24, 1993): 1869–78.

helped to reveal the illegitimacy of male Hindu reformers' claims to speak in one voice against British rule and on behalf of "the Indian woman."¹³

While the trial became the stuff of Indian nationalist and social reform debate in India, it also helped to shape arguments in the imperial metropole about the relationship of Indian women's respectability to the readiness of Indian men for self-government. Rukhmabai's defiance of her husband's claims on her person and her willingness to contest those claims in Bombay's High Court—not to mention in the court of public opinion—was turned by the press in Britain into a spectacle of why the Hindu marriage system represented all that was both wrong with and redeemable about Indian society. Whether conservative, progressive, or even radical in Victorian political terms, newspapers across the United Kingdom all used Rukhmabai's plight to debate the benefits and the limits of the official policy of cultural nonintervention in "native" beliefs and marital practices, as well as to produce their own versions of what the respectable Indian woman looked like. If, as Vinay Lal has argued, the trial in the colonial context was itself a form of knowledge where the micropolitics of imperial power might be played out, the publicity given to Rukhmabai's trial in the United Kingdom helped to foreground for imperially minded Britons the ways in which the regulation of Hindu sexual morality was a "vital political topic," considered crucial to the stability of British rule in India.¹⁴

This essay argues that the late Victorian metropolitan press "made public" the body of an Indian woman as evidence of the necessity of British imperial rule at the same moment that the Indian National Congress emerged as an organized expression of political will, if not of national sovereignty, in the metropolitan public eye.¹⁵ Implicit in this public display of the Hindu child bride was the argument that by virtue of their incapacity to protect—or manage—a recalcitrant wife, Indian men were as yet unfit for self-government. The fact that Rukhmabai's trial was turned into a story about female sexual virtue suggests that contests over morality in the Victorian public realm were not limited to metropolitan Britain but were threaded through the complex domains of imperial culture and the middle-class imperial imagination as well.¹⁶ British newspaper coverage of the trial of Rukhmabai is one discrete example of how available colonial knowledge was to Western metropolitan audiences at home, as well as how constitutive "domestic" matters—in this case,

¹³ T. Sarkar, "Rhetoric against Age of Consent," 1873.

¹⁴ See Vinay Lal, "The 'Rule of Law' and Modalities of Governance in Colonial India: The Trials of King Bahadur Shah (1858) and Mahatma Gandhi (1922)," paper presented at the Workshop on State Formation in Comparative Historical and Cultural Perspective (Oxford, 1997) and provided courtesy of the author. For another example of Lal's point, see Usha Thakkar, "Puppets on the Periphery: Women and Social Reform in 19th Century Gujarati Society," *Economic and Political Weekly* (January 4–11, 1997): 46–52. Here I am also self-consciously echoing John D. Kelly's study, *A Politics of Virtue: Hinduism, Sexuality and Countercolonial Discourse in Fiji* (Chicago, 1991), x.

¹⁵ The Indian National Congress was the culmination of decades of local and regional social-reform activity as well as the beginning of the organized pursuit of "national" representation; see Anil Seal, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism: Competition and Collaboration in the Later Nineteenth Century* (London, 1968); John Gallagher, Gordon Johnson, and Anil Seal, eds., *Locality, Province, and Nation: Essays on Indian Politics, 1870 to 1940* (Cambridge, 1973); and Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, N.J., 1993).

¹⁶ I draw here in part from Kali Israel's conclusion to "French Vices and British Liberties: Gender, Class and Narrative Competition in a Late Victorian Sex Scandal," *Social History* 22 (January 1997), esp. 26.

one Hindu wife's sexual respectability—were to the performance and preservation of colonial rule.

Rukhmabai's case became something of an ideological football, with the stories told about it being mobilized by a variety of political actors in both Britain and India. These narratives looped across national boundaries and back again, thereby signaling to the Victorian reading public not just how porous such boundaries might be but also how shaped they were by what Mrinalini Sinha calls "imperial social formation"—a geopolitical system in which British cultural forms and practices were not antecedent to empire but were in fact always already constituted by it.¹⁷ In this sense, the late Victorian press was one of the "investigative modalities" through which contemporary imperial ideologies were secured and by which the tenets of the civilizing mission, with its reliance on female virtue and, above all, heterosexual respectability, were naturalized in an age of empire.¹⁸

The conjuncture of public trials with relatively recent "possibilities of publicity"—that is, print culture—was not new to either the British or the Indian scene. Indeed, making court cases into scandal was crucial to the creation of an imperial public sphere, an imagined and contested space where unseen communities were drawn together through a shared public spectacle that transcended boundaries of "Home" and "Away" precisely because it brought colonial "domestic" matters directly to the sightline of metropolitan readers.¹⁹ As we shall see, Rukhmabai herself was an important contributor to these debates and the political contests they signified, and not just in India. As she did in Bombay, Rukhmabai used the press in Britain to author her own explanations of what her case signified, what was flawed about the Hindu marriage system, and what should be done to secure socioeconomic emancipation for Indian women—in part by transforming herself from pathetic "child bride" into that indubitably respectable colonial hybrid, "the Hindoo lady." The gendered critique of both imperial rule and indigenous patriarchy that Rukhmabai produced for the English reading public from this peculiarly valenced position meant that, in this debate about the fate of empires and civilizations at least, the speech of an Indian woman had to be reckoned with.

JOHN CAMERON MACGREGOR, THE CALCUTTA CORRESPONDENT to the *London Times*, introduced Rukhmabai to the English public in March of 1886, when her case was being brought before the appellate judges.²⁰ As A. James Hammerton has pointed out, the Victorian period was an age when "the drama of sexual antagonism in marriage" was a crucial constituent of cultural discourse, as well as the object of

¹⁷ Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity*, esp. chap. 1.

¹⁸ See Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*, Nicholas Dirks, ed. (Princeton, N.J., 1996).

¹⁹ Here I am indebted to Tanika Sarkar's rich and thoughtful essay, "Talking about Scandal: Religion, Law and Love in Late Nineteenth Century Bengal," *Studies in History*, new ser., 13, no. 1 (1997), esp. 63–66.

²⁰ Thanks to Dorothy Helly, Mrinalini Sinha, and Eamon Dyas for helping me track down the identity of the Calcutta correspondent. See also *Reis and Reyzer* (April 28, 1883): 195.

relentless public scrutiny.²¹ The 1880s was a particularly highly charged moment in this respect, when Britons may well have had the divorce proceedings of Sir Charles Dilke's alleged mistress, W. T. Stead's "Maiden Tribute to Modern Babylon" prostitution scandal, and the resulting passage of the Criminal Law Amendment Act (which raised the age of consent for girls from thirteen to sixteen and broadened police power over streetwalkers and prostitutes) still fresh in their minds.²² Readers were referred to Rukhmabai's letters to the *Times of India*, which had been written under the by-line "A Hindoo Lady" and excerpted in the London *Times* the previous year under the same pseudonym. MacGregor, a barrister by training, described the letters, which condemned early marriage and the conditions in which child widows often found themselves, as "striking," "forcible," and "remarkable." Even more remarkable in his view was the sight of Rukhmabai herself. She "has come again prominently before the public," he reported, "as herself affording an example of her own pathetic description of the unhappy lot of her sex in India." From the start, Rukhmabai-the-child-bride was imagined as performing not just the whole condition of Indian women but their pathetic destiny as well. While narrating the basic facts of the case (their ages at marriage, her upbringing), the *Times* correspondent represented the issue as one of marital incompatibility: Rukhmabai was "well educated . . . a lady of high intelligence," while Dadaji was "said to be little better than a coolie, ignorant, uncultivated, and unable to earn more than ten rupees a month." If class and status were at issue here, so were Rukhmabai's "lady-like" sensibilities—a phrase that conjured up decidedly English aristocratic images and models. "The idea of going to live with such a man," according to the correspondent, "was utterly repulsive to her."²³ When he updated the status of the case some three weeks later, he resumed this theme of the "gifted" lady and the unworthy suitor. After recapping the background details of the court case, he wrote that Rukhmabai refused to live with her husband when he demanded it "on the grounds that she had no voice in the marriage, that he was personally repugnant to her, that his character was bad, that his health was indifferent." While to the *Times* Dadaji was a person of questionable character, Judge Pinhey was, conversely, noble and just, with the best interests of Rukhmabai at heart. Pinhey dismissed the suit without calling the defendant because, it was reported, he believed that "it would be a barbarous, cruel and revolting thing to compel her to cohabit under the circumstances . . . neither law nor the practice of the Courts justified him in making such an order."²⁴ Even though Rukhmabai was at the center

²¹ A. James Hammerton, *Cruelty and Companionship: Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Married Life* (London, 1992), 1–2.

²² Israel, "French Vices and British Liberties," 1–26; Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (Chicago, 1992), 82, 103–04; and Frank Mort, *Dangerous Sexualities: Medico-Moral Politics in England since 1830* (London, 1987). The fact that Rukhmabai was a "child" bride may have also resonated with a metropolitan public immersed in the sentimentalization of children, and especially those of the urban poor, by the mid-1880s. See Hugh Cunningham, *The Children of the Poor: Representations of Childhood since the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1991), chaps. 5–6.

²³ The *Times* (March 22, 1886): 5.

²⁴ The *Times* (April 12, 1886): 5.

of the case, Dadaji and Pinhey were used to frame this narrative, the colonial native and the English judge facing off over the body of the Indian woman.²⁵

It is worth emphasizing that the debate about child marriage set in motion by the *Times* did not arise simply out of the opportunity provided by Rukhmabai's case. Discussions of the good Hindu wife and her "unconquered purity" were crucial to a wide variety of revivalist and reformist debates about politics, religion, and the parameters of colonial rule in nineteenth-century India. In Tanika Sarkar's estimation, not only was the Hindu woman's body "molded from her infancy by the Shastric regimen of non-consensual, indissoluble infant marriage," but her "subjectivity and agency . . . [were] exhausted by this embodiment."²⁶ Many Indian nationalists, for whom conjugality was the centerpiece of nationalist discourse in the nineteenth century, critiqued the Hindu marriage system (early marriage and compulsory widowhood) even as they placed it at the heart of their socio-cultural struggle against Western values and influences. It was at the urging of I. C. Vidyasagar that the government had included an age of consent provision in the Penal Code of 1860, making sexual intercourse with a girl under the age of ten qualify as rape. Mahadev Govind Ranade, a prominent theist and reformer, published an article in an 1878 issue of the journal of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha (a local reform organization) suggesting connections between the problem of child marriage and that of overpopulation. He later exhorted the people of Poona to pledge to raise the age of marriage, and it was he who helped Malabari prepare his "Notes" and present them to Lord Ripon in 1884.²⁷ We know, too, that Hindu women subjected the Hindu home and its institutional idioms to critical scrutiny from the 1860s onward, especially in the context of Bengali *bhadralok* (respectable folk or class) culture. Rather than extolling the pleasures of early marriage, they emphasized its traumas, including separation from the family home and especially the lack of access to knowledge through education. Although she took some solace in her mother's injunction that leaving home was divine will, Rassundari Devi (one of the first Indian female autobiographers) recalled in 1870 that as a child bride she felt "very much like the sacrificial goat being dragged to the altar, the same hopeless situation, the same agonized screams."²⁸ Kailashbashini Debi, her contemporary,

²⁵ See Gayatri Spivak, "The Rani of Sirmur: An Essay in Reading the Archives," *History and Theory* 23 (1985): 247–80; and "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, eds., *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (Urbana, Ill., 1988), 271–313.

²⁶ Tanika Sarkar, "Bankimchandra and the Impossibility of a Political Agenda," *Oxford Literary Review* 16 (1994): 183.

²⁷ See Geraldine Forbes, "Women and Modernity: The Issue of Child Marriage in India," *Women's Studies International Quarterly* 2 (1979): 408–09; Wolpert, *Tilak and Gokhale*, 46; T. V. Parvate, *Mahadev Govind Ranade* (Bombay, 1963), 152; Barbara Ramusack, "Women's Organizations and Social Change: The Age-of-Marriage Issue in India," in Naomi Black and Ann Baker, eds., *Women and World Change: Equity Issues in Development* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1981), 198–216; and Sinha, "Nationalism and Respectable Sexuality in India," 30–57.

²⁸ Rassundari Devi, *Amar Jiban (My Life)*, excerpted in Susie Tharu and K. Lalita, eds., *Women Writing in India, Vol. 1, 600 B.C. to the Early Twentieth Century* (New York, 1991), 193. For an astute analysis of the whole autobiography, see Tanika Sarkar, "A Book of Her Own, a Life of Her Own: Autobiography of a Nineteenth Century Woman," *History Workshop Journal* 36 (1993): 35–65; for women's writings in Bengal on girlhood, see Shivani Banerjee Chakravorty, "The Girl Child as the Site for Gender Construction: Women's Writings in Colonial Bengal," *Women's Research Working Papers, University of Hawaii, Manoa*, 3 (1994): 8–19.

was more frank about what a girl bride might face: "conjugal love," she wrote in 1863, "has all but disappeared from our country."²⁹

In Britain, it was *sati* (which had been legally prohibited by the governor-general in 1829) that tended to preoccupy those interested in reforming Indian society, functioning as an exemplar of the pathologies of Hindu tradition and backwardness into the 1880s and beyond—even among those who might have claimed to find it "awe-inspiring."³⁰ Such presumptions were aided equally by missionary, official/government, and feminist discourses, each of which equated women with tradition and identified traditional gender prescriptions as the chief object of the civilizing mission.³¹ The practice of *purdah* (seclusion) and the existence of the *zenana* (women's quarters) also played their part in locating women and heterosexual relations at the heart of colonial rule—and in structuring challenges to it by orthodox and progressive reformers in India alike.

If, by the end of the 1860s, child marriage had also become an important issue in domestic social reform circles, this was due in large measure to the influence of Mary Carpenter, who popularized many of the observations of missionary men and women who had come before her through her sensational and celebrated two-volume account, *Six Months in India* (1868). For Carpenter, as for many Englishwomen who would take up her call in the later Victorian period, child marriage appeared to be basic to what was wrong with Indian society; it therefore became one of the key ideological and material sites for female colonial reform intervention. As she saw it,

All enlightened natives know . . . that their race is becoming physically deteriorated by the social customs to which they are bound. Mothers at twelve, grandmothers at five-and-twenty, cannot be the parents of a strong and hardy race; nor can those who are confined to sunless apartments to which we have been introduced . . . inspire their children with the genial influences of God's beautiful world . . . those who are acquainted with native customs with regard to women, are well aware why these are too often old and shrivelled [*sic*] when they might be in the full beauty of womanhood—why their minds are dwarfed to the measure of childhood, when they should be able to draw out the faculties of their children, and inspire them with thoughts and principles which should guide their minds through life.³²

While seclusion in the *zenana* accelerated the rate at which Indian wives and mothers stultified, early marriage fixed their mental and emotional capacities in childhood, preventing them not just from developing their faculties but, more

²⁹ Tanika Sarkar, "The Hindu Wife and the Hindu Nation: Domesticity and Nationalism in Nineteenth Century Bengal," *Studies in History*, new ser., 8, no. 2 (1992): 231. Nor were Bengali women alone in these critiques; see Anagol-McGinn, "Age of Consent Act"; Rosalind O'Hanlon, *A Comparison between Men and Women: Tarabai Shinde and the Critique of Gender Relations in Colonial India* (Madras, 1994); and "Issues of Widowhood: Gender and Resistance in Colonial Western India," in Douglas Haynes and Gyan Prakash, eds., *Contesting Power: Resistance and Everyday Social Relations in South Asia* (London, 1991).

³⁰ As with Max Müller, Clarisse Spader, and other Western observers; see Uma Chakravarti, "Whatever Happened to the Vedic *Dasi*? Orientalism, Nationalism and a Script for the Past," in Sangari and Vaid, *Recasting Women*, 46.

³¹ Mani, "Contentious Traditions," 88–126; Antoinette Burton, *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women and Imperial Culture, 1865–1915* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1994).

³² Mary Carpenter, *Six Months in India*, vol. 1 (London, 1868), 77–78; and Antoinette Burton, "Fearful Bodies into Disciplined Subjects: Pleasure, Romance and the Family Drama of Colonial Reform in Mary Carpenter's *Six Months in India*," *Signs* 20 (Spring 1995): 545–74.

important, from nurturing their children—part of the “citizenry,” the work force, and the future livelihood of the British Empire. Investment in Indian female education became Carpenter’s call to action between her return from India in 1868 and her death in 1877 precisely because she saw it as one solution to the problem of child marriage and, with it, of premature sexual relations for Indian girls. It was her hope that if educational opportunities were provided for young Indian girls and women, it might delay the age of marriage and, in the process, train “native” females to be teachers, inspectors, and even medical doctors so that they might eventually perform the work of “uplift” for Indian—and, by extension, for British—civilization themselves.

Carpenter in fact gleaned much of what she knew about the status of Indian women from “progressive” male Indian reformers whom she met in Britain before her trip to India and during her stay there. Thus knowledge about child marriage, like that about India more generally, did not originate either “at home” or in the empire but was made available by exchanges and transactions occasioned by movement back and forth.³³ In part because of these influences, Carpenter established the National Indian Association (NIA) in Bristol in 1870. It moved to London under the capable direction of E. A. Manning after Carpenter’s death, where it functioned as a clearinghouse for practical schemes for Indian reform until World War I, chiefly through its monthly periodical, the *Indian Magazine and Review*. Child marriage was frequently cited as the biggest barrier to the intellectual and social progress that was thought to flow from Western education, which was a priority for the NIA. Indeed, reform of child-marriage practices functioned as the linchpin in arguments about the need for Indian female education, for example in the essay “The Evils of Early Marriage,” from the February 1879 issue of the NIA journal, where the case against early marriage was essential to the argument in favor of Indian women’s improvement.³⁴

I would not wish to exaggerate the influence of either the NIA or its monthly organ. Although the *Indian Magazine and Review* occasionally published a list of subscribers in Britain and in India, reliable figures are not available after the 1870s, when circulation was recorded at 1,000.³⁵ Nor was child marriage the association’s main concern. Among its organizational purposes in the fifteen years between its establishment and the Rukhmabai trial was to spread information and knowledge about India in Britain; to host and advise Indian travelers to and students in Great Britain; and, last but not least, to promote female medical education so that Englishwomen could train as doctors and bring improved health care to their Indian “sisters.” Moreover, the culture of “women’s work for women” that emerged during the 1860s, to which the NIA made an active contribution, helped to characterize the problem of Indian women’s education as part of “the woman’s question” and frankly to contain it as a “social” or “cultural” rather than a “political” issue. This

³³ For accounts of some of these Indian influences, see Meredith Borthwick, *Keshub Chunder Sen: A Search for Cultural Synthesis* (Calcutta, 1977); and Burton, “Fearful Bodies.”

³⁴ A Brahmo, “The Evils of Early Marriage,” *Journal of the National Indian Association* (February 1879): 81–83.

³⁵ See the *Journal of the National Indian Association* (after 1886, the *Indian Magazine and Review*) (January 1873): 245; see also A.R., “Hindu Domestic Reform,” *Journal of the National Indian Association* (June 1880): 342–50.

was not because Carpenter or Manning after her did not insist that women's work was the work of the political nation and indeed of the empire but, rather, because these arguments did not have the kind of resonance they would acquire in the 1880s and 1890s, when Victorian Britain was more fully in the grip of the crisis of imperial confidence emergent over the scramble for Africa, the rise of the Indian National Congress, and, at century's end, the Boer War.

Thus, although the NIA had established itself as an important metropolitan authority on the condition of Indian women and had helped to fix child marriage as one of the justifications for British reform intervention, it took the Rukhmabai trial and its publicity in Britain to sensationalize the issue—and to make the Hindu marriage system into a political issue worthy of the attention of a more mainstream, “national” public at home.

MACGREGOR OF THE *Times* set the terms of this national debate when he remarked that “the sympathies of the Court were entirely with the lady” but that “the question they had to try was not one of sentiment, but of law.”³⁶ He predicted that the appellate judges would find against Rukhmabai, and when they did, the *Times* picked up the story again. In March of 1887, after Farran had rendered his decision, the *Times* reported that the case was “on the point of reaching a crisis.” Rukhmabai started out in this report as the same “refined and highly cultivated lady” she had been when the trial started, again modeling what were held to be quintessentially English female virtues. Dadaji was still “a mere coolie.” But now, the English public learned, he was not only “utterly ignorant and uneducated” but “consumptive” as well.³⁷ All kinds of characterizations were shifting in the wake of Farran's order. The correspondent, who had cast Pinhey as the chivalrous English hero a year earlier, now explained that the appeal judges ruled that he was “wrong in law,” and hence they had felt “compelled” to remand the case for trial. This, in spite of the fact that they were in “entire sympathy with Rukmibai [*sic*].” Significantly, in its report of Farran's decision, the *Times* cast all the judges as helpless cogs in the wheels of British justice. Farran became “the Court,” and the Court “had no option save to pass an order that [Rukhmabai] should join her husband within a month.” Even her counsel “could only repeat” his earlier arguments, that “his client had never consented to the marriage, and never regarded the man as her husband, [and] that the husband was poor, ignorant and unhealthy.” Rukhmabai's punishment was also described in mechanistic terms: “should she fail to do so she would be liable to six months' imprisonment.”³⁸

This claim of reluctance to enact colonial law did more than echo the theme of empire's unwelcome burden. It worked to all but erase both Rukhmabai's agency in contesting Dadaji's claims on her *and* her determination to resist the claims of the colonial state once she was sentenced—for, as her lawyers had made it clear, she anticipated that prison might be the consequence, and she went to court anyway. Rukhmabai herself is the absent presence in these accounts. As Lata Mani has

³⁶ The *Times* (March 22, 1886): 5.

³⁷ The *Times* (March 14, 1887): 5.

³⁸ The *Times* (March 14, 1887): 5.

argued with respect to Indian women and the *sati* debates of the early Victorian period, metropolitan discourse about Rukhmabai represented her as emblematic but passive—the ostensible subject of debate but in fact the passive object on which Indians' claims to civilization depended, and on behalf of which British justice must therefore proceed.³⁹ The *Times* ended its account by lamenting the fact that "hardly a single voice . . . has been raised in her favour" except that of Malabari's, and thus, as a result, the Bombay court was "reluctantly compelled to enforce" the "cruel law."⁴⁰

What followed was a host of letters to the editor explaining the workings of the law, debating Rukhmabai's sentence, and often articulating, whether implicitly or explicitly, a connection between the body of the Hindu woman and the stability of British rule in India. Someone signing himself "Judge," who wrote from the East India Club, St. James's Square, London, had been a magistrate in India, where he claimed to have "had to decide a great number of these cases" and to "have tried all sorts of devices to set the girls free." In most of those, "the difficulty has arisen from a preferred lover, and not from difference of education or position." His experience had shown him that "in Eastern climates girls are precocious, and, unless early settled in her future home, the girl is almost certain to disgrace her family, and the result of such an event is either her murder or such loss of honour to the family that they will never be able to hold their heads up again." Early marriage was, in other words, the right and proper solution to Oriental female sexual promiscuity—a solution he approved of the British courts enforcing. "It is this feeling [of shame over loss of honor]," he went on to say, "which makes the Indian opinion so decided against any change"—a fact that required that "we . . . elect to maintain their customs, however much they are opposed to ours." According to "Judge," "the real mistake" in Rukhmabai's case "was educating her so as to make her unfit company for her husband, or rather in so educating her as to make her think only of her own comfort and not recognize her great mission to spread education and information among her humbler sisters." If these two arguments appear to be somewhat at variance, they resonated with a critique of female education in Britain prominent during this period—that too much learning alienated women from their wifely/domestic duties, making them selfish and self-serving.⁴¹ But "Judge" did not leave it at that. He argued that pity for Rukhmabai was misplaced because she would not be sent to jail as a criminal "but . . . only confined with the civil prisoners." Moreover, "at the end of six months she is free, except that she cannot marry elsewhere." He urged the public to keep in mind that this was not too great a price to pay "for not setting aside a custom so dear to Indian opinion."⁴²

"Judge's" was not the only legal opinion proffered in letters to the editor, although it may certainly be counted as among the least sympathetic to Rukhmabai. In fact, much of the correspondence to the *Times* was concerned with interpreting the relationship between Hindu law and English law as a means of explaining what

³⁹ Mani, "Contentious Traditions," 88–126.

⁴⁰ The *Times* (March 14, 1887): 5.

⁴¹ Judge, letter to the editor, the *Times* (March 18, 1887): 12.

⁴² Judge, letter to the editor, the *Times* (March 18, 1887): 13.

had happened in the various phases of the trial.⁴³ F. L. Latham, advocate-general of Bombay and one of Rukhmabai's defense lawyers, insisted that while Hindu law "enjoins infant marriage, and, like other primitive laws, declares the absolute subjection of the wife to her husband," at the same time it provided "no legal process by which a wife could be compelled to return to her husband's society if unwilling." The possibility of conjugal rape is alluded to here but never directly addressed. If anything, it is the law that intrudes where it is not welcome—acting, as Upendra Baxi has argued, not just as the state's representative but as its phallic emissary as well.⁴⁴

It was Latham's contention that "unfortunately for [Rukhmabai], English law stepped in"—that is to say, the English judges had relied on the precedents set by the "old Ecclesiastical Courts," precedents that enforced "the duties resulting from the marriage ties and made matters of conscience subject to the supervision of the Church." Latham reiterated the claim that the High Court of Bombay "felt that it had no choice" but to follow the precedents, yet he also reminded his readers that recent English legislation had ceased to compel a wife or husband to return to "conjugal society" and used suits for restitution of conjugal rights only to deal with marital property issues. His outrage was thus reserved for administrators of the Indian courts, who seemed incapable of modernizing the law quickly enough so that it could protect an Indian woman from her husband's unwelcome "society." "It does seem monstrous," he wrote to the *Times*, "that the Indian Courts should be compelled to administer to Hindoos remedies based on English precedents which have been found intolerable in England, and which were actually abolished here before Rukhmabai's case was tried." He called the order of the Bombay court "the re-enactment in India of the English Act" and questioned its applicability to Rukhmabai's case.⁴⁵

Friedrich Max Müller, a German professor of Sanskrit at Oxford who was well known for his orientalist admiration for India's "golden" (Vedic) age, agreed. For him, too, the law was the offending party, capable of doing the kind of violence to the body of the Hindu woman that could not be named but that circulated nonetheless throughout discussions of Rukhmabai's case. He argued on April 25, 1887, that "the case of Rukhmabai has really very little to do with Indian law," but his was more of a defense of English law than a criticism of its extended purview, as Latham's letter had been.

Let the Indian Law be what it is, let public opinion in India sanction the sale and so-called marriage of children of three or four years of age, let those who, like Rukhmabai and others revolt against this degrading slavery submit to being boycotted or outcasted, but what has English law to do with such abomination? The Hindoos themselves protest against foreign tribunals interfering with their sacred customs of marriage. Why, then should English law

⁴³ For an account of the relationship between Hindu, Muslim, and English law in India until 1864, see Bernard S. Cohn, "Law and the Colonial State in India," in June Starr and Jane F. Collier, eds., *History and Power in the Study of Law: New Directions in Legal Anthropology* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1989), 131–52.

⁴⁴ Upendra Baxi, "'The State's Emissary': The Place of Law in Subaltern Studies," in Partha Chatterjee and Gyanendra Pandey, eds., *Subaltern Studies VII: Writings on South Asian History and Society* (Delhi, 1993), 249–50.

⁴⁵ F. L. Latham, letter to the editor, the *Times* (March 18, 1887): 13.

offer to aid in the restitution of conjugal rights, supposing that conjugal rights exist? . . . Whatever the High Court may have decided, the sooner English judges wash their hands of such iniquities the better for the good repute of English law.⁴⁶

Müller, like Latham above, was unwilling to admit that, although marriage was based on contract, the state, via law, was in fact the enforcer of marital relations; nor was either prepared to confront the role of the colonial state in the "abomination" to which Rukhmabai was subjected. To do so would have required both Englishmen to admit not just the failure of the bourgeois colonial project but its violation of the very notion of contract relations as well. As their contemporary W. W. Hunter put it, the chief justification of Anglo-Indian law (and hence of British rule) was the creation of "a common system of law applicable to all." At stake, in other words, was the rule of law, conceived of as "the use of standardized impartial procedures for the settlement of disputes."⁴⁷ Here, as in Latham's letter, the connection between Rukhmabai's reputation and the "good repute of English law" threatened to unmask the disinterestedness of English legal dicta by revealing their corrupting influences on a particular community—Hindu women—which was supposed to be protected under colonial rule.⁴⁸

Müller's letter prompted a letter of support from "R.H.P." (most likely, Judge Pinhey), who wrote the *Times* to correct the misapprehension he feared lingered in the public's mind that his original decision had been taken purely out of sympathy for Rukhmabai (an impression readers might well have gleaned from the *Times* correspondent's coverage) rather than from carefully considered legal opinions. In elaborating on his opinions, Pinhey implied that it was English law that was in danger of being corrupted if its now-rejected statutes (specifically those pertaining to the restitution of conjugal rights) were being resurrected for use in India.⁴⁹ Müller, for his part, objected to the very concept "restitution of conjugal rights," on the grounds that it was an idiomatic expression of "English legal language." According to him, it was "a phrase utterly unknown in Hindoo law" and "quite inapplicable" in Rukhmabai's case. In a letter to the *Times* in August of 1887, he also contended that Rukhmabai's case had been aggravated by English law. "Formerly, a woman who committed this so-called breach of contract was under the ban of society. She was *patita*, fallen, but she was not exposed to violence, and the idea of sending her to prison, like a common criminal, never entered the minds of native law-givers." Müller gave the impression that English judges rushed in where Indian men and Hindu pundits feared to tread. "No Indian Lawyer," he went on, "ever thought of forcing a woman to marry against her will by force of imprison-

⁴⁶ Max Müller, letter to the editor, the *Times* (April 21, 1887): 9; see also Müller, "The Story of an Indian Child Wife," *Contemporary Review* 60 (August 1891): 180–92. For a discussion of Müller's orientalism, especially with regard to Indian women, see Chakravarti, "Whatever Happened to the Vedic *Dasi*?" 27–87. As her evidence suggests, Müller's sympathy for early marriages did not contradict his orientalism but was constitutive of it.

⁴⁷ Hunter is quoted in Thomas Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj* (Cambridge, 1994), 207, see also 35.

⁴⁸ If any of these men were aware that several Indian women had used the courts in the 1840s to petition for the restitution of conjugal rights from their husbands, they did not indicate it. See Masselos, "Sexual Property," 83.

⁴⁹ R.H.P., letter to the editor, the *Times* (April 27, 1887): 15.

ment, and this anomaly and aggravation caused by a mixture of Indian and English law has only to be pointed out to be removed from the English Code.”⁵⁰

Müller wrote four letters in all to the *Times* during the period of Rukhmabai's trial, and his opinions in turn generated several replies.⁵¹ But if he defended Hindu law in this instance, it was only in order to make way for his conviction that legal recourse was not the ultimate solution to the problems raised by Rukhmabai's case. Education was what was called for, and Rukhmabai was proof of its success. For it was exposure to Western learning that had made her capable, in Müller's view, of becoming “the best judge . . . herself” of her own marriage choice.⁵² Müller thereby vindicated the bourgeois civilizing mission (which since Thomas Babington Macaulay's service on the Supreme Council of India had aimed at the internalization through education of English values by brown-skinned subjects) and made the person of Rukhmabai into “evidence” in the case against too-rapid change by government intervention. Most of the letter writers were staunchly against government interference through legislation, with one J. Scott stating unequivocally that “the Indian people cannot be made moral by an Act of Parliament.”⁵³

Others saw in the Rukhmabai case an opportunity to move the discussion away from legislation to philanthropy and, in so doing, to advance specific schemes for the improvement of the condition of Indian women. Müller again led the discussion, first by insisting that the trial called on the conscience not of English judges or lawyers but of Englishwomen to protest that “the strong arm of the English law should not be rendered infamous in aiding and abetting unnatural atrocities” like early marriage.⁵⁴ He later warmed to this theme, suggesting that Rukhmabai's case was but one among many and that, even after it was over, “much remains to be done, not indeed by government, but by private enterprise. It is chiefly due to English education that the lot of the women of India has become intolerable to many of them. It is therefore the duty of English philanthropists to try to mitigate the misery of those who are bearing the brunt of the battle between effete Indian, or rather, Mahommedan, custom and European enlightenment.”⁵⁵ Indian men were banished from the picture, leaving the education and training of Indian women to English colonial reformers, who were chiefly women.

In the process of explicating the finer points of Hindu and Indian law, Müller detailed the “condition” of Indian women for readers of the *Times*, providing census statistics on widows and emphasizing that those under the age of fourteen numbered almost 300,000 in 1881. He quoted Pandita Ramabai (the learned high-caste widow well known to the colonial reform public for her commitment to the uplift of Indian women) as well as a Hindu pundit with whom he was in

⁵⁰ Max Müller, letter to the editor, the *Times* (August 22, 1887): 3.

⁵¹ Nor can Müller be said to be representative of metropolitan opinion on the Rukhmabai trial. As Mrinalini Sinha found in the public debates about the Age of Consent Act before it passed in 1891, English views were quite heterogeneous—though possibly more so than here, because it was a much larger legislative question. See Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity*, esp. chap. 4.

⁵² Max Müller, letter to the editor, the *Times* (August 22, 1887): 3. It was precisely this that clinched the Hindu middle-class case against her, as Uma Chakravarti has argued in “Myth of ‘Patriots’ and ‘Traitors,’” 208 and following.

⁵³ J. Scott, letter to the editor, the *Times* (August 24, 1887): 12.

⁵⁴ Max Müller, letter to the editor, the *Times* (April 21, 1887): 9.

⁵⁵ Max Müller, letter to the editor, the *Times* (August 22, 1887): 3.

correspondence on the plight of Hindu widows, and suggested that money be raised through charitable organizations in Britain to establish a widows' home in India.⁵⁶ Letters came in to support this idea, especially after Ramabai wrote the *Times* herself on September 27, 1887, explaining in great detail her own scheme for a child widows' home and calling for donations to be directed to E. A. Manning's address, the site of the NIA offices in London.⁵⁷ Ramabai emphasized the plight of child widows, thus linking her particular cause with Rukhmabai's in the public mind—a cause she had already publicized in her book, *The High-Caste Hindu Woman*.⁵⁸ Ramabai's letter in turn prompted several others, including one from Frances Power Cobbe, a social reformer and "one of the veteran workers in the woman's cause," who pledged her support to Ramabai's project and advertised Ramabai's book to metropolitan sympathizers.⁵⁹ In this sense, the so-called "plight of the Indian woman," which was such a staple of Victorian feminism, received national attention at this juncture, reaching audiences well beyond those limited to female emancipationist periodicals in Britain and coinciding with the beginning of campaigns on the part of the Ladies National Association led by Josephine Butler to extend protests against the Contagious Diseases Acts to Britain's colonial possessions and especially to India.⁶⁰

THE DEBATE THAT FOLLOWED in the wake of Rukhmabai's trial thus took off in a variety of directions, moving public attention beyond the question of child marriage per se to "the problem of Indian women" and its relationship—both practical and symbolic—to the projects of empire. Meanwhile, the *Times* continued to update its readers on events in Bombay related to the case. The newspaper covered Dadaji's legal maneuvers (he sued a Bombay newspaper and the family of Rukhmabai for libel in the summer of 1887, for example); the development and progress of the Rukhmabai Defence Fund (founded in Bombay to help the defendant with court costs); and, increasingly after 1887, the status of several other legal cases involving child brides and the law (including several where girl wives were apparently murdered by their husbands).⁶¹ The *Times* Calcutta correspondent remarked that it was due to "the absence of more exciting political topics [that] Rukhmabai's case continues to attract much attention" in India.⁶² While it was true that one of the biggest trials of the century in Britain was over (Stead's prosecution for procuring

⁵⁶ Müller, the *Times* (August 22, 1887): 3.

⁵⁷ Pandita Ramabai, letter to the editor, the *Times* (September 27, 1887): 14.

⁵⁸ Pandita Ramabai, *The High-Caste Hindu Woman* (1877; rpt. edn., Westport, Conn., 1976), 36.

⁵⁹ See "Obituary: Frances Power Cobbe," *Englishwoman's Review* (April 1904): 133; and letter to the editor, the *Times* (October 1, 1887): 6.

⁶⁰ For coverage of the "domestic" C.D. Acts crusade, see Judith R. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State* (Cambridge, 1980). For examination of the imperial dimension, see Burton, *Burdens of History*, chap. 4; and Philippa Levine, "Venereal Disease, Prostitution and the Politics of Empire: The Case of British India," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 4, no. 4 (1994): 579–602; and equally her essay, "Re-reading the 1890s: Venereal Disease as 'Constitutional Crisis' in Britain and British India," *Journal of Asian Studies* 55 (August 1996): 585–612.

⁶¹ See the *Times* (April 11, 1887): 3; (April 25, 1887): 7; (May 2, 1887): 5; (July 4, 1887): 5; (July 25, 1887): 5; (August 5, 1887): 5; (February 8, 1888): 4; (July 9, 1888): 5; (July 16, 1888): 5; (July 30, 1888): 5; (August 13, 1888): 5; (September 17, 1888): 5; (November 8, 1888): 9.

⁶² The *Times* (April 11, 1887): 3.

a young girl to research “The Maiden Tribute to Modern Babylon”), there was plenty of other “big” news to occupy Britons during the Rukhmabai case, including the Irish Home Rule controversy, continued fighting in the Sudan in the wake of General Gordon’s death at Khartoum, and, not least, preparations for and celebrations of Queen Victoria’s Golden Jubilee. It was nonetheless observed that “the case of Rukhmabai continues to excite the interest of the British public.”⁶³ Coverage in the capital city was not limited to the *Times*: the NIA’s *Indian Magazine and Review* reported on the proceedings of both the case and the Rukhmabai Defence Committee, urging supporters to contribute by sending donations for the fund to Manning’s London address. It also reprinted a long excerpt from the *Bombay Gazette*, which recorded the final settlement of the case.⁶⁴

The influence of the *Times* was nonetheless considerable in shaping how news of the trial was reported in Britain, since other newspapers and periodicals depended on it almost exclusively for their information about the Rukhmabai case. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, for example, followed the trial in its “Occasional Notes” section until Dadaji had settled the suit in the summer of 1888. But it tended to rely on the *Times* Indian correspondent, often reprinting *in toto* his accounts of the marriage law agitation or his details of the trial.⁶⁵ In fact, the practice of extracting from metropolitan weeklies and dailies was standard in the Victorian period, thus affirming Marilyn Strathern’s recent contention that knowledge production is in part a process of continuous re-contextualization—a phenomenon that in this case occurred not just between India and Britain but from site to site within the empire’s capital as well.⁶⁶ There was little editorializing when this happened, except for the invocation of the rather hackneyed conviction that “the case will deal a deathblow to the pernicious system of infant marriage, and mark an important step in the progress of social reform in India.”⁶⁷

Rukhmabai’s trial prompted special attention to Indian marriage customs in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, including one two-page essay on “Marriage Reform in India” by Pandit Sivanath Sastri in August of 1888.⁶⁸ As with the *Times*, the settlement of the case did not put an end to coverage about related issues—in part because the *Pall Mall Gazette*’s editor was Stead, who had been so instrumental in sensationalizing his child prostitution scandal. Consequently, the *Pall Mall Gazette* followed cases of child brides in distress after the Rukhmabai case had been decided, including one incident in Patna that was telegraphed in by Alfred Dyer, editor of the *Bombay Guardian*. It looked at first as if the whole question of procuring underage girls—the very issue that had fueled “the Maiden Tribute” controversy—was going to be revisited in the Indian context, with sensational headlines (“Alleged Legal Outrage in India”) and rhetorical questions to the secretary of state for India (“will Sir John Gorst justify this proceeding on the ground that we must pay respect to

⁶³ The *Times* (April 27, 1887): 15.

⁶⁴ “The Rukhmabai Case,” *Indian Magazine and Review* (September 1888): 449–51.

⁶⁵ *Pall Mall Gazette* (March 22, 1886): 7; (April 12, 1886): 10; (July 9, 1888): 10.

⁶⁶ Stephen Koss, *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain*, Vol. 1, *The Nineteenth Century* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1981), 22; and Marilyn Strathern, “The Nice Thing about Culture Is That Everyone Has It,” in her edited collection, *Shifting Contexts: Transformations in Anthropological Knowledge* (London, 1995), 154.

⁶⁷ *Pall Mall Gazette* (April 12, 1886): 10.

⁶⁸ Pandit Sivanath Sastri, “Marriage Reform in India,” *Pall Mall Gazette* (August 17, 1888): 11.

native customs?") appearing in the paper.⁶⁹ The *Pall Mall Gazette* tracked the case for a week, until the particulars revealed that it was an incident about prostitution rather than about procurement per se.⁷⁰

Women's magazines also covered Rukhmabai's case, again relying heavily on the accounts of the *Times* correspondent. Sudhir Chandra has analyzed the way the *Queen* blamed both Dadaji and the orthodox Hindu community for Rukhmabai's troubles, but not without chastising the more progressive "natives" for bowing to the pressure of public meetings and agitations as well. Although the *Queen* admitted that interference could not be countenanced at this time, the magazine assured its readers that change in India could not but occur "with ever-accelerating velocity, and . . . the time may not be far distant when such outrage on human liberty, as evidenced in the case of Rukhmabai, may be forever at an end." The author of the *Queen's* account worked harder than most to eclipse the role of English law in Rukhmabai's case in order to pathologize indigenous religious statutes, but he or she shared the more general conviction circulating via the metropolitan press that "the colonized were to be regenerated in spite of themselves."⁷¹ The *Englishwoman's Review*, whose coverage of Indian news was quite extensive because of its ties to the *Indian Magazine* and its support of medical education for Englishwomen in India, noted the Bombay trial and recapped almost verbatim what had been written in the *Times* about the suit, the plaintiff, and the appeals.⁷² Like Pinhey had done in his letter to the *Times*, the author of "The Hindoo Marriage Law" for the *Englishwoman's Review* expressed concern that "the exact position of affairs is not understood at home." She was virtually alone among the sources cited here in worrying about what would happen to Rukhmabai once the six months' imprisonment order had been given. In this event, the author pointed out, "her troubles will not necessarily be at an end, for if her husband again requests her to live with him, and she again refuses, a fresh cause of action will arise, and the whole miserable business may be repeated over and over again after the expiration of each term of imprisonment."⁷³ Should this occur, the *Englishwoman's Review* hoped that "the force of English and Anglo-Indian opinion will compel the Government to alter the law." In the meantime, "the sympathy shown by the British Press and public is fully appreciated here."⁷⁴

If the *Englishwoman's Review* and the *Queen* were the only women's periodicals to follow the case, this was because they were among the few of their kind in this period. The *Women's Penny Paper* did not begin until the fall of 1888, and when it

⁶⁹ *Pall Mall Gazette* (December 8, 1888): 6; and (December 12, 1888): 4. For a discussion of the "Maiden Tribute" scandal and the role of the *Pall Mall Gazette* in shaping narratives of sexual danger in London, see Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, chaps. 3–4.

⁷⁰ *Pall Mall Gazette* (December 13, 1888): 4.

⁷¹ Quoted in Chandra, "Whose Laws," 199–201.

⁷² The *Englishwoman's Review* lacked the staff to do its own stories on India, except where the Dufferin Fund and the emergence of the medical women for India movement was concerned. Even in these cases, it relied heavily on the *Indian Magazine and Review* for its information. See Burton, *Burdens of History*.

⁷³ "The Hindoo Marriage Law," *Englishwoman's Review* (April 15, 1887): 182.

⁷⁴ "Hindoo Marriage Law," 181.

did, an advertisement of Rukhmabai's fund-raising efforts for her travel and medical education in Britain appeared in one of its first issues.⁷⁵

The publicity given to the trial of Rukhmabai cannot compare to the sensation caused by her contemporary Mona Caird's critiques of marriage. And although the Bombay court's decision did generate a number of letters to the editor of the *Times*, the correspondence could not begin to approximate the 27,000 letters sent to the *Daily Telegraph* in the 1880s in response to the question, "Is Marriage a Failure?"⁷⁶ Rukhmabai's case also competed in the public eye with the trials and tribulations of Georgina Weldon's divorce case and the spectacular revelations of both Lady Colin Campbell's divorce trial and Sir Charles Dilke's troubles.⁷⁷ Nonetheless, the *Times*—"that representative of John Bull," as one Indian observer dubbed it—published a variety of letters to the editor related to the trial, editorialized about her plight, and continued to update its readers on relevant events in Bombay.⁷⁸ Publicity was not, significantly, limited either to the *Times* or other newspapers in the capital city of the empire. Papers as diverse as the *Daily Graphic*, the *Echo*, the *Aberdeen Observer*, the *Western Daily Press*, and the *Manchester Examiner* covered the story, and many of these were less restrained than the *Times* in the rhetoric they used to characterize Rukhmabai and Dadaji—who became tragic characters and figures of romance and melodrama across the provincial press. Although the *Bradford Observer* referred to Rukhmabai as "a Hindoo girl," most papers emphasized her lady-like status, refinement, and education. The *Bristol Evening News* called her "a damsel," and the *Scotsman*, "the heroine of a battle which is . . . fought not only for herself, but for her countrywomen."⁷⁹ As in representations offered by the *Times*, the more cultivated Rukhmabai became, the further Dadaji sunk into an irredeemably coolie-like status. A contributor to the *Western Daily Press* declared him an "ignorant and degraded peasant"; readers of the *Aberdeen Observer* were told that he was "an ignorant and idle boor"; and to the *Bradford Observer* he was "very vulgar indeed."⁸⁰ The language of class, as marked here by work (coolie labor), thus bore the burden of marking the masculine body as a

⁷⁵ *Women's Penny Paper* (November 10, 1888): 5; *Englishwoman's Review* (January 15, 1889): 47. Millicent Garrett Fawcett, a leading English suffragist, took up the question later, contributing to debates about the Age of Consent Act in "Infant Marriage in India," *Contemporary Review* 58 (November 1890): 714–20, in which she referred to Rukhmabai's trial.

⁷⁶ See Mona Caird, "Marriage," *Westminster Review* 130 (August 1888): 186–201; and "Ideal Marriage," *Westminster Review* 130 (November 1888): 617–36; Harry Quilter, *Is Marriage a Failure?* (London, 1888), which reprints many of the *Daily Telegraph* letters; Mary Lyndon Shanley, *Feminism, Marriage and the Law in Victorian England, 1850–1895* (Princeton, N.J., 1989), chap. 4; and Hammerton, *Cruelty and Companionship*, 159.

⁷⁷ Weldon's case was covered in the *Bombay Gazette*; see, for example (March 24, 1884): 3; and (April 11, 1884): 5. For Dilke, see Kali Israel, "Writing Inside the Kaleidoscope: Re-presenting Victorian Women Public Figures," *Gender and History* 2 (Spring 1990): 42; and "French Vices and British Liberties," 1–26. For Campbell, see Gordon H. Fleming, *Victorian "Sex Goddess": Lady Colin Campbell and the Sensational Divorce Case of 1886* (1989; Oxford, 1990). Hers was one of the most drawn-out of the century, taking eighteen full court days.

⁷⁸ Lala Baijnath, *England and India: Being Impressions of Persons and Things English and Indian, and Brief Notes of Visits to France, Switzerland, Italy and Ceylon* (Bombay, 1893), 118.

⁷⁹ Quoted in Y. N. Ranade, ed., *England in India: A Monthly Magazine Containing Extracts from English Newspapers on Indian Subjects* (Poona), vol. 1, no. 5 (June 1887): 201, 205.

⁸⁰ Ranade, *England in India*, 203, 206, 196.

carrier of disease and (sexual) violence—even as the pleasure to be derived from such a sexually charged spectacle was broadcast throughout metropolitan Britain.⁸¹

Neither Rukhmabai nor Dadaji was unaware of these representations; while the case was being turned into melodrama for British audiences in Britain, they were each publishing explanations of their conduct and defending their good names in newspapers in Bombay and all over India.⁸² Dadaji was particularly incensed by "the intellectual degradation with which the fiction-loving journals accredit me," among which he included the *Times*. He insisted that he was a man of property, education, and good health, that Rukhmabai was not his "intellectual superior," and reminded his "co-religionists" that "Hindu marriage is a sacrament and not a civil contract."⁸³ Rukhmabai, in turn, rejected his "base suggestions," questioned his claims to property and means, and argued that financial gain, not concern for the morality of marriage or Hindu law, was at the heart of his restitution suit.⁸⁴ Their testimonies, which were published in the *Bombay Gazette* in June 1887, make clear that many of the details of the case—namely, that Dadaji lived with an uncle who had had a mistress for fourteen years and that this was among the reasons that Rukhmabai judged him unsuitable to reside with—were kept from the British public, even though they were common knowledge in both the Anglo-Indian (British-owned) and English-speaking (Indian-owned) press in India.⁸⁵ Indeed, despite the widespread coverage Rukhmabai's trial received in the British press, as much was suppressed about the context of the case as was publicized. Colonial knowledge, then, was not just circulated at the heart of the empire. In this instance, its circulation was carefully managed and in such a way as to suggest that Rukhmabai's case was the justification that progressive Indian reformers needed to present a case against child marriage to the government of India—when in fact the mechanisms of its publicity and the disinterestedness of its publicizers were being interrogated throughout the subcontinent.⁸⁶

Despite the control exercised in Britain over Rukhmabai's attempts to influence public opinion in Britain via her letters to the *Times of India*, Rukhmabai herself had made use of the public space afforded to her by the *Times* and other metropolitan papers to articulate her own version of events and her own ideas about what kind of action was appropriate for ameliorating the condition of Indian women. Her first appearance in the *Times* came in July and September of 1885 when, as was mentioned above, she wrote under the pseudonym "A Hindoo Lady." MacGregor, the London *Times* Calcutta correspondent, extracted only short selections from Rukhmabai's letters, which had been published in greater length in the *Times of India*.⁸⁷ Significantly, it was the National Indian Association that reprinted them in their totality in Britain. The first one appeared in the September 1885 issue of the NIA's journal, with this accompanying prefatory note:

⁸¹ I am grateful to Kali Israel for this insight.

⁸² Dadaji Bhikaji, *An Exposition of Some of the Facts of the Case of Dadaji vs. Rukhmabai* (Bombay, 1887); Rukhmabai, *Rukhmabai's Reply*.

⁸³ Bhikaji, *Exposition of Some of the Facts*, 7–10.

⁸⁴ Rukhmabai, *Rukhmabai's Reply*, 8–10.

⁸⁵ See, for example, *The Mahratta* (English-speaking paper, Poona) (July 24, 1887): 8.

⁸⁶ For a discussion of these maneuvers, see Anagol-McGinn, "Age of Consent Act," 100–18; and Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity*, chap. 4.

⁸⁷ See the *Times* (July 6, 1885): 5; and (September 28, 1885): 6.

We mentioned in the last *Journal* a remarkable letter by a Hindu lady on Child Marriages which had appeared in the *Times of India*. We now give the [first] letter, as an important contribution to the discussion of the subject. A certain degree of exaggeration must, we are told, be allowed for in regard to the generalisations, which the writer makes from her own experience, and some of her suggestions might not be practical; but there must be much truth in the facts and arguments put forward, and we hope that this touching appeal will not be without effect in regard to customs which so greatly need reform.⁸⁸

Thus was the “speaking voice” of “the Indian woman” stage-managed—produced out of specific institutional locations for specific colonialist purposes.⁸⁹ Rukhmabai herself admitted to the mediation of a “gentleman” friend in the first paragraph of her letter—someone who “kindly looked over and corrected it, where he thought correction was necessary.” (This may well have been Malabari.) In the body of her letter, however, she also anticipated the possibility that her plea might be dismissed as hyperbole. “My English readers,” she wrote, “can hardly conceive the hard lot entailed upon Hindu women by the custom of early marriage. They might think the picture a little too highly coloured, but I assure them that there is not, at least intentional, exaggeration.”⁹⁰

Rukhmabai’s argument consisted of three interrelated parts: the differential effect on men and women of early marriage, the linkage between reform of the custom and female improvement through education, and finally, the need for government reform intervention. In her view, the disproportionately negative impact of child marriage on women was crucially linked to the question of female education: for early marriage rarely prevented boys from carrying on their studies, whereas girls married at eight could continue their studies only until the age of ten (with the onset of puberty). If they wished to go on after that, they would need the permission of their husbands’ families. “But even in these advanced times,” she pointed out, “and even in Bombay—the chief centre of civilization—how many mothers-in-law are there who would send their daughters to school after they are ten years old?” She chastised those indigenous elite reformers who championed women’s education and yet resisted changes in marriage custom. “Unless this state of things is changed, all the efforts at higher female education seem like putting the cart before the horse.”⁹¹

Rukhmabai returned several times to the theme that Hindu men failed to take debates about child marriage seriously because they failed to understand its impact on women *as women*. Her claim—since “*men* among Hindus have much more freedom of action than *women*, they are indifferent to the social reforms which prejudicially affect the other sex”—implied not just that male reformers did not see women as gendered beings who were discriminated against on the grounds of sexual difference, but that they did not see themselves as men with gender-specific

⁸⁸ A Hindoo Lady, “Child Marriage in India,” *Journal of the Indian National Association* (September 1885): 416.

⁸⁹ For a fuller discussion of the material locations of the “speaking” Indian woman, see Mrinalini Sinha, “Gender in the Critiques of Colonialism and Nationalism: Locating the ‘Indian Woman,’” in Ann-Louise Shapiro, ed., *Feminists Revision History* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1994), 246–75; and Sinha, “Reading Mother India: Empire, Nation and the Female Voice,” *Journal of Women’s History* 6 (Summer 1994): 6–44.

⁹⁰ A Hindoo Lady, “Child Marriage in India,” 416.

⁹¹ A Hindoo Lady, “Child Marriage in India,” 417.

privileges either, a rare enough argument against patriarchy in the nineteenth century. Rukhmabai admitted the influence that Malabari's "Notes" had had on her thinking, and she defended him against charges that, as a Parsi, he was a "foreigner" to Hindu customs and communities. Like Malabari, she was persuaded that it was the duty of the British government in India to take action.

If, Sir, Government shirks its responsibility and gives up this matter, it may be, in deference to the wishes of these gentlemen [male elites resistant to reform], there is not the smallest chance of our people taking it up themselves for years to come, even if then; and in that case, though we are, by God's grace, living under the beneficent rule of her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress, there can be no one left to protect the women of India from the tyranny of these abominable customs.⁹²

This was followed by a five-point outline of what such legislation might look like, including provisions to raise the age of marriage to fifteen for girls and twenty for boys, and one to require young men who married below the stipulated age to give up their right to attend a university. Although Rukhmabai's essay had begun as a letter to the editor, by the end she was addressing the leaders of the Hindu community who claimed to have the best interests of Indian women at heart:

I entreat you, gentlemen . . . to co-operate with Government in emancipating your sons and daughters from the social thralldom under which they groan. If you succeed in bringing about this salutary reform, [the] spread of education, [the] developments of arts and sciences, the production of an able-bodied and strong-minded race of men and women—in fact, the mental and material prosperity of India, will follow as a matter of course, and India will revert to its once proud position in the scale of nations.⁹³

Rukhmabai's second letter, which the NIA reprinted in December of 1885 under the title "Widow Remarriage," insisted on the linkages between early marriage and the problem of widowhood for Hindu women by focusing on the condition of early widowhood.⁹⁴ Again, her critique went to the heart of the matter: male blindness to the humanity of all women and to the impact of men's privileged practices on themselves and others. "Instances are not rare," Rukhmabai wrote sardonically,

of the edifying spectacle of a green old man of sixty, who is visited with the great misfortune of losing his second or third wife, preparing to play the young bridegroom, and sending his creatures out to seek a girl of ten or eleven to bless the remaining days of his natural life . . . now, this same worthy gentleman who is so solicitous to gratify his vanity (to term it in the mildest way) or, as he would put it innocently enough, to provide a guardian angel against the infirmities of old age . . . this same gentleman is philosophically rigid in the case of his widowed daughter or granddaughter of 15 . . . the comfort [offered to her] . . . is . . . "My darling . . . fate has ordained this widowhood for you and what human effect can upset the decrees of fate!"

"A noble exhortation, indeed," Rukhmabai continued. "But alas! it comes from the lips of one whose conduct belies its sincerity." As she had appealed to the British government in her first letter, Rukhmabai closed here with an appeal to "Eng-

⁹² A Hindoo Lady, "Child Marriage in India," 420.

⁹³ A Hindoo Lady, "Child Marriage in India," 423.

⁹⁴ A Hindoo Lady, "Widow Marriage," *Journal of the National Indian Association* (December 1885): 586–89.

lishmen" to wonder at such "gross hypocrisy" and "wickedness" as the Hindu marriage system.⁹⁵

These are powerful arguments, which exhibited Rukhmabai's capacity for critically evaluating both indigenous patriarchy and India's "reform" communities. In an era when speaking in public blurred the line between respectable and "public" women (prostitutes) in Britain—and when upper-caste Indian women's sexual respectability was contingent on seclusion—Rukhmabai's letters to the *Times* must be viewed as both courageous and dangerous to her reputation as "a Hindoo lady."⁹⁶ Rukhmabai was not the only Indian woman to take a public position on such questions. As Meera Kosambi has documented, Anandibai Joshee, a Maharashtrian woman who became the first Indian female medical doctor, was an outspoken critic of child marriage as early as 1880 and an advocate of interference by the colonial state fully ten years before the passage of the 1891 Age of Consent Act.⁹⁷ According to Padma Anagol-McGinn, Indian women were not consulted when the government canvassed the provincial leaders for evaluations of the effects of child marriage in their localities. But in Bombay Presidency, they made a cogent and impassioned case for government intervention in child marriage in their magazines and via their social-reform organizations in the wake of the High Court's decision, with Rukhmabai and her countrywoman Pandita Ramabai among the most prominent participants.⁹⁸ And yet Rukhmabai was perhaps unique among them in that her refusal of her husband's conjugal rights constituted a kind of civil death unlike that of widowhood or even conversion—a position that seriously jeopardized her status as a respectable "public woman."⁹⁹

She took advantage of one other occasion during the height of attention to the court case to address the public in Britain. On April 9, 1887, a letter from Rukhmabai appeared in the *Times*. It was printed with a cover letter by the bishop of Carlisle, whose sister had been in correspondence with Rukhmabai. The bishop prefaced the letter by indicating that Rukhmabai did not know that he was going to publish her letter, and that he himself (or his sister) had deleted several sections of it; he was, he announced, sending the letter "as received—with the exception of the rectification of a few words in respect of orthography and the omission of one or two sentences which are suitable for a private letter but not for a public utterance." After giving a précis of the practice of child marriage in India, Rukhmabai offered her own version of her life leading up to "my unfortunate trial." In this narrative, Dadaji is characterized not as a "coolie" but as a schoolboy who "fell into bad companies," "was attacked by consumption," and was so sickly that "he was confined to his bed for three continuous years, in such a state that he was

⁹⁵ A Hindoo Lady, "Widow Marriage," 588–89.

⁹⁶ This was also a moment when critiques of British marriage law could be directly linked to claims for women's suffrage; see "The Law in Relation to Women," *Westminster Review* 128 (1887): 698–710. Frances Power Cobbe had also advanced this connection a decade earlier in "Wife-Torture in England," *Contemporary Review* 32 (1878): 55–87.

⁹⁷ Meera Kosambi, "Anandibai Joshee: Retrieving a Fragmented Feminist Image," *Economic and Political Weekly* 31, no. 49 (December 7, 1996): 3193.

⁹⁸ Anagol-McGinn, "Age of Consent Act," esp. 103–05.

⁹⁹ Gauri Viswanathan, "Coping with (Civil) Death: The Christian Convert's Rights of Passage in Colonial India," in Gyan Prakash, ed., *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements* (Princeton, N.J., 1995), 183–210.

not expected to live another season." She, meanwhile, left school at the age of eleven but

began to learn English at home . . . [D]ay by day my love for education and social reform increased, and I continued to pursue my studies as much as I could . . . [B]y aid of the little education which I had been able to gain, I began seriously to consider the former and present condition of our Hindoo women, and wished to do something, if in my power, to ameliorate our present sufferings. On the other hand . . . habits of the man with whom I had been given in marriage added more to my natural distaste for married life.

According to Rukhmabai, it was her stepfather who "resolved not to send me to his house to live as his wife." As for Dadaji, he "seemed indifferent to the matter . . . but by some former disputes between the leaders of our caste and the constant instigations of wicked people (very common in India), and in the hope of getting my little money, he was induced to file a suit asking me to go and live as his wife."¹⁰⁰

Whereas the *Times* correspondent had cast her as simply a "refined" lady, Rukhmabai made it clear that she intended to be a reformer with the improvement of Indian women on her agenda. In doing so, she did not so much reject the model of the English lady as she attempted to demonstrate how bound up it was for her with commitments to colonial reform—and to supplant it with a persona that evoked Indian mores but could count as equally respectable. This was the "Hindoo Lady" of her pen name, which provided (initially, at least) the cover of anonymity as well as the stamp of reformist legitimacy, in Britain if not also in India.¹⁰¹ According to one English contemporary in India, she had never even wanted to marry: "I only want to study—that is my wish," Rukhmabai told Nora Scott, "—to learn and help the native ladies of all races."¹⁰² Rukhmabai suggested that the trial itself was part of that work, an angle that had never been hinted at by the *Times*. Justice Pinhey's decision was "humane," and, in her view, "if it had been supported, [it] would have altered the fate of millions of daughters of India, and the longed-for freedom would have been easily secured." Rukhmabai reiterated here what she had written in her letters to the *Times of India* before she had been identified to English audiences at home as their author: namely, that it was the "inevitable duty of the present Government" to reform the matrimonial laws. "The only way to face the difficulties," she insisted, "is the law reform"—thus plainly declaring herself in alignment with those reformers inside India and outside it who wanted government intervention in the custom of child marriage.¹⁰³

In her concluding paragraphs, Rukhmabai appealed as she had in India to "our beloved Queen Victoria's Government, which has its world-wide fame for best administration." In a shrewd rhetorical maneuver, Rukhmabai reminded her correspondent that 1887 was the year of the Jubilee. "At such an unusual occasion," she inquired, "will the mother listen to an earnest appeal from her millions of Indian daughters and grant them a few simple words of change into the books on

¹⁰⁰ Rukhmabai, letter to the editor, the *Times* (April 9, 1887): 8.

¹⁰¹ It may also have occluded her non-Brahman status from British readers, who might have been unaware that her re-marriageability differed from that of high-caste women in Bombay, Bengal, and Madras.

¹⁰² Nora Scott, *An Indian Journal*, John Radford, ed. (London, 1994), 43.

¹⁰³ Scott, *Indian Journal*, 43.

Hindoo law—that ‘marriages performed before the respective ages of 20 in boys and 15 in girls shall not be considered legal in the eyes of the law or brought before the Court’ . . . This Jubilee year must leave some expression on us Hindoo women, and nothing will be more gratefully received than the introduction of this mere sentence into our law books.”¹⁰⁴ The bishop of Carlisle told the editor of the *Times* that “no words can plead [Rukhmabai’s] cause more eloquently than her own.” But he was only partly right, because her speech was not purely her own. It had been both tampered with and re-presented before the public even read it. Carlisle’s certainty “that I shall carry you, Sir, and all your readers with me, when I say that the appeal of the poor afflicted Hindoo woman to the Queen, with the reference to the Jubilee, is infinitely pathetic” meant that Rukhmabai’s own words had to compete with his determination to recast her in the role of the pathetic and “defenceless” Indian woman—a particular remake, as it were, of the delicate English lady.¹⁰⁵

BY APPEALING TO THE QUEEN-EMPRESS and her worldwide imperial government, Rukhmabai demonstrated her determination to make her case, and with it the question of child marriage, an issue of the highest political importance—a determination that had begun with her first act of resistance and of which her letter in the *Times* was a particularly persuasive example. She did so in a metropolitan context where newspapers such as the *Times*, when it deigned to recognize the Indian National Congress (INC) at all, consistently cast aspersions on its legitimacy as a representative political, as opposed to social, body.¹⁰⁶ For, in the same columns where the *Times* gave updates on the trial between 1886 and 1888, it also reported a variety of “native” protests against the government’s legal interference with the custom of child marriage throughout India. These were abbreviated stories that formed part of the longer daily report on events in India, but they characterized the protests as “agitations” and “outbursts of fanatical hostility,” which were “boisterous and . . . absolutely uproarious.”¹⁰⁷ Although the INC, which had had its first annual meeting less than a year before, was often not even mentioned by name, its meetings and activities were being covered extensively in the *Times* during the period of the Bombay trial, and not in a very sympathetic manner. The Indian correspondent referred to it as “the so-called National Congress,” and when Indian delegates visited Britain to canvass for MPs supportive of their cause in the general election of 1885, they were referred to as “ambitious agitators” who were unready for self-government.¹⁰⁸ The meetings of the second Congress of 1886 were labeled “demonstrations,” with the *Times* praising the Central Mahomedan Association for

¹⁰⁴ Rukhmabai, letter to the editor, the *Times* (April 9, 1887): 43.

¹⁰⁵ For an insightful analysis of how the speech of Indian women has historically been managed, see Sinha, “Gender in the Critiques of Colonialism and Nationalism,” 246–75.

¹⁰⁶ So concerned were “native” Indian papers about the misrepresentation of Indian news in the English press at home (especially over the case of Rukhmabai) that Y. N. Ranade created *English Opinion on India*, a monthly journal that culled excerpts from the English press on Indian affairs. It ran from 1887 to 1894 and touched on high politics as well as social-reform issues. He was explicitly politically motivated, his purpose being to guarantee that “the native press should be an important factor in the administration of this country.” See *English Opinion on India* 1, no. 1 (February 1887): 3; and “English Opinion on Rukhmabai’s Case,” *The Mahratta* (June 19, 1887): 1.

¹⁰⁷ The *Times* (September 13, 1886): 5.

¹⁰⁸ The *Times* (November 22, 1887): 5; and (August 19, 1885): 8.

declining to participate, with the skeptical remark, "it is difficult to see what good the promoters can hope to effect."¹⁰⁹ Most significant for our purposes, the *Times* tried to use the outburst of opinion for and against Rukhmabai in India to discredit the claims then being made on the British government and on British opinion by Indian nationalists for self-rule. As the *Times* Calcutta correspondent advised in his editorial comment in the wake of Dadaji's appeal in March 1886, "native reformers . . . [should] direct their energies less to vague political aspirations and more to the pressing evils of their social system."¹¹⁰

For all that the *Times* tried to relegate debates about conjugality to the sphere of social relations and social reform, the publicity given to Rukhmabai's trial raised important questions about the rule of law in British India—questions that were *political* insofar as they threatened the tenuous balance of power the British had sought to maintain since 1857 by pledging (nominal) noninterference in religious customs like age of marriage.¹¹¹ Rudyard Kipling's poem "In the Case of Rukhmibhaio" offered a view of the trial that was more satirical than that produced by the *Times* or other metropolitan papers but that made the connections between Indian nationalists' calls for self-rule and the debate about the trial in India unmistakably clear:

Gentlemen reformers with an English Education—
Lights of Aryavarta take our heartiest applause,
For the spectacle you offer of an "educated" nation
Working out its freedom under "educated" laws . . .

Gentleman reformers, you have heard the story,
Weighed the woman's evidence—marked the man's reply
Here's a chance for honour, notoriety and glory!
Graduates of culture will you let that chance go by?

[You can lecture government, draught a resolution—
Sign a huge memorial—that Calcutta saw.
Never such an opening for touching elocution—
as the text of Rukhmibai, jailed by Hindu law]

What? No word of protest? Not a sign of pity?
Not a hand to help the girl, but, in black and white
Writes the leading oracle of the leading city:—
"We the Indian Nation, we hold it served her right . . .["]

It is then the brutal Briton feels an impulse, wild, unruly—
That tingles in the toe nails of a non-official boot—
Lumps in one mean heap of cruelty the graduate and coolie—
And the old race-instinct answers to the clamour:—Hut you brute.¹¹²

Kipling's animosity toward the "effeminate Bengali" was, and is, well known.¹¹³ For him, as no doubt for many metropolitan readers, the spectacle of Rukhmabai

¹⁰⁹ The *Times* (December 20, 1886): 5.

¹¹⁰ The *Times* (March 22, 1886): 5.

¹¹¹ It should be noted that Indian nationalists and "social" reformers also distinguished between the political and the social. See, for example, M. J. Ranade, "The Sixth Social Conference" (1892), in *The Miscellaneous Writings of the Late Honourable Mr. Justice Ranade* (New Delhi, 1992), 116.

¹¹² Rudyard Kipling, "In the Case of Rukhmibhaio," in Andrew Rutherford, ed., *Early Verse by Rudyard Kipling, 1879–1889* (Oxford, 1986), 374–75.

¹¹³ Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj*, 166.

enabled the collapse of “the graduate” (INC men) into “the coolie” (Dadaji) and suggested that at stake in the display of the Hindu woman was the status and masculinity of Indian men—especially where masculinity was defined as a capacity to protect Hindu women from penetration by even an apparently unwilling colonial state.¹¹⁴ The lady-like qualities attributed time and again to Rukhmabai thus showed up Indian men’s failed gentlemanliness, even as fantasies about her helplessness shored up the need for intervention by a chivalrous English state and appeared to confirm the inadequacies of indigenous political protest.

Opinion in Britain during the trial of Rukhmabai as evidenced in this essay appeared to be both against legislation and “pro” Rukhmabai. This is at first glance a contradictory posture, since Rukhmabai herself called repeatedly on the government for legislative reform. But the disavowal of intervention produced, to borrow from Gyan Prakash, a kind of imperialist double-speak: for those who sided with Rukhmabai did so to show up the apparent barbarity of Indian male reformers who abandoned her to prison, not to criticize the imperial government for failing in its responsibilities.¹¹⁵ Moreover, they decried legal intervention only as a temporary measure, pending the sufficient education of the indigenous population in the most civilized (read British) forms of conjugality. Some, like Max Müller, did so on the grounds that he understood the laws of Manu better than the pundits; others, like one contributor to the *Queen*, were convinced that discretion in such matters was the very proof of British superiority—and hence manifest evidence of Britain’s right to rule.¹¹⁶ The coincidence of debates about Rukhmabai’s trial with the sardonic and at times outright hostile reception given to the meetings and the leaders of the INC by the British press suggests that the case was being used to help solidify already implicit connections between the ability of Indian men to regulate Indian female sexuality and their capacity for self-rule. Even, and especially, when they claimed to have the best interests of Rukhmabai at heart, Rukhmabai’s supporters in the metropole disparaged Hindu sexual mores by championing as victim the woman whose very resistance made the court case itself an argument simultaneously against the violences of Hindu conjugality *and* colonial rule. Whether Rukhmabai was reclaimed as the pathetic victim of “primitive” Hindu custom or the courageous spokesperson for a new kind of Indian woman, what emerged from the controversy was a particular model of female virtue: “the Hindoo lady.” This hybrid persona was clearly appropriated by Rukhmabai in order to legitimize her resistance to colonial law. But in the hands of the late Victorian press in Britain, it was repeatedly designed to appear as derivative of presumptively English models of “lady-like” sexual respectability—the only kind of “wronged woman,” presumably, who could legitimately seek support in the metropolitan public sphere. In this sense, British newspapers’ attention to the trial did more than show up the partiality of the colonial judicial system, make visible the circulation of colonial knowledge, or even lay bare some Victorians’ contempt for Indian nationalism. Metropolitan discourses

¹¹⁴ See Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity*; and Baxi, “‘State’s Emissary,’” 250.

¹¹⁵ Gyan Prakash, “Introduction: After Colonialism,” in Prakash, *After Colonialism*, 7.

¹¹⁶ See the exchange between J.D., letter to the editor, the *Times* (January 6, 1888): 14, and F.M.M. [Max Müller] (January 14, 1888): 4. For a discussion of this tendency by both Müller and colonial officials, see Chakravarti, “Whatever Happened,” 27–86; and Mani, “Contentious Traditions,” 88–126. See also Chandra, “Whose Laws,” 200.

about the trial worked continually to obscure the very relationship between empire and "home" that Rukhmabai herself was constantly in danger of revealing: for whether it was the *Times*, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the *Western Daily Press*, or even the *Queen*, journalists of all stripes were deeply invested in the idea that female respectability was a "full-grown, stable model" that originated in Britain and was transplanted wholesale to colonies, to be appropriated by or imputed to Indian women aspiring to "civilization."¹¹⁷ To the contrary, Rukhmabai's trial demonstrates that, like Victorian domestic ideology itself, performances of female virtue were staged neither in Britain nor India alone but in the transnational communities of colonial culture that imperial social formation generated, of which the press was a crucial discursive technology. Though a relatively "small act" in the long history of colonial rule, Rukhmabai's speech is suggestive of the dialectical and "mutually sustaining process of cultural reconstruction" that empire guaranteed as the structural relationship "between" Britain and India in the nineteenth century.¹¹⁸

The debate on child marriage was far from over when Dadaji and Rukhmabai reached their settlement in 1888. In 1890, a child named Phulmonee was "raped to death" by her husband, Hari Mati; she was a girl of eleven or twelve; he was a man of thirty-five. According to Tanika Sarkar, "the event added enormous weight and urgency to Malabari's campaigns for raising the age of consent from 10 to 12" in India. It did not go unnoticed in Britain, either.¹¹⁹ Encouraged by supporters of Rukhmabai in Britain, Malabari traveled to London in the spring of 1890, specifically to work up support for consent legislation—a campaign that revived the public debate in the *Times* and the *Englishwoman's Review* and carried it into new discursive spaces via a number of mainstream Victorian periodicals as well. Max Müller, Cardinal Henry Manning, and Millicent Garrett Fawcett all lent their support to his crusade; fifty-five women doctors practicing in India memorialized the government; and Malabari flooded the British public with his treatise, *An Appeal on Behalf of the Daughters of India*.¹²⁰ He was hailed in Britain as the

¹¹⁷ See Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff, "Home-Made Hegemony: Modernity, Domesticity, and Colonialism in South Africa," in Karen Tranberg Hansen, ed., *African Encounters with Domesticity* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1992), 39 and following.

¹¹⁸ See Kamala Visweswaran, "Small Speeches, Subaltern Gender: Nationalist Ideology and Its Historiography," in Shahid Amin and Dipesh Chakrabarty, eds., *Subaltern Studies IX* (Delhi, 1996). For critiques of Britain's presumptive originality and discussions of its dialectical relationship with empire, see Catherine Hall, "Competing Masculinities: Thomas Carlyle, John Stuart Mill and the Case of Governor Eyre," in Hall, *White, Male, and Middle-Class: Explorations in History and Feminism* (London, 1992), 255–95; and Hall, "Rethinking Imperial Histories: The Reform Act of 1867," *New Left Review* 208 (1994): 3–29; Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda," in their edited collection, *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley, Calif., 1996), 1–58; Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest* (New York, 1995); and Antoinette Burton, "Who Needs the Nation? Interrogating 'British' History," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 10, no. 3 (1997): 227–48.

¹¹⁹ T. Sarkar, "Rhetoric against Age of Consent," 1873; see also the *Times* (July 28, 1890): 5; (August 7, 1890): 3; (January 29, 1891): 5.

¹²⁰ See Behramji Malabari, letter to the editor, the *Times* (August 22, 1890): 8; and (September 13, 1890): 8; "Child Marriage and Enforced Widowhood in India," Part 1 (September 13, 1890): 8; Part 2 (September 15, 1890): 8; Part 3 (October 7, 1890): 8; doctor's petition (November 7, 1890): 3; (September 29, 1890): 3; (October 6, 1890): 3; (October 9, 1890): 3; (October 17, 1890): 3; (October 22, 1890): 5; (November 18, 1890): 5; (November 9, 1890): 5; (November 20, 1890): 8; (November 28, 1890): 5; (December 1, 1890): 5; (December 8, 1890): 5; (December 22, 1890): 5; (December 25, 1890): 3; (January 13, 1891): 3, 5; (January 19, 1891): 5; (January 24, 1891): 5; (February 5, 1891): 5; (February 9, 1891): 5; (February 11, 1891): 4; (February 16, 1891): 5; (February 18, 1891): 5; (February 23, 1891):

spokesman for the marriage-reform movement, and his book received favorable reviews in the press—while Tilak raised the cry of “Hinduism in danger” in Maharashtra and crowds were organized to protest the possibility of reform in the Indian Penal Code in various regions of India.¹²¹ Geraldine Forbes and Charles Heimsath have suggested that it was the impact of public opinion in Britain that helped pass the 1891 Act, because “the Home Government . . . took a decidedly pro-reform stand, under pressure from British societies interested in the welfare of Indians.”¹²² If they are right, it was not Malabari’s campaign in London alone but also the interest generated by the trial of Rukhmabai several years earlier that helped to establish that extra-parliamentary pressure and ensure its political influence. And although Malabari dominated the debate in Britain in 1890, the impact of Rukhmabai’s participation at this juncture must not be discounted, either. She was studying medicine at the time in London, where she published a lengthy piece in the *New Review* in September of 1890 called “Indian Child Marriages: An Appeal to the Government.” In it, she sounded her earlier themes—that child marriage impeded women’s educational progress, that women suffered as a result of it more than men, and that the only remedy could come from the British government. Those in Britain who had followed her trial from the mid-1880s no doubt recognized her ideological positions. They may well have also sympathized with her lament: “Child marriage. Infant marriage. Cradle marriage . . . what a repetition of words, and how wearisome the sound of these words has become to some of us!”¹²³

5; (February 24, 1891): 9; (February 28, 1891): 7; (March 2, 1891): 5; (March 26, 1891): 3; (March 27, 1891): 6; (May 15, 1891): 13. See also Rukhmabai, “Indian Child Marriages,” *The New Review* 3, no. 16 (September 1890): 263–69; Henry Manning, “Indian Child Marriages: I,” *The New Review* 3, no. 18 (September 1890): 447–49; Millicent Garrett Fawcett, “Indian Child Marriages: II,” *The New Review* 3, no. 18 (September 1890): 450–54; J. D. Rees, “Meddling with Hindu Marriages,” *Nineteenth Century* 28 (October 1890): 660–75; Millicent Garrett Fawcett, “Infant Marriage in India,” *Contemporary Review* 58 (November 1890): 712–20; Müller, “Story of an Indian Child-Wife”; Max Müller, “The Indian Woman and Her Wrongs,” *Saturday Review* (September 20, 1890): 341–42; “The Indian Renaissance,” *Englishwoman’s Review* (February 1890): 55–60.

¹²¹ See Meera Kosambi, “Girl-Brides and Socio-Legal Change: The Age of Consent Bill (1891) Controversy,” in Kosambi, *At the Intersection of Gender Reform and Religious Belief* (Bombay, 1993), 105–50; and Kosambi, “Gender, Reform and Competing State Controls over Women.”

¹²² Geraldine Forbes, “Child Marriage Reform in India,” unpublished paper provided courtesy of the author; Heimsath, “Origin and Enactment of the Indian Age of Consent Bill, 1891,” 502.

¹²³ Rukhmabai, “Indian Child Marriages,” 263.

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Sex, Citizenship, and the Nation in World War II Britain

SONYA O. ROSE

DURING WORLD WAR II, there was widespread public apprehension about the declining morals of girls and young women in British cities and towns. Social workers, probation officers, and police worried about the young girls who were said to hang around bus and train terminals on the lookout for soldiers. High-level officials of government deliberated on what could be done about the women who reportedly “accosted” soldiers on the streets of cities and towns. And in various districts of the country, there was talk about young women whose behavior was threatening to populate the country with illegitimate babies, some of whom could well be black.

There have been, of course, periodic upsurges of public concern about immorality on the part of women and girls. The closing decades of the nineteenth century, for example, witnessed heightened public apprehension about prostitution and the sexual vulnerabilities of girls and young women.¹ So-called “white slavery”—the national and international traffic in women, especially girls—preoccupied social purity groups and the media in pre-war London.² Early in World War I, “khaki fever” was said to afflict girls who openly associated with men in uniform.³ Flappers

Note: The second and third sections of the article make use of and further develop portions of my “Girls and GIs: Race, Sex, and Diplomacy in Second World War Britain,” *International History Review* 19 (February 1997): 146–60. A number of my colleagues have given helpful comments on various drafts of this essay. They include Julia Adams, Geoff Eley, Susan Grayzel, Leslie Hall, Susan Kingsley Kent, Philippa Levine, William G. Rosenberg, David Scobey, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, Dror Wahrman, and Angela Woollacott. Versions were presented at a number of different venues including the Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, Atlanta, 1996; Berkshire Conference, Chapel Hill, 1996; Social Science History Association Meeting, New Orleans, 1996; Center for European Studies at Harvard, 1997; and University of Portsmouth Seminar in Social History, 1997. The questions and comments made by members of the audiences at each of these presentations helped to guide subsequent revisions. Finally, anonymous reviewers for the *American Historical Review* gave constructive and often challenging comments.

¹ See Judith R. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State* (Cambridge, 1980); Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (Chicago, 1992); Edward J. Bristow, *Vice and Vigilance: Purity Movements in Britain since 1700* (Dublin, 1977).

² Jeffrey Weeks, *Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality since 1800* (London, 1981), 86–92; Paul Ferris, *Sex and the British: A Twentieth-Century History* (London, 1993); Bristow, *Vice and Vigilance*.

³ Angela Woollacott, “‘Khaki Fever’ and Its Control: Gender, Class, Age and Sexual Morality on the British Homefront in the First World War,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 29 (April 1994): 325–47. For an extensive cultural analysis of contested gender relations in World War I, see Susan Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War: The Cultural Politics of Gender in Britain and France, 1914–1919* (PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1994).

and “dope girls” peopled media portrayals of transgressive female sexuality during the interwar period.⁴

Such incidents of rampant unease may best be understood as episodes in a relatively continuous public discourse about sexuality and especially about appropriate norms of female sexuality.⁵ What distinguishes these episodes are the particular events or circumstances that trigger heightened and extensive fascination with and commentary about the sexual activities of women and girls, and the rhetoric and cultural imagery that simultaneously portray these activities as indicative of sweeping moral transgressions and link them to more general preoccupations and debates.

Scholars have traditionally thought about moral discourses in two ways: as statements of the sacred rules that dictate behavior and as the evaluative and normative categories that organize perception and action.⁶ In a fruitful shift of emphasis, philosopher Richard Rorty suggests that morality is “the voice of ourselves as members of a community, speakers of a common language.”⁷ This shift of emphasis focuses attention on the connections between morality and collective identities. Morality, Rorty proposes, is a matter of “we-intentions,” and the core meaning of “immoral action” is “the sort of thing *we* don’t do . . . If done by one of us, or if done repeatedly by one of us, that person ceases to be one of us.”⁸ This way of thinking about morality suggests that there may likely be an outpouring of moral discourse in periods when the issue of community identity has become especially significant, times when questions about the nature and extent of community or national solidarity become highly charged, and when the bases of unity are seen to be fragmented.⁹ Moral discourse becomes especially intensified, I am suggesting, when perceptions of difference and the diversity within nations or communities become problematic. War is just such a time.

War exaggerates the significance of the nation as a source and object of identity. War is an especially critical juncture, since people in a nation-state are called on to unify in defense of their supposedly common “way of life.” During wartime, propagandists manipulate patriotic sentiment to stimulate loyalty and sacrifice; they focus public attention on questions such as who “we” are and what it is that “we” stand for. It is a time when physical bodies and the social body—the national body—are threatened on a variety of fronts. War, especially total war, transforms the everyday in unparalleled ways, as women and men face various new and untested opportunities with unforeseen consequences. Thus war’s liberating potential threatens the very unity that the nation is imagined to represent. Under such conditions, and in a society with a long history of constructing female sexuality and

⁴ See Billie Melman, *Women and the Popular Imagination in the Twenties: Flappers and Nymphs* (London, 1988); Marek Kohn, *Dope Girls: The Birth of the British Drug Underground* (London, 1992).

⁵ Simon Watney, *Policing Desire: Pornography, AIDS, and the Media*, 2d edn. (Minneapolis, 1989).

⁶ See, for example, Arthur Stinchcombe, “The Deep Structure of Moral Categories,” in Jeffrey C. Alexander, ed., *Durkheimian Sociology: Cultural Studies* (Cambridge, 1988), 68–69.

⁷ Richard Rorty, *Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity* (Cambridge, 1989), 59.

⁸ Rorty, *Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity*, 59.

⁹ In her study of the politics of censorship, Nicola Beisel suggests something similar when she argues that the “cultural power” of moral appeals stems in part from how they “construct group and individual identities.” See Beisel, “Morals versus Art: Censorship, the Politics of Interpretation, and the Victorian Nude,” *American Sociological Review* 58 (April 1993): 148.

the pursuit of pleasure as dangerous, women who were perceived to be seeking out sexual adventures might well be defined as subversive.

In this essay, I shall first examine how, in the context of wartime Britain, race and national difference exacerbated public concern about the romantic and pleasure-seeking activities of women and girls. My exploration of the dynamics of racial ideology leads me to suggest that anxiety about interracial sexuality significantly amplified concern about female sexual propriety. Then, to analyze further how women's transgressive behaviors were given meaning in public discussion, I explore the symbolic links between the commentary about women's sexuality and popular discourses of national identity and ideals of citizenship. I suggest that expressions of anxiety about women's sexual morality were framed by constructions of national identity and the ideals of citizenship elaborated in a variety of sites of cultural production.

AS WAR BECAME INCREASINGLY IMMINENT IN 1939, the National Council of Women and representatives of various moral welfare and social purity organizations began to express their concern about young girls hanging around military encampments. During World War I, as Philippa Levine has detailed, their predecessors had advocated hiring women to control the women and girls who were seen consorting with soldiers.¹⁰ These groups, led by the National Council of Women, which took as one of its special missions the promotion of women's unique capacities for police work, continued to advocate the hiring of women police in the interwar period. With the onset of World War II, they stepped up their campaign, lobbying the Home Office to pressure local constabularies to hire policewomen who would deal with the women and girls whose behavior they deemed questionable.¹¹ While the Home Office made funds available for the purpose of adding women as auxiliary police personnel, it exerted no pressure on the constabularies. Local women's groups, such as the Women's Citizens Association of Preston, campaigned to persuade their chief constables and the Watch Committee to hire women police.¹² But at least in Preston and possibly in other communities as well, they were not successful until or after the autumn of 1942.¹³

Beginning in late 1942, a greater proportion of the public commented on and denounced the romantic escapades of women and girls, intensifying both official and unofficial scrutiny of their behavior. Participants included not only social purity

¹⁰ Philippa Levine, "'Walking the Streets in a Way No Decent Woman Should': Women Police in World War I," *Journal of Modern History* 66 (March 1994): 34–78. Also see Lucy Bland, "In the Name of Protection: The Policing of Women in the First World War," in Julia Brophy and Carol Smart, eds., *Women-in-Law: Explorations in Law, Family and Sexuality* (London, 1985); and Woollacott, "'Khaki Fever' and Its Control."

¹¹ Church of England Moral Welfare Council, *Quarterly Leaflet* 5 (February 1940): 3; *Quarterly Leaflet* 6 (July 1940): 4. In February 1939, the National Council of Women sent a deputation to the Home Office to ask that they enlist women as special police constables, a request that was refused. Memo to Mrs E. Wood, September 25, 1942, Box 3, National Council of Women Papers, Police Federation, Surbiton, England.

¹² Women Police Sectional Committee Minutes, December 1941, National Council of Women Papers, Miscellaneous Documents, Police Federation, Surbiton.

¹³ Rose, "Girls and GIs," 146–60.

and moral welfare workers and the National Council of Women but private citizens, social workers and probation officers, clergymen, a variety of national and local government officials, the military, and the press. Newspapers in geographically dispersed rural and urban districts increased widespread anxiety by printing lurid headlines, feature articles, a proliferation of letters to the editor, and editorials that dissected the causes and consequences of teenage girls “running wild” or going out “for a good time.”¹⁴ Routine reports often went into excruciating detail describing their “indiscretions,” fueling the panic by exciting both outrage and prurient attention.¹⁵

Media attention thus both documented and contributed to public anxiety about girls and young women. Initially, it coincided with the government’s first nationwide educational media campaign to curb the spread of venereal disease. By 1941, rates of syphilis had increased 13 percent among males and 63 percent among females.¹⁶ In October 1942, the ban on radio broadcasts dealing with such matters was lifted, and the government’s chief medical officer spoke on the air about the perils of venereal disease. The Ministry of Information followed with an extensive poster campaign, and Parliament debated and enacted an anti-venereal disease control measure, Regulation 33B. This stipulated that if a person was identified as the source of venereal disease by at least two informants, he or she was legally required to undergo treatment or would be arrested and forced to undergo treatment. Opposed by those who thought it would do nothing to prevent venereal disease, Regulation 33B was vilified by church and social purity groups as a stimulus to vice and by feminists who feared its enforcement would target women but not men. Both the VD educational campaign and the debate over 33B contributed to making sex a subject of extensive public discussion.

But, more significant, the public commentary about the behavior of women and girls was stimulated by the growing presence of American GIs in British towns and cities. The Americans began arriving in late 1942, and the numbers of Americans on British soil began to grow rapidly during that year and early in 1943.¹⁷ By D-Day, there were around a million American soldiers in Britain. They were most often the ones who appeared in reports as the objects of desire of these young women, and it was their presence that triggered the widespread perception that a wave of “moral laxity” was engulfing the country. The Americans, however, did not cause a dramatic change in young women’s sexual behaviors to the extent that the public uproar suggested. What had changed was that they, rather than local British men

¹⁴ See, for example, *Daily Herald* (March 23, 1943): 5; *Chard and Ilminster News* (February 13, 1943): 4; *Bath and Wiltshire Chronicle and Herald* (July 1, 1943): 8; *Leicester Evening Mail* (January 16, 1943): 3; *Liverpool Daily Post* (July 2, 1943): 4.

¹⁵ The work of Judith Walkowitz demonstrates the role of the media in fashioning audiences for sexual scandal and discourses of sexual danger, *City of Dreadful Delight*. On the role of contemporary media in focusing public attention on issues of sexual morality, see Watney, *Policing Desire*.

¹⁶ Cate Haste, *Rules of Desire, Sex in Britain: World War I to the Present* (London, 1992), 133; Arthur Salusbury MacNalty and W. Franklin Mellor, *Medical Services in War* (London, 1968), 331.

¹⁷ For works devoted to the American presence in Britain during World War II, see David Reynolds, *Rich Relations: The American Occupation of Britain, 1942–1945* (New York, 1995); Juliet Gardiner, “Over Here”: *The GIs in Wartime Britain* (London, 1992); Graham Smith, *When Jim Crow Met John Bull: Black American Soldiers in World War II Britain* (New York, 1988). For a more extensive discussion of the issues produced by the interaction of American men and British women than presented here, see Rose, “Girls and GIs,” 146–60.

and boys, became the objects of women's desires. The arrival of these foreign troops made visible what might have occurred with much less comment had there not been a war.¹⁸ The fact that they were not British and that they often represented themselves as coming to Britain's rescue undoubtedly threatened national pride. Their associations with British women also potentially could undermine the morale of British soldiers fighting overseas. Additionally, the presence of the Americans added the issue of race to apprehensions that wartime conditions were causing women and girls to lose self-control and were putting the moral fabric of the nation in jeopardy.

Public criticism of Americans in general, however, was discouraged if not overtly censored by the government. Especially in the first year of the American presence, the British press rarely published articles about friction with the GIs or criticism about their behavior.¹⁹ Even when the war was ending, the British-American Liaison Board, which dealt with relations between GIs and British civilians, discussed a pamphlet of cartoons by a British resident of Exeter, "More Gum Chum," depicting American soldiers and British women. The committee maintained that its "contents were calculated to do harm" because the "morale of the troops and relations with Americans were bound up with it."²⁰ As a consequence, Clarence Stilling, the author, was "encouraged" not to publish or try to sell any more of the pamphlets.²¹ Such sensitivity combined with a historically enduring sexual double standard shielded American men from being held responsible for the presumed breakdown of moral standards of women and girls.

White American soldiers were generally portrayed by the press as playing no sexual role other than being associated with the girls.²² For instance, the front page of a Leicester newspaper carried the headline, "'Model Daughter' Became Infatuated." The case was described as "A tragedy due to wartime infatuation." The seventeen-year-old girl had been accused of stealing clothing worth £6.

¹⁸ See, for example, the description by Stephen Humphries of "larking about between the sexes" by adolescents in the years prior to the war. *Hooligans or Rebels? An Oral History of Working-Class Childhood and Youth, 1889-1939* (Oxford, 1981), 135-40. For a description of the interaction of interwar Preston youth, see Derek Thompson, "Courtship and Marriage between the Wars," *Oral History* 3 (April 1975): 42-43. David Reynolds also suggests that wartime behavior was not radically different; *Rich Relations*, 276. Constance Nathanson suggests that when immoral behavior becomes highly visible, its meaning changes. What was once understood to be aberrant behavior on the part of individuals becomes identified as a public problem. Nathanson, *Dangerous Passage: The Social Control of Sexuality in Women's Adolescence* (Philadelphia, 1991), chap. 1.

¹⁹ Reynolds, *Rich Relations*, 184.

²⁰ Minutes of the 19th Meeting of the British-American Liaison Board (hereafter, BALB), January 30, 1945, FO 371/44625, Public Records Office (hereafter, PRO), Kew, London. The BALB was composed of representatives of the American Embassy, the Ministry of Information, the U.S. Army, the Foreign Office, and the War Office and was established in the winter of 1944.

²¹ 23rd Meeting of the BALB, March 22, 1945, FO 371/44625, PRO, Kew. From the perspective of today, the cartoons seem harmless. One of them, for example, depicted a popular joke in Britain at the time. It showed a young British soldier coming upon a GI embracing a woman, with the caption reading "Mother?!" Clarence Stilling, "More Gum Chum," typescript (n.d.), Devon Public Records Office, Exeter.

²² The analysis that follows stems from my reading of accounts in various newspapers, including the *Norfolk News and Weekly Press* between February 7, 1942, and June 25, 1944; *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, September 20, 1943 to October 4, 1943 (when the editor called a halt to the correspondence on the association of British girls with black American soldiers); *Chard and Ilminster News*, January 1943 through May 1944; *Bath and Wiltshire Chronicle and Herald* between January 1943 and June 1944; *Leicester Evening Mail* between January 1943 and May 1945.

Counsel said she had been a model daughter . . . and a regular attender of Salvation Army meetings until she became infatuated with two American soldiers last August. Eventually, instead of coming home, she took the first step that led to her ruin. They went to a public house and afterwards to the soldiers' camp, and slept the night in an air raid shelter. When the soldiers were transferred, the girl stole a bicycle and followed them.²³

In this report, and in others like it, the silence about the white soldiers represented them as being the source of apparently irresistible temptation; thus descriptions of their behavior were unnecessary for the story to make sense. One exception to this general pattern is a story in the *Luton News*, which suggested that the (white) American soldiers' gifts and money explained why British women were attracted to them. The article reported on a court case involving two young women ages nineteen and sixteen who were described as wearing new shoes and gloves given to them by the Americans, and "one admitted receiving £6 from soldiers."²⁴ But the rhetorical strategy in all of these accounts focused full attention on the figure of the wayward girl.²⁵

THE OUTRAGE OVER YOUNG WOMEN'S MORALS intensified when the soldiers with whom they associated were black. In the press, virtually the only identifying feature ever supplied about American soldiers was race, and that was usually given only when the soldiers were black. The issue of race, generally, was a topic that generated extreme discomfort on the part of British government officials. Earlier, prior to the U.S. entry into the war, the British government had requested that Negro troops be barred from working or serving on the West Indian bases that the British had leased to the Americans.²⁶ Also, the Royal Air Force had rejected on the grounds of race an American black pilot who had applied to serve as a ferry pilot guiding planes between Montreal and Great Britain, although subsequently the RAF's requirement that "all applicants must be of the white race" was dropped.²⁷ Qualified African Americans had also been denied employment with the British Purchasing Commission in Washington; a black doctor from New York, who had volunteered to come to Britain to help because of the widely publicized shortage of physicians in London during the Blitz, was rejected by the Ministry of Health. While the British military services during the war suspended the requirement that people who enlisted and received commissions must prove they were of European descent, they made it clear that this was "for the duration only" and

²³ *Leicester Evening Mail* (January 19, 1943): 1.

²⁴ *Luton News* (January 20, 1944): 3.

²⁵ Examining the relationship of American soldiers and women as portrayed in Australian women's letters and diaries, Marilyn Lake notes a similar objectification of American men. See Lake, "The Desire for a Yank: Sexual Relations between Australian Women and American Servicemen during World War II," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 2 (November 1992): 621–33. In both Australian women's representations of American men and in the reports about the involvement of British women with American men, the women were depicted as the active subjects. What differentiates them is that the women in Lake's account portrayed themselves as actively desiring subjects, while British women were portrayed by others as acting on immoral desires. Also see Marilyn Lake, "Female Desires: The Meaning of World War II," *Australian Historical Studies* 24 (October 1990): 267–84.

²⁶ Smith, *When Jim Crow Met John Bull*, 29.

²⁷ Smith, *When Jim Crow Met John Bull*, 29–30.

resisted making any statements about what would happen after the war.²⁸ These instances suggest that many government officials certainly favored racial exclusivity even prior to the American forces' actual arrival.

Their apprehensiveness about the problems they imagined would arise if nonwhites were integrated into the homefront war effort mounted, however, when it became clear that the Americans intended to move large numbers of black troops into the country.²⁹ They anticipated that the presence of black American soldiers would create problems of both diplomacy and social control.³⁰

The Foreign Office was concerned that long-term diplomatic ties between the United States and Britain would be damaged if situations resulted that rankled the Americans. The Foreign Office, in fact, hoped to use the American presence as a way to strengthen these ties, and to instill in the Americans a positive opinion and appreciation for the British.³¹ Although there were voices in the Foreign Office that cautioned against alienating those Americans with more progressive views on race, as well as those concerned about offending the southerners, the War Office wanted the government to issue instructions encouraging the British to accommodate American segregationist attitudes and practices.³²

The Colonial Office, however, was extremely apprehensive that, whatever stance the British took on the presence of black Americans on British soil, it should not intensify colonial disaffection with British rule. The Colonial Office worried especially that if the British appeared to sanction or participate in overtly racist practices, such behavior would exacerbate anti-British sentiment on the part of colonial elites. As sociologist Kenneth Little wrote in a memorandum to the Colonial Office:

As you yourself know, these representatives of the British colonials over here have been made very uneasy, and justifiably so in my opinion, at the prospects of American methods of Segregation, etc. being copied here as well as re-inforcing existing colour bar mechanisms. What the ordinary statesman or politician apparently does not realize is that news of such events and "incidents" flies very quickly these days, and particularly at a time like the present when coloured people everywhere are almost morbidly alive to anything over here which savours of discrimination.³³

For officials, then, hosting large numbers of American blacks was very complex, indeed. Additionally, the Colonial Office had to cope with the problem that

²⁸ See David Margesson, War Office, to Lord Walter Moyne, Colonial Office, February 11, 1941, CO 968/37/12, PRO, Kew. Reply, Moyne to Margesson, March 11, 1941, CO 968/37/12, PRO, Kew; "Colour Bar in the Armed Forces," memo signed by J. A. Calder, November 10, 1941, CO 968/38/10, PRO, Kew; War Office to C. H. Thornley, Colonial Office, December 2, 1941, CO 968/38/10, PRO, Kew.

²⁹ See, for example, Regional Commissioner's Report for Region 10, January 1943, HO 199/426, PRO, Kew: "The problem of the negro troops remains, and whilst many of the anticipated difficulties have not yet manifested themselves on the scale expected, I hope that further drafts coming into the country will not include negro troops." For other analyses, see Smith, *When Jim Crow Met John Bull*; Reynolds, *Rich Relations*, 216–37, 302–24. Also see Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989), 67–71.

³⁰ Smith, *When Jim Crow Met John Bull*, 39–40.

³¹ For a discussion, see Reynolds, *Rich Relations*, 164–82.

³² War Office draft paper, September 8, 1942, CO 876/14, PRO, Kew.

³³ Kenneth Little, "Treatment of Colour Prejudice in Britain," to J. L. Keith, Colonial Office, n.d. [probably late September or early October 1942], CO 875/19/14, PRO, Kew.

continued throughout the war of white Americans subjecting black British subjects to Jim Crow practices.³⁴

Such incidents began soon after Americans arrived on British soil. The Colonial Office almost immediately began receiving numerous complaints about the “threatening attitude of American troops” to black Britons and colonials.³⁵ By January 1943, there were reports from Liverpool and Manchester about a “steady deterioration in the relationship between white soldiers and our own Colonial People.”³⁶ The Colonial Office was told of the “tremendous bitterness amongst (West Indian) technicians by these attacks.” And as Learie Constantine, renowned and popular former Trinidadian cricketer, employed as a welfare officer by the Ministry of Labour in Liverpool, put it, “I have lived in this country for a long time and claim many friends amongst the white population, and I shiver to think that I am liable to attack by these men if I am seen in the company of my friends.”³⁷ Subsequently, Constantine was denied a room at a London hotel on the grounds of race by a manager who claimed that the presence of blacks bothered American officers staying at the hotel. Constantine successfully sued the hotel for damages.³⁸ In another incident, he officially protested to the Ministry of Labour and National Security in May 1944 about his treatment at a London pub by two white Americans. Constantine bitterly suggested in his letter that neither the Colonial Office nor any other branch of government seemed willing to confront the Americans about their treatment of black Britons.³⁹

British responses consisted mainly of the equivalent of “hand wringing.” The problems created by American racist behavior toward black British subjects resident in the metropole were handled by powerless, though well-meaning and hard-working, officials in the newly formed Colonial Welfare section of the ministry.⁴⁰

For many segments of the civilian British population, however, as well as ordinary British soldiers, the presence of black Americans was a source of fascination. In spite of the reports of a “colour bar” operating in Britain prior to the arrival of the Americans, white American soldiers’ open hostility toward black Americans provided many Britons with a way to enhance their own sense of national pride by

³⁴ On overt hostility to black Britons, see Regional Commissioner’s Report for Region No. 10, FO 371/34123, January 1943; J. L. Keith’s minute about a letter concerning the “alleged threatening attitude of American troops to coloured persons in this country,” CO 876/14, June 30, 1942; Sir Charles Jeffries’ memo to Gent and Keith, August 1, 1942, on white American troops ousting British Honduran soldiers from a Scottish rest house, CO 876/14; “Welfare of Colonial People in the U.K.: Relations with American Forces in the U.K.,” n.d. [probably January 1943], CO 876/15, PRO, Kew.

³⁵ See, for example, J. L. Keith, Minute, re letter from Professor Gilbert to Audrey Richards, June 30, 1942, CO 876/14, PRO, Kew.

³⁶ “Welfare of Colonial People in the U.K.”

³⁷ Memo, Learie Constantine to Arnold Watson, Regional Controller, Registration Office, Manchester, n.d. [early January 1943], CO 876/15, PRO, Kew.

³⁸ Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (London, 1984), 365–66; John Flint, “Scandal at the Bristol Hotel: Some Thoughts on Racial Discrimination in Britain and West Africa and Its Relationship to the Planning of Decolonisation,” *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 12 (May 1983): 75–76.

³⁹ Extract from Constantine to Ministry of Labour and National Service, Liverpool Welfare Office, May 8, 1944, LAB 26/55, PRO, Kew.

⁴⁰ For a discussion of other incidents of racism involving West Indians, see Ben Bousenquet and Colin Douglas, *West Indian Women at War* (London, 1991), chaps. 7, 9.

contrasting white American racist practices with what they believed to be British racial tolerance.⁴¹ These varied responses by white Britons to the issue of race suggests that the highly unstable meanings of the category of “black” or “coloured”—a category in Britain that included peoples from the Indian subcontinent, the loose subcategory of “Arabs,” West Indians, and Africans from a host of British colonies—were further destabilized by the American presence. Black Americans were often favorably contrasted by British civilians to white Americans, and were seen as more polite and better mannered than their white compatriots. African-American soldiers, however, became racial “others” when it came to sexual relations with white British women.

Fears of both interracial marriage and sex between men of color and white women had a long cultural history in Britain. As Ann Laura Stoler’s work on nineteenth-century European colonialism has suggested, the policing of interracial sexuality to maintain “racial purity” is intimately bound up with constructing and maintaining white supremacy.⁴² While her work explicitly deals with maintaining the boundaries of empire, the empire “came home” during World War I when nonwhite colonial troops were stationed in Britain. They were closely guarded while on leave and not allowed to participate in the victory celebrations held in London. Their being attended by white female nursing staff in hospitals that treated wounded soldiers in Britain aroused considerable controversy as well.⁴³ During the interwar period, the Cardiff chief constable argued for the desirability of anti-miscegenation legislation as had recently been passed in South Africa to secure the “welfare” of the British.⁴⁴ Paul Rich has suggested in his discussion of interwar racial ideology that “‘welfare’ . . . was assumed to accrue from implicit racial separation and the prohibition on inter-racial marriage and sexual contact.”⁴⁵

As in World War I, numerous nonwhite colonials were present in the metropole during the 1940s, in addition to the approximately 7,000 permanent nonwhite residents in the port cities.⁴⁶ Unlike World War I, there were no nonwhite colonial regiments or battalions stationed in Great Britain except for very short periods of time, although there were nonwhite colonials in the country who had enlisted in the military.⁴⁷ More than 10,000 men and a small number of women from the West

⁴¹ See, for example, League of Coloured Peoples, *News Letter* (April 1940): 3; (September 1940): 100–01; (March 1941): 133. Also see Ernest Marke, *In Troubled Waters: Memoirs of My Seventy Years in England* (1975; rpt. edn., London, 1986); Learie Constantine, *Colour Bar* (London, 1954). For an excellent analysis of the imposition of racial discrimination in the maritime industry, see Laura Tabili, *We Ask for British Justice: Workers and Racial Difference in Late Imperial Britain* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994).

⁴² See Ann L. Stoler, “Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in 20th-Century Colonial Cultures,” *American Ethnologist* 16 (November 1989): 634–60; Stoler, “Rethinking Colonial Categories: European Communities and the Boundaries of Rule,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 13 (May 1992): 134–61.

⁴³ Philippa Levine, “Battle Colours: Race, Sex and Colonial Soldierly in World War One,” unpublished manuscript. On the treatment of Indian troops in Britain during the war, see Rozina Visram, *Ayahs, Lascars and Princes: Indians in Britain, 1700–1947* (London, 1986), 122–39. On West Indians, see Fryer, *Staying Power*, 294–97.

⁴⁴ As reported in Paul Rich, *Race and Empire in British Politics* (Cambridge, 1986), 127–28.

⁴⁵ Rich, *Race and Empire in British Politics*, 128.

⁴⁶ Ian Spencer, “World War Two and the Making of Multiracial Britain,” in Pat Kirkham and David Thoms, eds., *War Culture: Social Change and Changing Experience in World War Two Britain* (London, 1995), 209.

⁴⁷ The War Office steadfastly refused throughout the war to allow West Indian regiments to be

Indies were volunteers in the armed services. Almost all of the men were in the RAF; most were from Jamaica, with lesser numbers from Trinidad, British Guiana, and other Caribbean islands; the women enlisted in the Auxiliary Territorial Service (ATS).⁴⁸ Additionally, during the war, approximately 700 Indians were brought for training and then sent back to India to boost production of munitions. There were around 1,000 skilled technicians and trainees brought from the West Indies for employment in ordnance factories, and about the same number of men from British Honduras were brought to work in the forests of Scotland.⁴⁹

Bringing West Indians to the country to work was important not just to the Ministry of Labour and National Security, desperate for manpower, but also to the Colonial Office, which saw such schemes as colonial development projects and as a way to reinforce or foster positive West Indian views of the British. To achieve the latter end, the Ministry of Labour and National Security and the Colonial Office arranged for local hospitality to be offered. In the town of Bolton, where there was an ordnance factory, this included "informal dances" and having "ladies interested in the Colonial problem to accompany the coloured men to theatres and dances."⁵⁰ A report about the town suggested that the West Indians' association with white British women did not "appear to give rise to really serious problems in Bolton." The report writer, indicating he was surprised, offered as possible explanations the small number of black men in Bolton and the fact that the community already included a few black professional men.⁵¹

This seemingly benign attitude toward interracial heterosexual associations applied as well to the British Hondurans in Scotland when they first arrived, although it did not last.⁵² In August 1942, Harold Macmillan, parliamentary undersecretary of state for the colonies, received a complaint from the duke of Buccleuch about the British Honduran unit:

The people in the neighbourhood were encouraged to be friendly to them and the girls have interpreted this rather widely . . . I . . . learned that there have been a number of marriages and births, and much intercourse is allowed, even in the Camp itself . . . Personally, I dislike this mixture of colour and regret that it should be allowed with no discouragement. There are already sufficient births of foreign extraction in the country without the additional complication of colour . . . I feel that unsophisticated country girls should be discouraged from marrying these black men from Equatorial America.⁵³

raised in spite of the desires of the West Indians and the Colonial Office. There were regiments of Africans and Indians, but they were rarely in Great Britain and only then for brief periods of training.

⁴⁸ Spencer, "World War Two and the Making of Multiracial Britain," 212.

⁴⁹ Spencer, "World War Two and the Making of Multiracial Britain," 212.

⁵⁰ Colonel Matthews, Memo to J. L. Keith, Welfare Section of the Colonial Office, "Visit to West Indian Technicians in Bolton," November 15, 1943, CO 876/48, PRO, Kew.

⁵¹ Matthews to Keith, CO 876/48, PRO, Kew.

⁵² A report on their welfare in January 1941 indicated that the "men seem to have found many friends amongst the local inhabitants; they visit the neighbouring villages and towns and are well received . . . dances are given and attended." Report on Health, Welfare, etc. of British Honduras Unit, January 5, 1941, CO 876/41, PRO, Kew. For a study of the British Honduran Forestry Unit, see Marika Sherwood, *The British Honduran Forestry Unit in Scotland 1941-43* (London, 1982). I thank Anna Davin for telling me about this booklet.

⁵³ Duke of Buccleuch, Drumlanrig Castle, Thornhill, Dumfries-shire, to Colonial Office, August 10, 1942, CO 876/41, PRO, Kew.

Macmillan ordered an inquiry and responded to the duke, reassuring him that there was no evidence that the British Hondurans had abused the social hospitality given by local residents, although several women of "an undesirable type" from Edinburgh had gained access to one of the camps, which prompted immediate police action.⁵⁴

Not to be quieted, the duke characterized Macmillan's response as having a "not unexpectedly official tone which puts the matter in a more favourable light than is factual . . . I think it can be admitted that loose relations between black men of totally different standards, both moral and material, and our simple country girls has unpleasant features, and that improper intercourse with decent young women should be strongly discouraged."⁵⁵

The duke also sent a private letter to Sir Samuel Strange Steel of the Ministry of Supply to alert him to the problems involving the British Hondurans. The Ministry of Supply, which had jurisdiction over the foresters, also became involved in monitoring the situation.⁵⁶ Its officials took a dire view of what they saw as the "increasingly difficult" problem of sexual relations between British Honduran men and white British women.⁵⁷ In addition to relations with women of "an undesirable type," the idea that the British Hondurans were associating with farmers' daughters and with white wives of British soldiers was of particular concern.⁵⁸ Eventually, the Ministry of Supply insisted that the British Honduran units be repatriated, claiming that there was no longer any need for their labor.⁵⁹

Sexual relations, whether actual or potential, between white British women and men of color in World War II appeared especially disturbing to many Britons, for they jeopardized Britons' sense of themselves as white. The specter of "half-caste" babies threatened to blur the racial lineaments of white British national identity and make the new black presence a permanent "social problem" rather than a temporary wartime inconvenience or one limited to the colonies and to a few port areas in the metropole.⁶⁰ As Laura Tabili's work has shown, policies to limit the size and duration of the black presence in Britain had a venerable if unsuccessful history.⁶¹

Popular and official reactions to British women's associations with American soldiers clearly were transformed by race. The racial inflection of the construction of the problem is illustrated by an extensive article detailing the behavior of young

⁵⁴ See Harold Macmillan to J. L. Keith, August 13, 1942; Macmillan to Buccleuch, August 13, 1942; and draft of Macmillan to Buccleuch, August 31, 1942, CO 876/41, PRO, Kew.

⁵⁵ Buccleuch to Macmillan, September 30, 1942, CO 876/41, PRO, Kew.

⁵⁶ Memo from official (illegible signature) to J. L. Keith, Colonial Office, August 21, 1942, AVIA 22/1239, PRO, Kew.

⁵⁷ T. Fitzgerald, Home Timber Production, to W. H. Ekins, Ministry of Supply, December 2, 1942, AVIA 22/1239, PRO, Kew.

⁵⁸ Report of meeting of representatives of Ministry of Supply and the Department of Home Timber Production, January 30, 1943, AVIA 22/1349, PRO, Kew.

⁵⁹ See report of Ivor G. Cummings to J. L. Keith, September 3, 1943; and telegraphed memo, Colonial Secretary to Governor of British Honduras, September 9, 1943, CO 876/42, PRO, Kew.

⁶⁰ For approximate numbers of blacks living in communities in Britain in 1942, see survey by Colonial Office, Fall 1942. The largest concentrations were in Cardiff and Liverpool (approximately 2,000 in each); there were approximately 1,000 in London and 1,000 in South Shields. CO 876/14, PRO, Kew.

⁶¹ Tabili, "We Ask for British Justice."

women and black men in the *Huddersfield Daily Examiner* in the summer of 1943.⁶² The report, which initiated an extensive series of letters to the editor, contained considerable details of the writer's investigative reporting and included depictions with clear erotic overtones.⁶³

Two of the officers suddenly flashed their torches into the road. There stood a negro and a girl with their arms round each other. Titters and subdued American voices came from the other side of the road where the lorries were drawn up. Girls were inside one of the lorries with the men. As the engine was being started the girls got out. The lorry moved slowly away and in the darkness of the night a female voice cried out, "Goodnight, my darkie boy. I'll see you at eight tomorrow night." The girl and one of her friends then walked a few yards and joined men who were going by another lorry. Men's and women's voices came from neighbouring doorways. Once when an officer flashed his lamp I saw two negroes and two girls in fond embraces.⁶⁴

The problem of British women and girls' immoral behavior in their associations with Americans was redefined here as a problem of interracial sex.

While white American soldiers ("Americans") were represented as a "presence" tempting girls along the "road to ruin"—which the white British young women were supposed to resist—the positioning of black soldiers ("coloured Americans") in public discussions was somewhat different. The Huddersfield reporter made it clear that the race of the soldiers was absolutely critical to the problem of young women's sexual morality, and that restricting the access black men had to white British women might well be necessary: "some people who wish a certain course to be adopted . . . are perhaps attaching blame to those who, if not altogether blameless, are victims of circumstances which might even be too much for some white men similarly situated."⁶⁵ The statement hinting that black men were less capable of self-control than white men drew on longstanding ideas that unbridled sexuality and lack of self-control were racial traits that made nonwhites both morally inferior and more childlike than whites—ideas that legitimated the subordination of black men to white control.⁶⁶

Racial ideology led not only to differing symbolic representations of the issue, it also shaped the deployment by British officials of various techniques of surveillance and control.⁶⁷ Primarily, these efforts were aimed at the girls and young women, not the African-American soldiers. While the presence of black soldiers was constructed as a generic problem, racial identification in news reports often was used to suggest that the girls who associated with "coloured Americans" were especially

⁶² *Huddersfield Daily Examiner* (July 10, 1943): 3.

⁶³ The correspondence lasted two weeks and ended with a notice to correspondents that, although the newspaper had received a number of further letters about "Girls Who Prey on Negroes," the editor decided that the question had been "sufficiently ventilated, and the correspondence must be regarded as closed." *Huddersfield Daily Examiner* (October 4, 1943): 3. This series of letters has been reprinted, in part, and discussed by Elbert L. Harris, "Social Activities of the Negro Soldier in England," *Negro History Bulletin* 11 (April 1948): 15.

⁶⁴ *Huddersfield Daily Examiner* (October 4, 1943): 3.

⁶⁵ *Huddersfield Daily Examiner* (October 4, 1943): 3.

⁶⁶ These racialized depictions of unbridled sexuality had been applied earlier to the Irish and also to the British poor. See Mary Poovey, "Curing the 'Social Body' in 1832: James Phillips Kay and the Irish in Manchester," *Gender and History* 5 (Summer 1993): 196–211.

⁶⁷ For discussions of official responses, see Smith, *When Jim Crow Met John Bull*, 177–78, 192–96; Reynolds, *Rich Relations*, 224–30; Rose, "Girls and GIs," 148–60.

immoral or degraded. The race of the men with whom young white British women and girls were consorting affected the *extent* to which the behavior of these young women and girls was seen to be immoral. Interracial sex, in other words, was understood as a kind of sexual perversion. Howard Tyrer, head of the Public Morality Council, made this association when reminiscing about his twenty-six years of vice surveillance activities in London. He described the patrons of a club in Soho as consisting of “women in male attire, effeminate men and coloured men accompanied by white women.”⁶⁸ The reports of interracial sex in World War II, then, magnified further the apprehension about women’s sexual morality that had been provoked by wartime conditions and the presence of large numbers of foreign troops on British soil. White British women and girls were not only having illicit sex, but many were having it with black men.

But what are we to make of this anxiety over female sexuality? What was so threatening about young women’s associations with soldiers black and white, and why weren’t these associations seen simply as wartime romantic flings or, like the American black presence, a temporary problem that would pass once the war was over? These questions may best be approached by investigating the idioms and metaphors that expressed apprehension about female sexuality. Examining the language used to articulate the nature of the problem posed by the behavior of women and girls helps us to understand why their morals became an intense focus of public discussion. It exposes the larger cultural context that both contributed to and was informed by discussions about them. In what follows, I suggest that images of pleasure-seeking women disturbed the developing definition of the nation in British public culture and contrasted with the definition of “good citizenship” central to those new understandings of national identity.

PUBLIC OFFICIALS RESPONSIBLE FOR CIVILIAN MORALE, participants in discussions about Britain’s postwar future, as well as artists and writers (especially those under the tutelage of the Ministry of Information), portrayed the nation as composed of self-sacrificing, relentlessly cheerful, and brave people who had heroically withstood the Blitz and were stalwart as they coped with the material deprivations of a war economy.⁶⁹ As a brief guide to Britain for the arriving GIs observed, ordinary Britons had shown amazing strength during the Blitz. Expressing how the nation was being imagined in Britain at the time but using terms that would resonate with Americans, the pamphlet declared, “A nation doesn’t come through that, if it doesn’t have plain, common guts. The British are tough, strong people, and good allies.”⁷⁰

Britain was depicted by numerous social commentators as engaging in a war being fought by and for a country imagined as a unified land of “ordinary people.” It was a nation whose identifying virtues emerged along with what Angus Calder has

⁶⁸ *Sunday Chronicle* (March 2, 1941): 4.

⁶⁹ For a discussion of the significance and centrality of these depictions of British national character and behavior both during the war and afterward, see Angus Calder, *The Myth of the Blitz* (London, 1991).

⁷⁰ War and Navy Departments, *A Short Guide to Great Britain* (Washington, D.C., 1942, 1944), 5.

called “the myth of the Blitz”—one in which the “‘people,’ improvising bravely and brilliantly,” had fought off the German Luftwaffe and had withstood its fire.⁷¹ A *Picture Post* photograph of May 1941, for example, portrayed “The Man the Nazis Are Trying to Rattle: A British Citizen of 1941.” It shows a working-class man wearing a cap and overcoat sifting through rubble. The caption declares, “He is the English city dweller. His home is the Nazi bombers’ target. His few poor possessions, bought with the savings of years, are their military objective. And when a bomb falls, and makes of his home a shapeless heap of bricks, he calmly salvages what he can and starts afresh.”⁷² The mythical notion that the British of all classes remained stalwart in the face of nightly bombings, in other words, was actively being created as it contributed to the redefinition of the nation.

J. B. Priestley’s radio broadcast following the evacuation of British troops from Dunkirk a year prior to the Blitz and George Orwell’s famous essay on patriotism both captured and helped to articulate the meanings of the nation being elaborated during the war. Priestley suggested that Dunkirk was “very English . . . in the way in which, when apparently all was lost, so much was gloriously retrieved.”⁷³ Unlike the Germans, he proudly declared, “the English” [Priestley said he really meant “British”] are able to create an “epic of gallantry” from what starts as a “miserable blunder.”⁷⁴ As Calder has argued persuasively, the idea that the British traditionally have rescued victory from the jaws of defeat is clearly mythological.⁷⁵ Priestley proposed that what was so “characteristically English” about this particular epic

was the part played in the difficult and dangerous embarkation—not by the warships, magnificent though they were—but by the little pleasure-steamers. We’ve known them and laughed at them, these fussy little steamers, all our lives. We have watched them load and unload their crowds of holiday passengers—the gents full of high spirits and bottled beer, the ladies eating pork pies, the children sticky with peppermint rock. Sometimes they only went as far as the next seaside resort. But the boldest of them might manage a Channel crossing, to let everybody have a glimpse of Boulogne.⁷⁶

Priestley used language that coded these little “boats” as working-class. By focusing on the “little pleasure-steamers” and depicting them in working-class cultural images, Priestley conjured up the heroism of the ordinary people of Britain in a narrative not unlike the children’s story “The Little Engine That Could.”

George Orwell also depicted the nation as comprised of ordinary people when he wrote,

We are a nation of flower-lovers, but also a nation of stamp-collectors, pigeon-fanciers, amateur carpenters, coupon-snippers, darts-players, crossword-puzzle fans. All the culture that is most truly native centres round things which even when they are communal are not

⁷¹ Calder, *Myth of the Blitz*, 125.

⁷² *Picture Post*, May 3, 1941, in *Picture Post 1938–50* (London, 1984), 89.

⁷³ J. B. Priestley, Broadcast from June 5, 1940, in Priestley, *Postscripts* (London, 1940), 2.

⁷⁴ Priestley, *Postscripts*, 2.

⁷⁵ Calder, *Myth of the Blitz*, chap. 1.

⁷⁶ Priestley, *Postscripts*, 2–3.

official—the pub, the football match, the back garden, the fireside and the “nice cup of tea.”⁷⁷

Implicitly contrasting the British with the Germans, Orwell used this characterization of Britons in their private lives to make the point that these ordinary, pub-going, and flower-loving people were not innately drawn to nationalism or to participating in affairs of state.⁷⁸ Portraying the British people as characterized by diversity rather than a “mass mentality,” he also remarked on the deep class divisions in this “land of snobbery and privilege, ruled largely by the old and silly. But in any calculation about it one has got to take into account its emotional unity, the tendency of nearly all its inhabitants to feel alike and act together in moments of supreme crisis.”⁷⁹ In spite of its diversity and these divisions, Britain, he maintained, is like a family that “closes ranks” upon the approach of an enemy. Thus Orwell depicted Britain as composed of people not innately given to heroic public deeds but who, despite deep class divisions and their heterogeneous pastimes, were able to put aside their differences and their individual interests to defend the nation.⁸⁰ In other words, Orwell portrayed the nation as a *unified* if not homogeneous community. These portraits of national unity suggested that those who best represented Britain at war were not exceptional individuals but rather were everyday, ordinary people; those who were “doing their bit.”

This same spirit of everyday sacrifice by ordinary people was portrayed in *Diary for Timothy*, the Humphrey Jennings documentary made in the closing months of the war, which focused on baby Timothy, born September 3, 1944, the war’s fifth anniversary. The baby signified the future, and the script recorded, for his benefit, the sacrifices that were being made on his behalf and pictured a Britain on the verge of peace. It depicted the national mood as represented by Peter, a pilot convalescing in a hospital after having been wounded during D-Day; Geronwy, a coal miner injured in a mining accident; Alan, a gentleman farmer who reclaimed portions of his land to grow food for the war effort; and Bill, an engine driver who has united them all by carrying munitions, coal, and food. Michael Redgrave, the narrator, tells Timothy, “All these people are fighting for you.”⁸¹

These portraits of the nation by Orwell, Priestley, and Jennings were among many that portrayed the nation as a unified community of ordinary people contributing to the war effort. This vision of World War II British patriotism prefigured Benedict Anderson’s pathbreaking definition of the nation “imagined as a *community* . . . as a deep, horizontal comradeship.”⁸² But what of those whose behavior suggested that they were not “doing their bit”? How do images of sexually active, pleasure-

⁷⁷ George Orwell, *The Lion and the Unicorn: Socialism and the English Genius* (London, 1941), 15.

⁷⁸ For a discussion of Orwell, and other left-leaning commentators who idealize the heterogeneity of the “English,” see Miles Taylor, “Patriotism, History and the Left in Twentieth-Century Britain,” *Historical Journal* 33 (September 1990): 980–83.

⁷⁹ Orwell, *Lion and the Unicorn*, 33.

⁸⁰ Simon Featherstone argues provocatively that the myth of unity despite diversity articulated in World War II literature is a central component of the literary construction of “nation as pastoral,” which exposes division as it seeks to deny it. Featherstone, “The Nation as Pastoral in British Literature of the Second World War,” *Journal of European Studies* 16 (Summer 1986): 155–68.

⁸¹ Humphrey Jennings, *Diary for Timothy*, Crown Film Unit, 1945.

⁸² Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn. (London, 1991), 7.

seeking young women and girls fit with a nation being characterized as unified around self-sacrifice?

It is characteristic of nation-defining projects that they elide difference and mask divisions to create a common, over-arching identity for the subjects of a nation-state.⁸³ Yet, as Mary Poovey has suggested, “the process by which individuals or groups embrace the ‘nation’ as the most meaningful context for self-definition necessarily involves temporarily marginalizing other rubrics that could also provide a sense of identity. If these identities cannot be submerged into the national community, they are excluded, and become a potent contrast against which the nation defines itself.”⁸⁴ Thus the solidarity that supposedly binds the national community has been depicted in numerous societies by nationalist rhetoric and policy that celebrate versions of race, class, and ethnic homogeneity and promulgate norms of sexual purity and particular ideals of gender difference.

Recent scholarship has illuminated the significance of gender and the importance of sexual morality to defining and maintaining national boundaries, and to distinguishing which individuals are fit to claim the rights and carry out the responsibilities of citizenship.⁸⁵ As Anne McClintock has proposed, “All nations depend on powerful constructions of gender. Despite many nationalists’ ideological investment in the idea of popular *unity*, nations have historically amounted to the sanctioned institutionalization of gender *difference*.”⁸⁶ A number of scholars have shown that, while women have been excluded from being full citizens of the nation-state, and have been depicted in political theory from the ancient world through the Enlightenment as unworthy or inappropriate to assume the rights and obligations of citizenship, images of women have often symbolized the nation.⁸⁷ Furthermore, the status of women has been a central theme in nationalist discourses.⁸⁸ Yet most scholars have argued that nations are constructed as fraternities and are characterized by male bonds, largely because of the significance of war (that most gendered of activities in which states engage) to their develop-

⁸³ As Renata Salecl has put it, psychologically the nation is “the fantasy structure through which society perceives itself as a homogeneous entity.” Salecl, “The Fantasy Structure of Nationalist Discourse,” *Praxis International* 13 (October 1993): 217. Or, as Katherine Verdery has written, the nation is an ideological construct; it does “ideological work.” Verdery, “Whither ‘Nation’ and ‘Nationalism’?” *Daedalus* 122 (Summer 1993): 39.

⁸⁴ Poovey, “Curing the ‘Social Body’ in 1832,” 196.

⁸⁵ For a useful discussion of the links between “women, the state and ethnic/national processes,” see Floya Anthias and Nira Yuval-Davis, “Introduction,” *Woman—Nation—State*, Yuval-Davis and Anthias, eds. (London, 1989), 1–15.

⁸⁶ Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest* (New York, 1995), 353.

⁸⁷ For the contested use of feminine allegorical symbols during the French Revolution, see Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1984), esp. 60–62, 90–94; Joan Landes, “Representing the Body Politic: The Paradox of Gender and the Graphic Politics of the French Revolution,” in Sara E. Melzer and Leslie W. Rabine, eds., *Rebel Daughters: Women and the French Revolution* (New York, 1992), 15–37. On the transformation of female symbols of the nation to suit nationalist purposes, see George L. Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Middle-Class Morality and Sexual Norms in Modern Europe* (Madison, Wis., 1985), chap. 5; and McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 352.

⁸⁸ See, for example, Deniz Kandiyoti, “Women and the Turkish State: Political Actors or Symbolic Pawns?” in Yuval-Davis and Anthias, *Woman—Nation—State*, 126–49; Kandiyoti, “From Empire to Nation State: Transformations of the Woman Question in Turkey,” in Susan Jay Kleinberg, ed., *Retrieving Women’s History: Changing Perceptions of the Role of Women in Politics and Society* (Oxford, 1988), 219–40.

ment.⁸⁹ Women have generally been included within the nation in their role as mothers—as reproducers of the race, rather than as political participants in civil society.⁹⁰

Additionally, numerous scholars have suggested that sexual morality has been crucial to delineating the boundaries of the nation. In his provocative work on nationalism and sexuality, George Mosse has argued that the control of sexual desire, deeply constitutive of bourgeois notions of respectability, was integral to developing nationalisms.⁹¹ And recently, Ann Laura Stoler has written,

Discourses of sexuality do more than define the distinctions of the bourgeois self; in identifying marginal members of the body politic, they have mapped the moral parameters of European nations. These deeply sedimented discourses on sexual morality could redraw the “interior frontiers” of national communities, frontiers that were secured through—and sometimes in collision with—the boundaries of race.⁹²

This literature suggests, then, that sexual propriety and control often have been central to nation building. And so it was in Britain during World War II.

Two major themes characterized the nation during the war and were implicit in the passages by Priestley and Orwell quoted above.⁹³ The first was the nation as a brave and quietly (rather than bombastically) heroic people. The second was a nation of quintessentially reasonable citizens who willingly and with good humor sacrificed their private and personal interests and desires for the collective good. These combined narrative devices figured the nation as both maternal and masculine. This was also the sense of the nation captured by Jennings in *Diary for Timothy*. The film celebrated masculine sacrifice with its focus on four male characters, while Timothy’s mother, the only female figure of note in the film, exemplified the maternal. Priestley, for his part, articulated a masculine and maternal sensibility in his depiction of how the little pleasure steamers put aside their frivolous feminine ways in the service of the nation.

They were usually paddle steamers, making a great deal more fuss with all their churning than they made speed; and they weren’t proud, for they let you see their works going round.

⁸⁹ Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality*, 91; Andrew Parker, et al., “Introduction,” in Parker, et al., eds., *Nationalisms and Sexualities* (London, 1992), 6–7; McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 352–53.

⁹⁰ For a pathbreaking work on this issue for England, see Anna Davin, “Imperialism and Motherhood,” *History Workshop* 5 (Spring 1978): 9–65. For Russia, see Elizabeth Waters, “The Modernisation of Russian Motherhood, 1917–1937,” *Feminist Review* 33 (Autumn 1989): 3–18. On republican motherhood and the French Revolution, see Joan B. Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988). On republican motherhood in the United States, see Linda K. Kerber, “The Republican Mother: Women and the Enlightenment—An American Perspective,” *American Quarterly* 28 (1976): 187–205. On the centrality of women as mothers, but not as wives or citizens to the making of the Irish republic, see Sarah Benton, “Women Disarmed: The Militarization of Politics in Ireland 1913–23,” *Feminist Review* 50 (Summer 1995): 148–72.

⁹¹ Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality*.

⁹² Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault’s History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham, N.C., 1995), 7.

⁹³ There were other themes that constituted the imagined community. For example, Simon Featherstone has pointed to the significance of rural life in wartime literature. “Nation as Pastoral,” 155–68. And Geoffrey Fields has pointed to the social patriotism, the “new ‘structure of feeling’” that “emerged, one that fused bitter memories of the interwar past, hostility to the traditional class structure, and expectations of social change. The new vocabulary was both unifying and levelling.” See Fields, “Social Patriotism and the British Working Class,” *International Labor and Working-Class History* 42 (Fall 1992): 20–39.

They liked to call themselves “Queens” and “Belles” . . . But they were called out of that world . . . Yes, these “Brighton Belles” and “Brighton Queens” left that innocent foolish world of theirs—to sail into the inferno, to defy bombs, shells, magnetic mines, torpedoes, machine-gun fire—to rescue our soldiers.⁹⁴

This was a nation that could not incorporate within it pleasure-seeking, fun-loving, and sexually expressive women and girls. The women and girls who could not or would not put aside their “foolish world” to rescue the nation were being constructed as anti-citizens—in contrast to those who were self-sacrificing.

The term “moral laxity” was repeated over and over again in letters, editorials, and official documents. As the bishop of Norwich put it in his proclamation “Moral Laxity,” “nothing is more alarming than the decay of personal standards of sexual morality . . . nothing threatens more the future of our race. When men and women grow loose in personal morality they endanger their own eternal salvation and they endanger too the England of to-morrow.”⁹⁵ The bishop chastised the “women and especially young girls in town and village alike” for their “casual acquaintances” with soldiers, warning, “We are in danger of our national character rotting at the root.”⁹⁶ “Moral laxity” was a phrase that connoted weakness and a lack of will, and the prelate figured it as a threat to Britishness.

The women and young girls who were perceived to be straying from convention, and were overtly seeking entertainment and pleasure, were given the ironic label of “good-time girls” or “good timers.” These terms were omnipresent in the language of moral alarm and were used to describe women who were irresponsible—who failed to consider their commitments to others.⁹⁷

“Good-time girls” often were associated with venereal disease in official documents as well as in public discussion. Blame for VD often was placed on the so-called “amateur prostitute” as it had been in World War I.⁹⁸ While the debates and discussions were focused on disease control, and anxiety about the spread of VD was heightened to a large extent because of the potential impact on Britain’s relations with Allied forces, the problem was understood in moral terms to be caused by “good-time girls” who were described as “out of control” and “irresponsible.” At a meeting of the Joint Committee on Venereal Disease, at which representatives of both the Canadian and U.S. military were present along with delegates from the War Office, the Ministry of Health, the Home Office, and the Metropolitan Police, the representative of the Metropolitan Police argued that the greatest source of infection “was to be found among young, irresponsible ‘good-

⁹⁴ Priestley, *Postscripts*, 3.

⁹⁵ *Norfolk News and Weekly Press* (October 9, 1943): 4. The Reverend A. Lynch, Rector of Desford, similarly asked, “What kind of a Britain can be made out of this debauchery?” *Leicester Evening Mail* (February 1, 1944): 5.

⁹⁶ *Norfolk News and Weekly Press* (October 9, 1943): 4.

⁹⁷ On the links between a medical discourse of responsibility, national health, and the behavior of women, see Lucy Bland and Frank Mort, “Look Out for the ‘Good Time’ Girl: Dangerous Sexualities as a Threat to National Health,” Bill Schwartz, ed., *Formations of Nation and People* (London, 1985), 131–51.

⁹⁸ Woollacott, “‘Khaki Fever’ and Its Control”; Bland, “In the Name of Protection”; Frank Mort, *Dangerous Sexualities: Medico-Moral Politics in England since 1830* (London, 1987).

time' girls and young women," rather than among the regular "professional type."⁹⁹ At another meeting, the committee expressed the shared belief that the most dangerous sources of infection were "good-time girls" who were "in search of excitement" and young persons "who have no moral background and who are out of control."¹⁰⁰ Fears about the rising rates of venereal disease contributed to the larger discourse about the "moral laxity" of women and girls, while the language of moral outrage concerning the behavior of women and girls shaped official as well as popular discussion about the medical problem.¹⁰¹

In addition to being an epithet to describe the behavior of girls and young unmarried women, and evoking apprehensions about VD, "good-time girl" also was used to describe irresponsible married women and mothers. Government officials and social welfare agencies were as concerned about them as about the single women. They anticipated the problems of morale that would occur if married women pursued extramarital relationships.¹⁰² Additionally, social service agencies increasingly had to deal with cases of married women bearing children fathered by men other than their husbands.¹⁰³

Open public discussion in newspapers about married women and mothers, however, rarely if ever dealt directly with these issues. Rather, disapprobation of adult women was framed in the language of irresponsible, pleasure-seeking behavior and child neglect. For example, the *Leicester Evening Mail* featured a report in the summer of 1943 with the headline, "City Woman Out for 'Good Time,' Neglects Child." A young mother whose husband was away in the service was sent to prison for three months for neglecting her two-year-old. A probation officer said that "the woman's one desire seemed to be to have a good time," and the report went on to state that the court had learned from neighbors that men visited her at various times of night. The police inspector who made the arrest described observing a soldier entering the house around midnight and later hearing "voices and the distinct drawl of an American."¹⁰⁴

Geoffrey Field has persuasively argued that such concerns about the behavior of mothers and apprehension about family life were directed specifically at the working class.¹⁰⁵ The rhetoric about "good-time girls" drew on a longstanding implicit association between working-class women and promiscuity or prostitution.

⁹⁹ Minutes of the Joint Committee on Venereal Disease, 2d Meeting, July 10, 1943, MH 55/2325, PRO, Kew.

¹⁰⁰ Minutes of the Joint Committee on Venereal Disease, 3d Meeting, October 1, 1943, MH 55/2325, PRO, Kew.

¹⁰¹ It was, in Frank Mort's terms, a medico-moral discourse. See Mort, *Dangerous Sexualities*. U.S. representatives, in contrast to British commentators on the question of venereal disease, blamed British prostitutes and wanted the British government to enact laws or change police procedures so that prostitutes would be swept off the streets—something the British government refused to do. See Reynolds, *Rich Relations*, chap. 13.

¹⁰² "Morale Report," February–May 1942; "Draft Morale Report," May–July 1942; "Morale Report," August–October 1942; "Morale Reports," August–October 1943; "Morale Report," November 1943–January 1944, all in War Office files, WO 32 15772, PRO, Kew.

¹⁰³ Lettice Fisher, *Twenty-One Years and After, 1918–1946* (London, 1946); The National Council for the Unmarried Woman and Her Child, *23rd Report* (July 1941–September 1942): 15–16; *24th Report* (October 1942–1943): 8; *26th Report* (October 1944–April 1946): 4.

¹⁰⁴ *Leicester Evening Mail* (July 7, 1943): 5.

¹⁰⁵ Geoffrey Field, "Perspectives on the Working-Class Family in Wartime Britain, 1939–1945," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 38 (Fall 1990): 3–28.

During the interwar period, with changing understandings of female sexuality and a growing emphasis on sex as an expression of marital love, the term “gold-digger” came into common parlance, referring to women who accepted gifts for sex or who married out of their class for the sake of money. As Judy Giles has suggested, the term had both gender and class connotations.¹⁰⁶ Thus anxieties about irresponsible women drew on and were, at least in part, framed within the context of a newly recharged apprehensiveness about working-class family life on the part of bourgeois and elite moralizers. Clearly, police surveillance and action as well as programs and policy considerations by social welfare organizations targeted working-class women and girls.

L. Boyd, who participated in the exchange of letters to the editor in Leicester about the behavior of young women, however, altered the class meanings of the language of moral outrage to make a statement about class privilege. She wrote: “many in the middle class are doing little . . . We all know the type—those who sit back and watch others work, playing bridge to excess and having as comfortable a time as possible. These good-timers should be rooted out and sent to dirty their dainty fingers in war factories.”¹⁰⁷ As this letter suggests, the gendered language of irresponsible pleasure-seeking and selfishness was polyvalent. While it often resonated with a discredited working-class morality, it could also be used by working-class women to critique privileged women for not contributing to the war effort. Thus, while the objects of moral purity rhetoric might well have been working-class girls and women, it was framed in a universal language that could take on different class inflections. Moral purity rhetoric, then, echoed the construction of the national “we” as a society in which class was less important than virtuous behavior in defining the members of the national community.

One strand of the construction of “good-time girls” harkened back to the late 1920s “flapper” panic that coincided with anxiety about the possibility of extending suffrage to young women and arose in the aftermath of World War I.¹⁰⁸ The 1920s witnessed an unprecedented explosion of writings about “the contemporary young female,” writings that blurred rather than emphasized class distinction, especially in a shared “motif of the young female as androgyne.”¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, the persistent discussion about population decline both during the interwar period and throughout the war, which especially fixed on middle-class and elite family size, often decried the selfishness of such bourgeois women and married couples who put their own material desires and selfish pleasures above their responsibilities for reproducing the next generation of fit Britons.¹¹⁰ The wartime discussion about young women’s morality, therefore, fashioned a class-neutral, normative female moral subject who would exhibit both sexual restraint and social responsibility. This was a female whose behavior would reinforce rather than disturb the myth of a heroic

¹⁰⁶ Judy Giles, “‘Playing Hard to Get’: Working-Class Women, Sexuality and Respectability in Britain, 1918–40,” *Women’s History Review* 1 (Spring 1992): 247.

¹⁰⁷ *Leicester Evening Mail* (July 8, 1943): 3.

¹⁰⁸ Melman, *Women and the Popular Imagination*.

¹⁰⁹ Melman, *Women and the Popular Imagination*, 149.

¹¹⁰ On pro-natalism, see Denise Riley, “‘The Free Mothers’: Pronatalism and Working Women in Industry at the End of the Last War in Britain,” *History Workshop* 11 (Spring 1981): 59–118.

Briton emerging victoriously from the throes of war due to the efforts and sacrifices of the “ordinary people.”

In the morality tales published in newspapers and in the depictions by social purity organizations, social workers, and clergy, the characters of those women and girls wearing bright make-up, drinking in pubs, and on or in the arms of soldiers were implicitly being contrasted with the virtues of self-restraint, moral fortitude, and cheerful altruism that were being touted as characterizing the British people in this time of adversity. This was made explicit in a War Office memo that expressed concern about the “depressing effect on those British women who are working hard, sacrificing much and cheerfully embracing austerity, when they see so many young women allowed to evade their National Responsibilities, wasting money on drink, trafficking in clothing coupons, getting more than their share of smart clothes, encouraging the black market and escaping Income Tax.”¹¹¹ The Liverpool Youth Organizations Committee Annual Report for 1944 contrasted the heroism, endurance, and cheerfulness that the British displayed at Dunkirk, Arnheim, and during the Battle of Britain with the “lamentable outbreak of hooliganism, theft, sexual immorality and various forms of anti-social behavior that make social welfare workers wonder for a moment whether all their labours have not been in vain.”¹¹²

THE PERSISTENT EXPRESSIONS OF CONCERN about sexual morality were peppered with key references to the importance of “good citizenship.” For example, a Mrs. Foster, who spoke for the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, called on the government to “make it known that all who engage in sexual promiscuity might not only be responsible for spreading V.D., but were lacking in good citizenship.”¹¹³ A report on venereal diseases by the Medical Advisory Committee of Scotland maintained that “to eradicate venereal diseases completely from civilized communities will require . . . a high standard of enlightened citizenship.”¹¹⁴ Urging legal measures to deal with the problem of “safeguarding young girls who cheerfully risk wrecking their lives,” an editorial in the *Leicester Evening Mail* said that public conscience should be aroused, and more needed to be done by parents “that will ensure their [young girls] attaining a standard of decent citizenship.”¹¹⁵ The repeated references to “citizenship” warrant attention. Why was there such an emphasis on the citizenship of young women and girls during the 1940s?

In the first place, universal suffrage had been granted only eleven years prior to the start of the war. The 1918 Representation of the People Act had granted virtual universal manhood suffrage, but it restricted the women’s vote by age. This restriction entrusted the vote to women likely to be mature wives and mothers, not

¹¹¹ This document concerned prostitution, but it uses some of the same language, including the term “moral laxity,” to describe how Americans must view Britain when they see prostitution flourishing in the country. See “Accosting in City Streets,” Memo, Colonel Rowe, War Office, to Foreign Office, February 2, 1943, FO 371/34124, PRO, Kew.

¹¹² Liverpool Youth Organizations Committee, Annual Report, in Liverpool Council of Social Services Annual Report for 1944, p. 10.

¹¹³ “Loose Morals: Blame Men as Well as Girls,” *Leicester Evening Mail* (July 10, 1943): 4.

¹¹⁴ Medical Advisory Committee (Scotland), *Report on Venereal Diseases*, Cmd. 6518 (Edinburgh, 1944), 8.

¹¹⁵ *Leicester Evening Mail* (October 27, 1943): 3.

to young and possibly frivolous single women. In 1928, women under the age of thirty were given the right to vote in national elections on the same basis as men. The 1928 act was called “the flapper vote,” signifying that the flapper, symbol of the modern young woman, depicted as both androgynous and libidinous, could now vote.¹¹⁶ Resistance to women’s participation in politics persisted during the interwar period. Women were slow to be adopted as candidates for the House of Commons. And they were excluded from the House of Lords until the late 1950s. In the debate over that issue, the earl of Glasgow claimed that women “are not . . . suited to politics . . . They are often moved by their hearts more than they are by their heads.”¹¹⁷ Discussion in the 1930s and 1940s about education for citizenship, therefore, responded in part to apprehension that those who were newly enfranchised could not be trusted with the political rights of citizenship without instruction and control.

A second reason that citizenship was an important discursive focus during the war concerned the particular meanings of what it meant to be a “good citizen” in a people’s war. Citizenship is a term denoting the relationship between individuals and the nation as well as between individuals and the state—a term that has broadly symbolic as well as more narrowly juridical meanings. In addition to describing the formal rights and duties of membership, it can have multiple and contested meanings.

All modern states recognize certain persons as belonging to the nation as citizens and define as aliens those who are not specifically included in the category. Formally, those who are included as citizens are accorded certain rights and have designated obligations. Rules of membership and the specification of rights and duties constitute the juridical aspects of citizenship.¹¹⁸ But citizenship is also a moral category—one that delimits how persons should conduct themselves as members of the national community. And this was how it was being used in the rhetoric about female sexuality during the war. “Good citizenship” was the mid-twentieth-century version of the much older notion of “civic virtue.” “Virtue” signified the capacity of persons to participate in the polity because they were capable of self-discipline and could be trusted to put aside their private interests for the public good.

The idiom of citizenship in World War II discussions in Britain referred to the obligations that national subjects have to their communities, and it envisioned citizens as active contributors to a democratic society. The ideal of the citizen who actively expresses a “public spirit” was being articulated in a variety of very different discursive arenas in the 1940s and was especially consonant with the image of the nation as a unified community whose members elevated the common good over their personal desires and interests.¹¹⁹ The notion of “public spiritedness” or what

¹¹⁶ Melman, *Women and the Popular Imagination*, 149.

¹¹⁷ As quoted in Brian Harrison, *Separate Spheres: The Opposition to Women’s Suffrage in Britain* (London, 1978), 235.

¹¹⁸ For an important analysis of how nationhood influenced citizenship as a formal institution or as a juridical relationship in France and Germany, see Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), esp. chap. 1 and his discussion of citizenship as an instrument and an object of social closure—as defining the rules of inclusion and exclusion of membership in the nation.

¹¹⁹ For a discussion of the active citizen taken up by the British Left that emerged in response to war,

is now called “active citizenship” could have various meanings, including the voluntarist ideal that has been reappropriated of late by Conservatives who touted it as antithetical to the supposedly “passive citizen” created by the welfare state—an ideal of citizenship resonating with liberal political thought.¹²⁰

The ideal of citizenship that was emerging during the war, however, bore a decided family resemblance to notions of citizenship in the tradition of civic republicanism or civic humanism rather than of liberal individualism. Drawn from classical republicanism, the ideals of civic republicanism made their way into British thought from the classical world of Greece and Rome, via development by Machiavelli, then James Harrington, John Milton, and other seventeenth-century radicals.¹²¹ Plebian radicals of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, influenced by Thomas Paine’s *Rights of Man*, modified republican thought, making it more egalitarian.¹²² Some of the ideals of civic republicanism were incorporated in British idealist thought of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.¹²³ The New Liberalism of this same period had also incorporated and revitalized political symbols and issues that were akin to those in republican and communitarian thought, including the importance of citizenship, communal responsibility, and social welfare.¹²⁴

see Taylor, “Patriotism,” 980–83. This view of citizenship, which certainly was populist and fit neatly with a collectivist spirit, was not limited only to the Left. For a general discussion of citizenship as it was understood in World War II, see David Morgan and Mary Evans, *The Battle for Britain: Citizenship and Ideology in the Second World War* (London, 1993). For a discussion of working-class patriotism that drew on the heroism of the Blitz, see Field, “Social Patriotism and the British Working Class.”

¹²⁰ For a discussion of current Conservative ideas about “active citizenship,” see Michael Ignatieff, “Citizenship and Moral Narcissism,” in *Citizenship*, Geoff Andrews, ed. (London, 1991), 26–36; Morgan and Evans, *Battle for Britain*, chap. 7. On voluntarism during the period, see William Beveridge, *Voluntary Action: A Report on Methods of Social Advance* (London, 1948). For a discussion of voluntarism during the first half of the twentieth century, see Geoffrey Finlayson, “A Moving Frontier: Voluntarism and the State in British Social Welfare 1911–1949,” *Twentieth Century British History* 1 (April 1990): 183–206. Also see Jose Harris’s discussion of British idealism, “Political Thought and the Welfare State 1870–1940,” *Past and Present* 135 (1992): 116–41; and Andrew Vincent and Raymond Plant, *Philosophy, Politics and Citizenship: The Life and Thought of the British Idealists* (Oxford, 1984).

¹²¹ There is a huge literature on civic republicanism. For discussions of particular aspects of these ideas, see Steve Pincus, “Neither Machiavellian Moment nor Possessive Individualism: Commercial Society and the Defenders of the English Commonwealth,” *AHR* 103 (June 1998): 705–36; Quentin Skinner, “On Justice, the Common Good and the Priority of Liberty,” in *Dimensions of Radical Democracy: Pluralism, Citizenship, Community*, Chantal Mouffe, ed. (London, 1992), 211–24; J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, N.J., 1975); Pocock, “Virtue and Commerce in the Eighteenth Century,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 3 (Spring 1972): 119–34; Adrian Oldfield, *Citizenship and Community: Civic Republicanism and the Modern World* (London, 1990); Hanna Pitkin, *Fortune Is a Woman: Gender and Politics in the Thought of Niccolò Machiavelli* (Berkeley, Calif., 1984).

¹²² For a discussion, see Anna Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995), 142–46, 264–65.

¹²³ Vincent and Plant, *Philosophy, Politics and Citizenship*, esp. chap. 9.

¹²⁴ For discussions of New Liberalism, see Michael Freedman, *The New Liberalism: An Ideology of Social Reform* (Oxford, 1978); Peter Weiler, *The New Liberalism: Liberal Social Theory in Great Britain 1889–1914* (New York, 1982); Stefan Collini, *Liberalism and Sociology: L. T. Hobhouse and Political Argument in England, 1880–1914* (Cambridge, 1979). The lineage of many of the ideas espoused during the late 1930s and 1940s about social reform, the creation of ethical institutions, the importance of community and the common good undergirding the premises of the welfare state can be traced to the New Liberalism of L. T. Hobhouse and J. A. Hobson. Yet the rhetoric of citizenship and the nation during the war was framed by the classic republican notion that “good citizenship” was embodied in the capacity of (rational) persons to put aside their individual interests for the public good.

In the past, civic republicanism had emphasized property as the basis for citizenship. Landed property was believed to enable individuals to exercise their political judgment independently. Independence was thus the key to virtue. But only men could own land and be independent legal subjects. While this is not the place to chart the changing historical meanings of the concept of "virtue," it is important to note that in the era of universal suffrage and in the hands of those on the left who particularly promoted ideas about active citizenship and the common good, it assumed a more egalitarian and democratic cast. Nonetheless, "good citizenship" and the older meanings of "virtue" both were defined in opposition to "passion." Self-control would enable political persons to rule their passions, subordinating their private concerns and appetites to the public good.

Ideals of republicanism, expressed in contemporary language, worked particularly well in the late 1930s and 1940s as a way of articulating a vision of the nation and its patriotic citizenry that contrasted with fascism. The tradition of civic republicanism emphasizes both the notion of a common good that is prior to or takes precedence over individual desires and interests *and* the idea that it is only by the active involvement of citizens in the affairs of the community that individual liberty can be preserved in the face of tyranny.

During the 1940s, the principles of republican citizenship were not only being constructed in relation to the wartime nation, they were fostered and elaborated in the exploding public discussion about reconstruction that actively imagined the kind of society that could be built after the war. Architects, town and city planners, educational reformers, and advocates of expanding the state's social provision attempted to imagine how the country could be rebuilt and its institutions reformed to foster the continuation of that community spirit and sense of active citizenship so widely depicted as characterizing the British at war. While the rhetorics of planning and architecture, for example, were multi-vocal with varying degrees of emphasis on rationality, orderliness, particular aesthetic values, and differing social values, a major theme in these literatures was constructing *communities*—places of sociability that would maximize the spirit of citizenship.¹²⁵ Planner-architect C. B. Purdom, for example, articulated the values of civic republicanism in his discussion of what ought to be the right size for a city:

The mass-mind makes democracy impossible, for it disintegrates human personality . . . If civilization has any object it must be to prevent the existence of the mass-mind, which is its greatest danger. Human values are realized in personalities, who take responsibility and are capable of self-government. To develop personalities is the highest function of civic existence. Education, economic and political responsibility, co-operation in the conduct of affairs, and, above all, personal knowledge of other people through which criticism can be brought to bear upon social affairs, are the means through which personality is developed and citizenship raised to a high level.¹²⁶

¹²⁵ Morgan and Evans suggest that in contrast to the pre-war years when the idea of planning had been resisted by advocates of *laissez faire*, in the context of the political and social climate of World War II it reached its apotheosis. See *Battle for Britain*, 32. On planning during the war, see John Stevenson, "Planners' Moon? The Second World War and the Planning Movement," in Harold L. Smith, ed., *War and Social Change: British Society in the Second World War* (Manchester, 1986), 58–77.

¹²⁶ C. B. Purdom, *Britain's Cities Tomorrow: Notes for Everyman on a Great Theme* (London, 1942), 24.

Purdom further suggested, "A new architecture is needed for the cities of tomorrow, not that of the aggressive le Corbusier school, but an architecture that has a true community spirit."¹²⁷ A. Trystan Edwards, advocating the plan for building "A Hundred New Towns" (proposed in the mid-1930s), maintained that one kind of "vulgarity in architecture" is when "buildings show bad manners" by expressing "unsociability."¹²⁸ The eminent architect Ralph Tubbs, remarking on his sketch for a town center, maintained that it should be the "architectural interpretation of the fact that we are, each of us, in the words of John Donne, 'involved in Mankind.'"¹²⁹

One of the most elaborate plans to maximize community spirit and to minimize an ethos of individualism and self-oriented behavior was the Reilly Plan, published in the *Picture Post* in 1944. Lawrence Wolfe, who promoted the plan, touted it as "community planning *not* suburb planning." The Reilly Plan addressed the problem of designing a small community to stimulate a cooperative spirit among its residents that would nurture the wartime collective spirit in the postwar future. To do this, Wolfe suggested it was necessary to "create conditions under which the selfish impulses of our selfish fellow-men will quite naturally manifest themselves in a way that constitutes cooperation."¹³⁰ Wolfe tied the issue of sexual morality to the nature of community provision and spirit.¹³¹ To cure the proclivities of young people from engaging in sexual immorality and juvenile delinquency, he argued, communities need to provide "sufficient legitimate occupation for their hands as well as their minds."¹³² More generally, when the idiom of citizenship was deployed in discussions of sexual morality during the war, it referred to the question of how to fashion responsible, self-disciplined, and self-denying subjects who would be capable of actively participating in a democratic society.

Young people especially (and particularly young women) were the objects of the exhortations expressed in the language of citizenship. The YWCA's newsletter, whose intended audience was teenage girls, carried a regularly appearing special section, "News for Citizens." A surprising range of topics was considered by the editors as inspiring good citizenship. The column in December 1941 urged young women doing war work to "Join Your Trade Union," proclaiming, "We British have great democratic traditions of which we can justly be proud; for it was *our* country which was the pioneer in organising trade unions and co-operatives." The remainder of the article was devoted to the importance of being a patriotic unionist, working for the future.¹³³

Issues of "News for Citizens" in 1943 informed readers about the content of the government's white paper on education and the importance of the Beveridge

¹²⁷ Purdom, *Britain's Cities Tomorrow*, 27–28.

¹²⁸ A. Trystan Edwards, *A Hundred New Towns?* (London, 1944), 26.

¹²⁹ Ralph Tubbs, *The Englishman Builds* (Harmondsworth, 1945), 57.

¹³⁰ Lawrence Wolfe, *The Reilly Plan—A New Way of Life* (London, 1945), 35–36. Rather than seeing "the spirit of the Blitz" as inherent in "British Character," he argued it was a product of "external circumstances"; 42.

¹³¹ Wolfe, *Reilly Plan*, 56–78.

¹³² Wolfe, *Reilly Plan*, 63.

¹³³ YWCA, "News for Citizens." *The Blue Triangle*, December 1941.

Report, which set out plans for the creation of Britain's welfare state.¹³⁴ While these topics generally encouraged a political civic awareness in young people, the June 1943 "News for Citizens" column dealt with sex education. It encouraged readers to think of sex as "the creative energy and, rightly directed, it exists for marriage: marriage exists for the family, the family for the Church and the Church for God." The article then proceeded to detail the "wrong attitude" toward sex as "any action or thought that may cheapen sex or use it lightly and carelessly . . . It is only too easy to slip into this, especially in war-time." It went on to ask rhetorically how this happens to respectable and well-meaning girls.

A pretty girl has a nice time dancing with someone she has just met. She becomes a little alarmed at his "freshness." Her conscience warns her that it is time to stop. However, the Devil is in on this too, and he whispers that, after all, she is not a kid and everyone else seems to like this sort of thing, anyway. So she gives in . . . and there may be several sad endings to the story . . . [T]he real bitterness is in fact that "having a good time," as it is so wrongly called, affects the whole community.¹³⁵

The YWCA treatise on sexuality made use of the wartime language of community spirit to associate sex and citizenship. It suggests the importance of self-control and self-discipline to the "ethic of responsibility" that was key to the symbolic meaning of citizenship in wartime discourse.

Youth groups and organizations were seen as routes to educating young people for citizenship. Welfare workers, educators, and government officials campaigned actively to have teenagers participate in youth organizations and in the newly established Youth Service. The idea that organized leisure activities and clubs for youth instilled a sense of duty and commitment to self-discipline and responsible behavior increasingly became an article of faith during the interwar period.¹³⁶ During World War I, the Girl Guides was started, partly in response to the "epidemic" of "khaki fever" that was thought to be sweeping the country.¹³⁷ During World War II, participation in youth groups was seen as a preventive and cure for "moral laxity," as well as a vehicle for citizenship training. Youth workers referred to morally recalcitrant teenagers as "unclubbable."¹³⁸

In December 1941, young people of sixteen or seventeen were required to register with local education authorities. As the white paper "Youth Registration in 1942" declared, "The purpose of the registration was to enable Local Education Authorities to make contact with all young people of the ages concerned and to encourage them to find the best way of fitting themselves to do their duty as citizens and of assisting the present national effort."¹³⁹ The main purpose was to reach "those who had left school and who were no longer under educational supervision

¹³⁴ On the Beveridge Report, see YWCA, "News for Citizens," *The Blue Triangle*, March 1943; "Education for Tomorrow," in "News for Citizens," *The Blue Triangle*, December 1943.

¹³⁵ YWCA, "News for Citizens," *The Blue Triangle*, June 1943.

¹³⁶ See, for example, "The Purpose and Content of Youth Service: Report of Youth Advisory Council to Minister of Education in 1943" (London, 1945), 10.

¹³⁷ Richard A. Voeltz, "The Antidote to 'Khaki Fever'? The Expansion of the British Girl Guides during the First World War," *Journal of Contemporary History* 27 (October 1992): 627–38.

¹³⁸ "Adolescence and Sex Problems," Report of Sheffield Probation Officer, 1945, Reports of Principal Probation Officers, HO 45/20730, PRO, Kew.

¹³⁹ *Youth Registration in 1942*, HMSO, Cmd. 6446, May 1943: 2.

and discipline." The young registrants were asked to list the clubs and organizations to which they belonged. If they were "non-participating," they were "invited to an interview" where they would be urged to join. The idea was to encourage young people to make good use of organized leisure activities rather than spending their time in unsupervised activities such as "hanging about" or going to the cinema and dance halls.¹⁴⁰ The emphasis of youth organizations was teaching young people to use their leisure time properly and "to make the right choices."¹⁴¹ In other words, the youth movement, as it was called, was created to fashion self-disciplined and responsible moral subjects.¹⁴² The World War II obsession with the morality of girls and young women in Britain was thus articulated in terms that constructed moral subjects as responsible citizens. How are we to understand this particular articulation?

IT IS USEFUL TO CONSIDER AGAIN the tradition of civic republicanism that was echoed in wartime reimaginings of the nation and citizenship. This tradition, as I have suggested, emphasizes both the ideal of "active citizenship" and the notion that a common good exists "prior to and independent of individual desires and interests."¹⁴³ As Chantal Mouffe has argued, civic republicanism is antithetical to pluralism (and to true democracy) when it is mobilized for a kind of communitarian vision that emphasizes a particular notion of the common good and shared moral values.¹⁴⁴ Mouffe's analysis of the problems with civic republicanism suggests that while in World War II it required what Raphael Samuel called "a secular altruism," it also, as he suggested, "stigmatized anyone who stepped out of line as 'anti-social.'"¹⁴⁵

One way to understand the apparent relationship between sexual morality and citizenship is to see it as growing out of the elevation of particular notions of the common good over expressions of individual desire. But why were expressions of individual sexual desire, particularly by women, so threatening? What made sex itself such an issue? Republicanism historically, most notably in the hands of Machiavelli and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, has constructed the citizen in opposition to the feminine, and to women seen to be sexual predators by nature and susceptible to uncontrollable desire.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁰ The primary objects of the white paper discussion were the approximately 50 percent of boys and the two-thirds to three-quarters of girls who were "unattached."

¹⁴¹ See "Purpose and Content of the Youth Service"; and "The Youth Services after the War: Report of Youth Advisory Council to the Board of Education" (London, 1943).

¹⁴² As Mariana Valverde has suggested, discourses of moral purity in general construct moral subjects. See Valverde, "The Rhetoric of Reform: Tropes and the Moral Subject," *International Journal of the Sociology of Law* 18 (February 1990): 61–73; Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885–1925* (Toronto, 1991).

¹⁴³ Chantal Mouffe, "Feminism, Citizenship and Radical Democratic Politics," in Judith Butler and Joan W. Scott, eds., *Feminists Theorize the Political* (New York, 1992), 377.

¹⁴⁴ Mouffe, "Feminism, Citizenship and Radical Democratic Politics," 378. Also see her analysis comparing liberal citizenship and civic republican citizenship: "Democratic Citizenship and the Political Community," in Mouffe, *Dimensions of Radical Democracy*, 225–39.

¹⁴⁵ Raphael Samuel, "Introduction: Exciting to Be English," in Samuel, ed., *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity*, vol. 1 (London, 1989), xxi.

¹⁴⁶ On Machiavelli, see Pitkin, *Fortune Is a Woman*, Part 3; on Rousseau, see Carole Pateman, "'The

Iris Young's ideas about the centrality of "impartial reason" to the concept of virtue in civic republicanism help to make sense of why sexual desire, especially by women and by racially subordinated men poses such a threat to citizenship in the modern era. She suggests that "impartial civilized reason" is crucial to the concept of republican virtue that enables citizens to rise above passion and desire to work toward the common good.¹⁴⁷ An impartial point of view is arrived at, Young argues, "by abstracting from the particularity of the person in situation. This requires abstracting from the particularity of bodily being, its needs and inclinations, and from the feelings that attach to the experienced particularity of things and events."¹⁴⁸ Thus, in modern thought, reason stands opposed to desire and affectivity. Young writes,

By assuming that reason stands opposed to desire, affectivity and the body, the civic public must exclude bodily and affective aspects of human existence. In practice this assumption forces homogeneity upon the civic public, excluding from the public those individuals that do not fit the model of the rational citizen capable of transcending body and sentiment. This exclusion has a twofold basis: the tendency to oppose reason and desire, and the association of these traits with kinds of persons.¹⁴⁹

As Genevieve Lloyd has argued, in philosophical thought, the "metaphor of maleness is deeply embedded in philosophical articulations of ideas and ideals of reason. It had been constitutive of ways of thinking of reason which have deep repercussions in ways of thinking of ourselves as male or female."¹⁵⁰

In Western societies, European men have been associated with reason while women and racialized men have been associated with the body and desire.¹⁵¹ Young brilliantly observes,

Modern normative reason and its political expression in the idea of the civic public, then, attain unity and coherence through the expulsion and confinement of everything that would threaten to invade the polity with differentiation: the specificity of women's bodies and desire, differences of race and culture, the variability and heterogeneity of needs, the goals and desires of individuals, the ambiguity and changeability of feeling.¹⁵²

The association of reason with European maleness and its contrast with body and desire are ideas that have been deeply embedded in Western political culture. These ideas are articulated and rearticulated historically, and they take on new contemporary resonances and meanings. But I am arguing that they are fundamental to understanding the historically recurring discursive association between female sexual morality and social and political order.

Disorder of Women': Women, Love, and the Sense of Justice," in Pateman, *The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism and Political Theory* (Stanford, Calif., 1989), 17–32.

¹⁴⁷ Iris Young, "Impartiality and the Civic Public: Some Implications of Feminist Critiques of Moral and Political Theory," in Seyla Benhabib and Drucilla Cornell, eds., *Feminism as Critique: On the Politics of Gender* (Oxford, 1987), 67.

¹⁴⁸ Young, "Impartiality," 62.

¹⁴⁹ Iris Marion Young, "The Ideal of Impartiality and the Civic Public," in Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton, N.J., 1990), 109.

¹⁵⁰ Genevieve Lloyd, *Man of Reason: "Male" and "Female" in Western Philosophy*, 2d edn. (Minneapolis, 1993), viii.

¹⁵¹ Young, "Ideal of Impartiality and the Civic Public," 110–11.

¹⁵² Young, "Ideal of Impartiality and the Civic Public," 111.

If the nation was being imagined as a unified community of people capable of putting the national interest above their own needs and desires, then fun-loving, sexually expressive women and girls threatened that sense of unity that was imagined to be the essence of Britishness in wartime. This was a maternal and masculine nation, one exemplifying not only heroic self-sacrifice but also “impartial reason,” which defined itself against the feminine.¹⁵³ The discourses of moral purity thus figured duty and sexuality, bravery and pleasure, and sacrifice and desire as oppositional human characteristics.

Although narratives about the moral laxity of “good-time girls” and the various techniques of social control employed to police women’s behavior aimed both to construct moral citizens and to limit their associations with soldiers, ironically they also advertised the adventures and pleasures of wartime life. Moreover, neither the rhetoric of moral purity nor the efforts to police young women’s behavior were uncontested. Occasional letters to the editors of newspapers ridiculed the moral purity advocates as being old-fashioned or simply old and having forgotten what it was like to be young. Others defended Britain’s youth or simply rejected the outrage as overblown. Still others maintained that it was necessary for hardworking young people to have time for themselves and to have fun.

Many of the young women and girls continued to seek pleasure and adventure with soldiers throughout the war. Enmeshed in a popular culture that linked sex and love and valorized romance, they resisted a definition of citizenship that excluded carnal pleasure and passionate desire. The following front-page story appeared in the *Sunday Pictorial* at the end of August 1945:

The scene was Bristol, most English of all English cities. The time was 2 A.M. yesterday. The actors were a mob of screaming girls aged between 17 and 25.

The cause of the “hysteria” according to the report was that four companies of “American Negro soldiers in the city were leaving for home.”

The girls besieged the barracks where the soldiers were and began singing, “Don’t Fence Me In.” This was too much for the coloured men who began to break down the barbed wire. In a few minutes hundreds of girls and U.S. soldiers were kissing and embracing.¹⁵⁴

While the obsessive expressions of concern with the moral behavior of women and girls continued throughout the war to construct moral subjects as responsible citizens who would refrain from such behavior, many young women drew their moral lessons from other sources. The cautionary morality tales that were published in newspapers across the country suggest more about a fantasy of moral purity linked to a utopian longing for a new Britain whose citizens would be responsible community participants than about the romantic fantasies and sexual desires of the young women who were their primary objects.

In constructing this national fantasy, the rhetorics of moral disapprobation depicted some women and girls as antithetical to the nation, especially those women whose amorous escapades were so perverse as to jeopardize the nation’s racial

¹⁵³ For an analysis of the revolutionary period in American history that suggests very similar processes, see Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, “Beyond Roles, Beyond Spheres: Thinking about Gender in the Early Republic,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 46 (June 1989): 623–31.

¹⁵⁴ *Sunday Pictorial* (August 26, 1945): 1.

homogeneity. It simultaneously incorporated virtuous women and all men as comrades in struggle. Although class differentiated which women were made the targets of overt policies of social control, public expressions of apprehension about women and girls who frolicked with soldiers constituted a normalizing discourse that had as its goal the making of female moral citizens appropriate to fighting a "people's war," and building a "new Britain" when it was over. Femaleness and public expressions of sexuality by women and girls, or what might be termed "libidinal femininity," in other words, characterized an "internal other" against which the nation was defining itself. The construction of pleasure-seeking women as villainous and contemptuous "anti-citizens" was part and parcel of the process by which the nation was imagined as a "deep horizontal comradeship" of virtuous citizens.

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Forum Essay: Responses
Genocide in the Twentieth Century

*These Forum Essay: Responses continue the discussion of “Genocide in the Twentieth Century” begun in the June issue of this journal. In that issue, **Omer Bartov** launched a new format for AHR Forums with a provocative essay, “Defining Enemies, Making Victims: Germans, Jews, and the Holocaust.” We invited readers to send in commentaries on the essay. As we had hoped, it provoked a number of responses. Three of the most compelling and instructive of these are published in the second and concluding part of the Forum. The comments by **Paul B. Miller**, **Samuel Moyn**, and **Vinay Lal** enlarge the discussion by raising a number of substantive and methodological questions about Bartov’s argument. And Bartov ends the exchange with a spirited reply of his own that addresses the central concerns of each commentator. The two parts of this Forum demonstrate both the importance and the difficulties of trying to place the troubling subject of genocide in historical context.*

Forum Essay: Responses
Imagined Enemies, Real Victims:
Bartov's Transcendent Holocaust

PAUL B. MILLER

OMER BARTOV's sweeping and erudite essay, "Defining Enemies, Making Victims," attempts to explain genocide through the evolution of the hatreds that lead up to it. Specifically, he explores the ways in which a certain, psychological sense of victimization finds its outlet in the creation of imagined enemies. Under the right set of political, economic, and ideological conditions, these projections can become explosive, and there is no better example of this syndrome than under the Weimar Republic and the subsequent Third Reich. For Bartov, perceptions common among Germans of themselves as victims (as with the "stab-in-the-back" legend after World War I, and of Jewish "infiltration" generally) helped to justify and promote ever more radical forms of persecution. The tragic end result, of course, was the Holocaust. As he writes: "The ubiquity of perpetrators and victims, and the frequent confusion between them, is at the core of the destructive energy characteristic of modern genocide, taking place as it does within an imaginary universe that encompasses every single individual in a cycle of devastation and murder."¹ Here Bartov comes close to creating an abstract, ideal type of genocide that explains at once too much and too little. Bartov's thesis that a continual process of victimization and blame is at the heart of the animosities that lead to genocide may help us to understand why certain groups are targeted in certain contexts. Yet scapegoating is an old historical phenomenon, not a twentieth-century innovation, and it did not always produce genocide by any means. Where Bartov's thesis ultimately falls short is in explaining, to put it concretely, how it was possible for some 100,000 Germans to participate in a continent-wide murderous rampage that left 6 million Jews (among millions of others) dead, the vast majority of whom were not German to begin with. While I certainly do not intend to turn this forum into a rehashing of the Goldhagen debate, the author of *Hitler's Willing Executioners* does present a simple, if exaggerated, picture of the perpetrators and their motives—ordinary Germans for whom virulent, "eliminationist" anti-Semitism could easily be turned into lethal action.² While few scholars have gone that far, Bartov seems to have veered so much in the other direction that it is not clear who,

¹ Omer Bartov, "Defining Enemies, Making Victims: Germans, Jews, and the Holocaust," *AHR* 103 (June 1998): 786.

² Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York, 1996).

or how many, were involved in the actual killing. At least in Goldhagen's controversial book, perceptions do not kill perceptions but, rather, people kill people. It is important to recognize that the leap from "defining enemies" to "making victims" is generally a long one, even if those hatreds go back for centuries.

Jews have been the subject of prejudice and persecution for so long and in so many different parts of the world that the Holocaust sometimes appears to consummate this longstanding hatred rather than complicate it. Yet as Bartov must well understand, the Holocaust was not simply a pogrom writ large. Rather, it was ideology put into action, in this case by one of the largest, most organized and efficient bureaucracies on the face of the earth. Adolf Hitler's perception of the Jews, like that of many Europeans of the time, may have been a complex amalgam of traditional anti-Semitism, pseudo-scientific reasoning, contrived personal experiences, and just plain hard times, but it was nothing the Jews had not faced before. Anti-Semitic political parties came and went in nineteenth-century Germany, and Jews were restricted in their range of activities until the nation got its first democracy nearly two decades into the twentieth. But they breathed the air freely in Germany, and most stuck it out for as long as they could, or until it was too late, under the Third Reich.

What made this time around different was the state. These were no longer merely Germans, they were Nazis, or, to use the more racially charged expression of the day, Aryans. The Third Reich was not ruled by a German king or politician but by a fanatical Austrian ideologue whose actions, more than half a century after his death, are still generating studies at the rate of hundreds per year. This is by no means an effort to excuse the conduct of individual Germans or even to exonerate the German people as a whole but, rather, to distinguish Hitler's regime in the same way that it sought to distinguish itself—as a complete remaking of German political, social, and mental life. The leaders of the "Thousand Year" Reich may have played off the old animosities, fears, stereotypes, and jealousies concerning Jews that had always been around Europe, but Auschwitz was not the product of anyone's illusions, deceived or otherwise. It was the product of men.

The Holocaust era, moreover, did not begin with the Jews. This is a strong statement since for many, including myself, the very definition of the Holocaust is centered on the Jewish victims of Hitler's regime. But the point is that genocidal murder under the Nazis preceded the extermination of the Jews. The mentally and physically handicapped were the first innocents herded into killing centers disguised as hospitals, and then subjected to forced starvation, lethal injection, and, eventually, carbon monoxide gas poisoning. What exactly to do with the Jews was less clear-cut at the start than for these "racial degenerates" and "useless eaters." Thus Jewish communities survived relatively intact, albeit severely deprived, in Poland for over two years under the Nazis, and in Germany for nearly a decade. The murder of the handicapped that began in September 1939 had nothing to do with German feelings of victimization by people who could barely take care of themselves. Rather, it came out of the same corrupt science that, as Bartov

describes, fashioned the Jews into the “lowest and most insidious race and the most zealous guardians of their own racial purity.”³

Bartov is obviously familiar with the ideological underpinnings of the Final Solution, yet what he has overlooked is the extent to which victim groups other than the Jews, who held the lowest-of-the-low ranking on the Nazi race hierarchy, fail to fit his enemy-victim paradigm. Russian POWs who served as the guinea pigs for the gas chambers of Auschwitz-Birkenau in September 1941 were *real* enemies who had been conquered and taken out of battle. There was nothing abstract about the fact that more than 3 million of them died in Nazi hands. Bartov’s essay likewise fails to explain why the powerless and stateless Gypsies were worth the bother and anxiety of one of the world’s mightiest states. Yet the point is less that other groups were slated for death (and soldiers in the Red Army knew well what awaited them if taken prisoner by “Fritz”) than that Bartov has to make such a large effort to explain why the Jews were. While his Germans may have demonized “Jews,” who comprised less than 1 percent of their population, in abstract, metaphorical terms, it was the Nazis who created both the ideological and physical framework for their destruction.

Nazi planning of the Final Solution did not take place as one might expect planning for a conventional war to have proceeded. The enemy countries, Soviet Russia and the Western democracies, had armies and weapons and, in the case of the latter, a recent history of defeating Germany. The Jews, on the other hand, had no defenses and little support. Thus the problem lay in convincing the German people that Jews too constituted a *real* enemy, the elimination of which was essential to the victory and persistence of the Third Reich. World War II together with over six years of incessant propaganda, ruthless repression of dissenters, and various attempts to turn Jews into national and even international pariahs were key ingredients for the Holocaust. Whether “ordinary,” rabidly anti-Semitic Germans willingly pulled the triggers and sealed the gas chambers or just plain “ordinary men” were coerced into doing so, both inured themselves to the task in the midst of a brutal war and at the behest of their Führer and his mesmerizing, hateful message. Their enemies, moreover, were not “elusive” as they led them, one-by-one, men, women, and children alike, to the place in the forest where they were to be shot.⁴ In fact, evidence indicates that the job became *more* difficult when a Jew of German origin, with fluent language skills and knowledge of some of the same places as their killers, was seized during a round-up in, for example, a small Polish town. Out in the killing fields and far from home, the German perpetrators typically found it harder to murder German Jews, their supposed victimizers and perceived enemies, than they did the foreign and very different Jews of the eastern territories.⁵

Bartov knows that his essay is not going to resolve once and for all the questions

³ Bartov, “Defining Enemies, Making Victims,” 780.

⁴ Bartov, “Defining Enemies, Making Victims,” 785–86.

⁵ Christopher R. Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York, 1992), 67, 153. See also Raoul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, rev. edn., 3 vols. (New York, 1985), 353–54, 386–87, 431–32, 1014–15, 1028, where he discusses the resistance of the Generalkommissar of White Russia and Gauleiter Wilhelm Kube to killing German Jews, particularly war veterans.

of what caused the Holocaust or how genocide in general happens. He admits as much in his introduction, writing: "My aim is not to provide any definitive answers but to raise questions, reformulate assumptions, and sketch out links that are not commonly recognized."⁶ Yet, while his provocative ideas further our understanding of the persistent historical maligning of the Jews, the link between creating an enemy and killing him is one for which there are not even sketchy, general explanations. The Holocaust was the product of many dark forces, some long-term and some fleeting, but ultimately it was the product of human action, not abstraction.

⁶ Bartov, "Defining Enemies, Making Victims," 771.

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Forum Essay: Responses

Two Regimes of Memory

SAMUEL MOYN

THE DEVELOPMENT OF POST-HOLOCAUST CULTURE is coming to be understood as a transition between two regimes of memory. An initial period of repression gave way, after twenty years or more, to one of obsession. Before he turns to a careful discussion of the second of these regimes in international context, Omer Bartov deals with the first only briefly and then in largely negative and summary terms.¹ In this short comment, I want to try to complicate this somewhat undifferentiated account of the first twenty years after the war. The period is critical, I suggest, because it may offer some important resources for escaping the vicious circle of enemies and victims that Bartov identifies.

In the immediate postwar years, Germans as well as Jews in Europe, the United States, and Israel rarely posed the Holocaust as a matter of explicit public reflection. Instead, they adopted what Bartov calls the “official state perceptions” in their respective lands, which often construed the war as “a site of near universal victimhood” and atrocities as “crimes against humanity” rather than culturally specific acts of violence. In the newer regime, dating from sometime in the 1960s, the events received the designation “Holocaust” and were reinterpreted as a more specifically Jewish tragedy. A number of contemporary writers tend to take a harshly critical view of the newer regime, largely reducing the canonization and quasi-pathological attention the Holocaust has received to political appropriation and instrumentalization.² It nonetheless remains more familiar and acceptable—especially by contrast to the older regime and apparent “inability to mourn” that together preceded it.

But is this hierarchy valid? The representational and ethical defects in the initial style of response in post-Holocaust culture are obvious. Most significantly, it did not adequately capture the extent to which Jews specifically had been victimized and to which Germans specifically were guilty as genocidal aggressors. As Bartov remarks, “the genocide of the Jews . . . was left largely unexplained for many years following

¹ Omer Bartov, “Defining Enemies, Making Victims: Germans, Jews, and the Holocaust,” *AHR* 103 (June 1998): 787–89, 800.

² See most notably Peter Novick, “Holocaust Memory in America,” in James E. Young, ed., *The Art of Memory: Holocaust Memorials in History* (New York, 1994); and Tom Segev, *The Seventh Million: The Israelis and the Holocaust*, Haim Watzman, trans. (New York, 1993). In addition to the other works Bartov cites at 801 n56, see Efraim Sicher, ed., *Breaking Crystal: Writing and Memory after Auschwitz* (Urbana, Ill., 1998). For a challenging response to the one-dimensionality of Novick’s argument, see Mark J. Greif, “The American Transformation of the Holocaust, 1945–65” (AB thesis, Harvard University, 1997).

the Holocaust, whether by historiography, legal discourse, documentaries, or other forms of representation.”³ The motivations for the adoption of the first post-Holocaust regime are also readily apparent: it allowed a unity of democracies against Communism and fostered a reintegration of the Jews into national cultures in which their place had been challenged.

But it is not enough to leave the matter there. For while it had major and undeniable vices, the approach also had some noteworthy virtues. It implicitly or explicitly recognized that there had been “a mosaic of victims” (including leftists, Sinti and Roma, homosexuals, the disabled, the mentally ill, the criminally deviant, and the elderly) during World War II.⁴ In addition, it may have succeeded, far better than the more divisive regime that followed, at including vast numbers of non-Jews in worldwide moral reflection and reform. Inasmuch as every regime of memory is equally a vision of the future, the construction of the war in this first style emphasized intercultural cooperation, rather than ethnic self-defense.

The most significant instantiation of this early style of response is perhaps the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, which, surprisingly enough, does not find a mention in Bartov’s reflections on genocide, even though it is (along with related conventions) the major international legal instrument available to combat the problem today. However easy it is to question the philosophical foundations of the document and the spotty record of the movement it spawned, they remain among the most striking and practical legacies of the first regime of post-Holocaust culture.⁵

This all-too-brief contrast between the two regimes of memory may seem to imply a difficult but necessary choice between two incompatible approaches to the Holocaust, each with characteristic advantages and shortcomings. It is as if the “deep structure” that A. D. Moses has recently discerned in scholarship on the event, which divides commentators into universalists and particularists based on their precritical ethical affiliations, not only conditioned response to the Holocaust generally in the past but must also govern it in the future.⁶ But I would reject this conclusion. A closer examination of the first regime of post-Holocaust culture may lead not so much to an inversion of the putative hierarchy between the two regimes as to a rejection altogether of the terms in which it is drawn.

The case of France and French Jewry may most usefully illustrate the complexity of the first regime of memory, demonstrating that it did not everywhere and always exclude recognition of the particularity of Jewish suffering, even though it did often

³ Bartov, “Defining Enemies, Making Victims,” 788.

⁴ For this phrase and on this topic, see Michael Berenbaum, ed., *A Mosaic of Victims: Non-Jews Persecuted and Murdered by the Nazis* (New York, 1990).

⁵ As Jacques Maritain, an important member of the original UNESCO committee in charge of formulating the project, famously remarked on the issue of foundations, “Yes, we agree about the rights, but on condition no one asks us why.” Quoted in Mary Ann Glendon, “Reflections on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,” *First Things*, no. 82 (April 1998): 24. A helpful recent introduction to an immense literature on the text (including important drafting history) and the movement appears in Henry J. Steiner and Philip Alston, eds., *International Human Rights in Context: Law, Politics, Morals* (Oxford, 1996). Technically, of course, the declaration is not a legal instrument, only a “standard of achievement.”

⁶ A. D. Moses, “Structure and Agency in the Holocaust: Daniel J. Goldhagen and His Critics,” *History and Theory* 37, no. 2 (1998): 194–219. Moses himself argues that his categories are ideal types and that some figures straddled or challenged the boundary between them.

draw universalist consequences from that recognition, given the political, theological, or more generally humanistic commitments of important contributors to the discourse. This case helps show that universalizing abstraction from events is not always escapist or repressive, though it will always have a particularized background and motivation (the problem for the historian lies in determining what these are).⁷

It is certainly true that the immediate aftermath of the war in France featured an attempt, despite the upheavals of the prior two decades and the scores of testimonies offered by survivors, to revive the republican synthesis that distinguished French Jewry in modern times.⁸ Coupled with the so-called "Vichy syndrome," this consensus led to notably problematic consequences in the representation of the immediate past, extending from Jean-Paul Sartre's *Réflexions sur la question juive* (translated as *Anti-Semite and Jew*), which understood Jewish identity essentially as hostile construction, to Alain Resnais' documentary *Night and Fog*, which, as Bartov notes, did not confront the fact of Jewish victimhood at all.⁹

But the story is more complicated than these examples suggest. France also tended to be the country that pioneered versions of this first regime of memory with a slightly different cast, frequently because of the contribution of Jews and other survivors, which were all the more remarkable because of the international silence that otherwise reigned on the topic. Despite recent allegations of a cultural *Sonderweg* when it comes to the rights tradition,¹⁰ for example, the French made an important contribution to the Universal Declaration not only through the efforts of intellectuals such as Jacques Maritain but also through the primary draftsmanship of the French-Jewish jurist and later Nobelist René Cassin. Far from ignoring Jewish suffering, Cassin and others in the movement had the sense that they were doing it honor.

At a more literary-cultural level, France enjoyed an early consensus on the necessity of interfaith dialogue about the meaning of the Holocaust; French-Jewish intellectuals and novelists cooperated in forging a philosophical reflection of the broader universalist regime of memory of which they were a part. Elie Wiesel, whose encounter with the Catholic writer François Mauriac proved critical in the origins of the official text of *Night*, is the most spectacular example, but there are many others.¹¹ While modern ears trained on the music of the newer regime of memory are often alert to the absences and dissonances in this literature, they are

⁷ For a critical earlier example, see Dale Van Kley, "From the Lessons of French History to Truths for All Times and All People: The Historical Origins of an Anti-Historical Declaration," in Van Kley, ed., *The French Idea of Freedom: The Old Regime and the Declaration of Rights of 1789* (Stanford, Calif., 1994).

⁸ Annette Wieviorka's works explore these issues, especially her monumental study on testimonies, *Déportation et génocide: Entre la mémoire et l'oubli* (Paris, 1992). Also, Maud S. Mandel, "The Strange Silence: France, French Jews, and the Return to Republican Order following World War II," Presentation, Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, Harvard University, April 15, 1998. On the interwar background, Vicki Caron, *Uneasy Asylum: France and the Jewish Refugee Crisis, 1933-1942* (Stanford, Calif., forthcoming), will make an important new contribution.

⁹ Jean-Paul Sartre, *Réflexions sur la question juive* (Paris, 1946); English transl., *Anti-Semite and Jew*, George J. Becker, trans. (New York, 1948); for Resnais, see Bartov, "Defining Enemies, Making Victims," 788 n 31. But compare Andrew Hebard, "Disruptive Histories: Toward a Radical Politics of Remembrance in Alain Resnais's *Night and Fog*," *New German Criticism* no. 71 (Spring-Summer 1997): 87-114.

¹⁰ Tony Judt, *Past Imperfect: French Intellectuals, 1944-1956* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992).

¹¹ Elie Wiesel, *La nuit* (Paris, 1958); for a problematic account of Mauriac's role, see Naomi

insensible to some of their valuable harmonies and functional importance. For they were extremely influential, not least on the non-Jewish population, who were likely to have had their exposure to the Holocaust through these materials.

Early French post-Holocaust culture also proved significant in shaping elite reflection. To give just one example, the philosopher Emmanuel Levinas's comments regarding the universalist basis and implications of both Jewish identity and Jewish victimhood as well as his advocacy of a new humanism based on the figure of the other were far from incidental to his broadly influential treatment of current philosophical issues in general.¹² This first regime of memory is therefore critical for understanding at least one dimension of the ethical motivation in the origins of so-called postmodernism, most notably the early work of Jacques Derrida. Interestingly enough, the universalizing approach to the genocide informed the work of philosophers most renowned for their championship of difference. But this paradox is not merely a feature of these philosophers' work: it helped define a more embracing cultural project committed to thinking out the relationship between the universal and the particular anew in the post-Holocaust context.

These comments are highly introductory. But they do imply that a good deal of historicist caution is required to appreciate the complexity, significance, and legacy of initial responses to the horror of war and genocide. In particular, it is important to avoid the unexamined premise that reactions to events that antedate contemporary canons of interpretation were for that reason alone evasive, misguided, or simply wrong. Even those confident enough to assert a standard of response against which to measure all others should understand it less as a direct and obvious inference from events than as a painstaking, indirect, and mediated achievement.

The study of memory is a requirement because it allows distinction among rival strands in the history of interpreting an event for the purposes of comparison and more critical affiliation.¹³ I have argued that Bartov's "vicious circle of defining enemies and making victims," while powerful, did not wholly determine post-Holocaust culture. The "other ways to view reality" that he so admirably posits and advocates are not totally absent from the historical record.¹⁴ A closer examination of the first, international style in post-Holocaust culture, notably in France, may prove more rewarding than Bartov suggests, as intellectuals work toward a world in which enemies and victims finally become things of the past.

Seidman, "Elie Wiesel and the Scandal of Jewish Rage," *Jewish Social Studies*, new ser., 3 (Fall 1996): 1–19.

¹² Emmanuel Levinas, "Etre juif," *Confluences* 7, nos. 15–17 (1947): 260; *L'humanisme de l'autre homme* (Montpellier, 1972); Samuel Moyn, "Judaism against Paganism: Emmanuel Levinas's Response to Heidegger and Nazism in the 1930s," *History and Memory* 10 (Spring 1998): 25–58.

¹³ While Jan Assmann asserts the possibility of separating "history" and "mnemohistory," Dominick LaCapra more plausibly suggests that the categories are neither fully identical nor fully distinct. See Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), esp. 14; and LaCapra, *History and Memory after Auschwitz* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1998), chap. 1. Earlier, see LaCapra, *Representing the Holocaust: History, Theory, Trauma* (Ithaca, 1994), 11–12n; and Amos Funkenstein, *Perceptions of Jewish History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993), chap. 1.

¹⁴ Bartov, "Defining Enemies, Making Victims," 772, 816.

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Forum Essay: Responses
Genocide, Barbaric Others, and the Violence of Categories:
A Response to Omer Bartov

VINAY LAL

AS WE LEAVE THE TWENTIETH CENTURY BEHIND, nothing strikes us with greater and ominous clarity than the thought that the preceding one hundred years have been a time of “total violence.” Every age is haunted by its own excesses and barbarisms, and people have always been disposed to the view that they have passed through especially difficult and even onerous times; nonetheless, as our gaze sets on the corpses of genocides, colonial wars, separatist and irredentist movements, ethnic cleansings, and state violence that now litter the globe, the twentieth century does appear to be a time of unspeakable horrors. Omer Bartov, in his elegant and sensitive essay, which focuses on the Holocaust while aiming to complicate our understanding of genocidal violence as a wider phenomenon, weaves a complex and unsettling tale of the “victims,” “perpetrators,” and “enemies” behind this violence, and he unhinges us from that complacency that allows us to distinguish ourselves from those who clearly appear to be evil.¹

The burden of Bartov’s essay is to make us reflect, as he says, whether “we have succeeded in breaking out of the vicious circle of defining enemies and making victims, which has characterized much of the last hundred years and has been at the root of so much violence and bloodshed.”² The deadening brutality of trench warfare produced a strange comradeship between enemies, and Germany’s defeat in World War I was to be accompanied by a search for the “real” enemy. The politicians who had sent masses of soldiers to their graves, the noncombatants who supposedly abdicated their responsibilities to the state, and most of all the “Jew,” always a suspicious character, were seen as the enemies who had truly sabotaged the German war effort. The terms of the Versailles treaty doubtless encouraged Germans to stress their victimhood, but in the aftermath of World War II this propensity to self-exculpation was to take the form of distinguishing between “Nazis” and “Germans.” As Bartov notes, if the definition of a “true Aryan” was made contingent on an absence, that is, on the lack of Jewishness, so a German was perceived as being one unstained by any substantive association with Nazis.³ The public discourse on the Holocaust in postwar Germany was to emphasize the “social

¹ Omer Bartov, “Defining Enemies. Making Victims: Germans, Jews, and the Holocaust,” *AHR* 103 (June 1998): 771–816.

² Bartov, “Defining Enemies. Making Victims,” 771–72.

³ Bartov, “Defining Enemies. Making Victims,” 791.

marginality" of the perpetrators, as if to render them into a different beast and so render the "true Germans" into victims of a barbarous apostasy.

Turning to the memory of the Holocaust among Jews, Bartov finds some uneasy ironies. "Diaspora Jews" were, in the aftermath of the war and the creation of Israel, transformed into "Zionist Israelis": thus the victims that had gone "like sheep to the slaughter" would be remade into ardent defenders of the faith.⁴ This was by no means to deny the Jews their victimhood, although the suggestion that there was, to put it perhaps strongly, an oddly "collaborationist" pact between the "victims" and the "perpetrators" was highlighted by Hannah Arendt when she pointed to the inability of Jewish leaders to recognize the annihilationist impulses of the Nazis.⁵ Bringing these discussions into the present, Bartov asks us to reflect on how Israel's location, "on the rim of an Arab and Islamic world," even while Zionism was purported to be wholly European in its sensibility, introduced further modulations in the Israeli discourse on national identity. In time, the very Jews who had survived the genocide would be seen as aggressors, the embodiment of the "genocidal aspirations of gentile Europe."⁶ One wonders, moreover, how far the hyper-masculinity of the Israeli nation-state can be viewed as a response to the Germanic perception of Judaism's alleged femininity, but Bartov's readings of the cultural politics of knowledge do not extend in this direction. Nonetheless, he continually complicates our sense of "victims" and "enemies," although this should be not be construed as a descent into an easy psychologism, promising the comforts of the thought that we are all victims in our own way. Rather, it is Bartov's endeavor to bring "us" and "them" into a dialectical and dialogic relationship,⁷ and this can scarcely be achieved if, as he says, the histories of perpetrators and victims continue to follow wholly divergent trajectories.

Notwithstanding the complex and powerful moral sensibilities that Bartov brings to bear on his subject, on at least two fundamental points his argument invites a rejoinder. Bartov assumes, as has every scholar of the Holocaust, that "the Jews can be seen as the paradigmatic example of the preoccupation with identity and solidarity, exclusion and victimization" that modern states and their agencies have manifested in our times.⁸ Is it the sheer enormity and scale of the genocide, its centrality to defining European history in the twentieth century, and the chilling manner in which the killing of the Jewish people was orchestrated that makes the Holocaust the "paradigmatic" experience of totalizing violence? From the standpoint of numerous Asian and Third World scholars, the Holocaust, alongside the killings of homosexuals, gypsies, and the purportedly deranged, visited upon the peoples of Europe the violence that colonial powers had routinely inflicted on the "natives" all over the world for nearly five hundred years.⁹ Insofar as Germany dared to do within the borders of Europe what no other colonial power had

⁴ Bartov, "Defining Enemies, Making Victims," 802.

⁵ Bartov, "Defining Enemies, Making Victims," 803.

⁶ Bartov, "Defining Enemies, Making Victims," 807–08.

⁷ See Satya P. Mohanty, "Us and Them: On the Philosophical Bases of Political Criticism," *Yale Journal of Criticism* 2 (Spring 1989): 1–31.

⁸ Bartov, "Defining Enemies, Making Victims," 773.

⁹ See, for example, Ziauddin Sardar, Ashis Nandy, and Merryl Wyn Davies, *Barbaric Others: A Manifesto on Western Racism* (London, 1993).

previously contemplated, it is the exceptionality of the Holocaust that strikes the student of European colonialism. This is no small point, since the construal of the Jewish experience as “paradigmatic” obfuscates our understanding of genocide in the twentieth century, as the massacre of Bengali intellectuals and educated elite by the Pakistani army, where nearly half a million people were killed over the course of a few days toward the end of 1971, amply demonstrates. There had been numerous pogroms against the Jews over the previous centuries, and European anti-Semitism has an embarrassingly long history; in the pluralistic civilization that has existed in South Asia, on the other hand, boundaries of exclusion were never drawn so systematically, and the exterminating impulse never found the voice to make its brazen presence a reality. There is no ready intellectual apparatus at hand to explain the genocide in (then) East Pakistan, of which few scholars in the West have any awareness, as there is in the case of the Jewish experience. This in no way compels scholars to accept, to the exclusion of other arguments, Daniel J. Goldhagen’s thesis that eliminationist anti-Semitism was the chief “causal agent of the Holocaust,”¹⁰ since it is doubtless the case, to invoke the argument rendered familiar by Arendt and rehearsed by Bartov, that the Fordization of murder witnessed in the Holocaust also stems from the nature of the modern nation-state. A great deal hinges on the view that the Jewish experience was “paradigmatic,” and yet we must merely accept this as one of the great and unquestionable verities.

It is, I would submit, with similarly inadequate reflection that Bartov dismisses recent attempts at “equating the Soviet and Nazi systems,” quoting with approval Peter Holquist’s observation that where the Nazis employed a “biological-racial standard,” which necessitated the annihilation of all Jews, the Soviets did not engage in “industrial killing,” nor did they view extermination as an end in itself. No one can deny that the burden of scholarship must be to introduce differentiations into apparently like phenomena, and that facile comparisons ill-serve the quest for a more enhanced historical understanding. It was no apparently “biological-racial” standard that was employed in the near genocide of Putamayo Indians in South America, and yet, as Michael Taussig has written, the terror inflicted on them was mindless, certainly counter productive, and in no respect a means to a recognizable end: the very men, women, and children who were expected to produce a quota of rubber each day were killed in droves when they failed to satisfy their taskmasters, leading to an acute shortage of labor.¹¹ Bartov’s essay more than hints at his partial endorsement of the idea associated with Hannah Arendt, Richard Rubenstein, Zygmunt Bauman, and numerous others that it is modernity and its creations—from the nation-state to the bureaucratizing and instrumental rationality associated with assembly-line killing—that are implicated in the Holocaust, but he does not pursue the argument to its logical and ominous conclusion.¹² It is useful to recall

¹⁰ Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, *Hitler’s Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York, 1996), 9.

¹¹ Bartov, “Defining Enemies, Making Victims,” 814. Michael Taussig, *Shamanism, Colonialism, and the Wild Man: A Study in Terror and Healing* (Chicago, 1987), 27, 32, 46, 51. It may have been colonial fantasies about Indian cannibalism that inspired the rubber barons and the Indian agents who served at their pleasure to hunt Indians, dismember them while alive, feed them to the dogs, or condemn them to death by hunger.

¹² Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust* (1989; Ithaca, N.Y., 1992); Richard L. Rubenstein, *The Cunning of History: The Holocaust and the American Future* (New York, 1978).

that, in China, ruinous economic policies and political theories, embodied in the phantasmagoric notion of the "Great Leap Forward," caused the largest series of famines experienced in modern history and killed 20 to 30 million people.¹³ Indeed, more people have been killed in the name of "development" this century than have been killed by all the genocides put together,¹⁴ but we are still overwhelmingly reluctant to recognize "development" as another form of "genocide." Millions of people have experienced genocide, but as there has been no real Linnaeus to recognize and theorize the family resemblances between annihilationist (but not always overtly violent) social technologies, their suffering, too, must remain nameless. As we move toward the end of the twentieth century, it is quite clear that violence will increasingly be exercised through the categories enshrined in modern knowledge systems,¹⁵ and I would urge Bartov, and other scholars on genocide and particularly the Holocaust, to move toward that recognition in their work.

¹³ B. Ashton, K. Hill, A. Piazza, and R. Zeitz, "Famine in China, 1958–61," *Population and Development Review* 10 (1984); Xizhe Peng, "Demographic Consequences of the Great Leap Forward in China's Provinces," *Population and Development Review* 13, no. 4 (December 1987): 639–70.

¹⁴ See Wolfgang Sachs, ed., *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power* (London, 1992).

¹⁵ Ashis Nandy, "The Future University," *Seminar* (New Delhi), no. 425 (January 1995): 95; the argument is extended in Vinay Lal, "Discipline and Authority: Some Notes on Future Histories and Epistemologies of India," *Futures* 29, no. 10 (1997): 985–1000.

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Forum Essay: Responses

Reply

OMER BARTOV

THE THREE RESPONSES PUBLISHED HERE CRITICIZE MY ESSAY from very different perspectives. The first argues that I favor abstract ideas over concrete reality; the second, that I neglect the beneficial effects of universalizing victimhood; the third, that I privilege the Holocaust over colonial atrocities. Let me therefore address their main contentions in turn.

Paul B. Miller's assertion that my essay "comes close to creating an abstract, ideal type of genocide that explains at once too much and too little," is based on his observation there was nothing elusive about the victims, that "perceptions do not kill perceptions but, rather, people kill people," that "Auschwitz was not the product of anyone's illusions," and thus that the Holocaust was "ultimately . . . the product of human action, not abstraction."

While I would be the last to dispute the fact that the Holocaust was first and foremost about physical annihilation, this in no way undermines my argument that mass murder is driven in part by the construction of the victims as elusive enemies of the perpetrators. This is also what the Holocaust has in common with many other cases of genocide. To be sure, this does not mean that the victims of genocide are in any way abstract but merely that they are subsumed under abstract categories by their murderers. I agree, of course, that "scapegoating is an old historical phenomenon . . . [that] did not always produce genocide," but I would argue that modern genocide contains a strong element of scapegoating. Indeed, contrary to his own rejection of abstraction, Miller actually seems to favor Daniel Goldhagen's thesis that Germans killed Jews only because of their virulent, "eliminationist" anti-Semitism, which was, after all, a predilection to view Jews in abstract terms rather than as individual human beings. In yet another apparent contradiction, Miller then rightly asserts that "the Holocaust was not simply a pogrom writ large" but the product of a unique Hitler-state. Lest we think he is leaning toward an "intentionalist" position, however, Miller then goes on to argue that "genocidal murder under the Nazis preceded the extermination of the Jews." This accurate observation is followed by the incorrect assumption that the murder of the mentally and physically handicapped "had nothing to do with German feelings of victimization." In fact, as Henry Friedlander and Michael Burleigh have conclusively shown, "euthanasia" was very much about ridding Germany of the threat of "degeneration" and was thus intimately related to the genocide of the Jews, just as the murder of Soviet POWs was perceived as a response to the near takeover of Germany by

Bolshevism, and the genocide of the Gypsies was presented as eliminating the agents of both biological deterioration and asocial behavior. It is for this reason, too, that Miller rightly restates my own position that the Jews were seen as the elusive enemy par excellence precisely because they both presented no conceivable objective threat to German society, indeed were highly integrated in it, yet remained a menacing entity in the minds of many Germans. This also explains why it was occasionally more difficult for Germans to kill German Jews, who appeared to them rather like themselves (and often of a higher social class), than to murder the population of Polish or Russian shtetls. But this is precisely the point, namely, that enough Germans had internalized the idea that under the “mask” of “civilization” there lurked the eternal, elusive Jew whose “real” demonic face they finally uncovered in the East.

Understanding that the outright murder of innocent people appeared to their murderers as a glorious cleansing operation against a universal, deadly, yet all too intangible evil by no means alleviates the guilt of the perpetrators or deprives their actions of their reality, but it may help us avoid complacency about the realities of our own world. At the same time, recognizing the common traits of modern genocides should not distract us from their unique features nor from apportioning blame where it is deserved. Which brings me to the comment by Samuel Moyn. While for reasons of space and coherence of argument,* my essay did not devote sufficient space to what Moyn calls the first postwar “regime of memory,” including the 1948 U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, I cannot fully endorse his interpretation of the early years as recognizing “a mosaic of victims” in the sense he gives it. If the current “regime” is “more divisive,” this is because the hegemonic discourse of the previous period had been challenged, although it has in no way been wholly undermined.

To begin with, as I attempted to show in my essay, the “mosaic” of victims in the early postwar period was both too inclusive, in that it incorporated those who were complicit in genocide, and too exclusive, in that it ignored or repressed the unique fate of the Jews (as well as the Gypsies, homosexuals, and the mentally handicapped). Second, the contribution of French intellectuals to the legal discourse on human rights, as well as to philosophical and theological reflection, should not distract us either from their widespread complicity in collaboration and what Philippe Burrin has called “accommodation” during the Occupation, nor from their role in perpetuating the “Vichy syndrome” after the Liberation, as identified by Henry Rousso. Moreover, while the initial hierarchy of martyrdom—which privileged the Resistance and relegated the “passive” Jewish victims to a secondary position—has undergone a major transformation in the last two decades, it has not been simply reversed. In the last few years, some prominent French intellectuals and scholars, including such figures as Tzvetan Todorov, have been arguing that what they perceive as the overemphasis on Jewish victimhood is having a detrimental moral and political effect on public and historical discourse. Indeed, the philosopher Alain Brossat claims that the “monopolization” of suffering by the

* I should note that the glorification of war and genocide, and French reactions to and conceptualizations of the Occupation and the Holocaust, will be discussed at much greater length in my forthcoming book, of which the *AHR* essay was only a small part.

Jews is at the root of post-Holocaust genocide and repression. In this sense, the insistence on universal victimhood is aimed at relativizing the Holocaust and minimizing the ignominious legacy of France's own intelligentsia during the "somber years" of 1940–1944. Hence I tend to agree with Naomi Seidman's recent argument that the transformation of Elie Wiesel's *Night* from a particularist Yiddish text into a universalist French rumination is precisely what made him palatable to readers ranging from the Catholic writer François Mauriac, who initially supported Vichy and the Collaboration, to former President François Mitterrand, whose right-wing sympathies in the 1930s and collaboration with Philippe Pétain have only recently come under scrutiny. And while Wiesel indeed provided "the most spectacular example" of a French attempt to integrate the Holocaust into "a philosophical reflection of the broader universalist regime of memory," one strongly doubts that this was the product of "an early consensus on the necessity of interfaith dialogue about the meaning of the Holocaust." Rather, Wiesel's book made it possible to universalize Jewish suffering and thereby to avoid a reckoning with the role of the Catholic church and many of its intellectuals in Vichy. In large part, French Jews kept silent about their past and identity in the first postwar decades, and when they—or rather their children—began reasserting their Jewishness, they had to contend with their own ignorance and the gaping absences in their family histories, as can be seen, for instance, in Alain Finkielkraut's *The Imaginary Jew* (1980, 1994) and Henri Raczymow's *Writing the Book of Esther* (1985, 1995).

Moyn is right to point out that the vicious circle of defining enemies and making victims "did not wholly determine post-Holocaust culture," and that the universalization of victimhood, despite its particularist-apologetic potential, can also serve the cause of combating genocide. However, France may not be the best example for this beneficial effect, not least because shortly after it was liberated from its own collaborationist regime, it became involved in two murderous wars of decolonization. Which leads me to Vinay Lal's main argument that, from a non-European perspective, Nazi genocidal policies "visited upon the peoples of Europe the violence that colonial powers had routinely inflicted on the 'natives' all over the world for nearly five hundred years." It will be recalled that during the 1987 trial of Gestapo officer Klaus Barbie, his defense attorney, Jacques Vergès, argued that France had no right to try the "butcher of Lyon" because of its own crimes in the colonies and the crimes of Israel against the Palestinians. The Holocaust was thus an affair among "white peoples," and the current preoccupation with it merely served to repress the past and present crimes of imperialism and postcolonialism. This was of course a wholly untenable and intentionally provocative position that smacked of Nazi propaganda (such as Hitler's reference to British concentration camps during the Boer War) and French "negationism." Yet this should not divert us from seeking the links between atrocities in the colonies and genocidal policies in Europe itself. If the Jews (along with the Gypsies, about whom I did not have the space to elaborate) were the paradigmatic "others" for Europeans long before colonialism, the "natives" became the paradigmatic "others" for imperialist Europe. My point was not that the Jewish *experience* was universally "paradigmatic" but rather that the Jews became paradigmatic "elusive" enemies within the context

of European civilization. And while Europeans exported their perceptions of society to the rest of the world, they imported into Europe the manner of conduct and view of humanity that evolved in the colonies. It is this complex relationship—which affected not only Europeans but also parts of the rest of the world—that I believe we need to reconstruct in order to understand the mechanics of modern genocide. But this in no way aims at creating a hierarchy of horror or presenting the Jewish experience as paradigmatic of human suffering and victimhood. Moreover, while I continue to insist on the differences between Soviet and Nazi policies, I wholly agree with Lal that millions upon millions of people “have been killed in the name of ‘development’ this century,” although I find his distinction between this type of killing and genocide unsatisfactory. The genocide of the Jews was perceived by the Nazis as essential for the “development” of Germany and the Aryan race no less than the murderous policies of Stalin, Mao, or Pol Pot were seen by them as furthering human “progress.”

By way of conclusion, I would like to underline once more that my essay was intended to provoke precisely the kind of thoughtful comments discussed here, along with many others I have meanwhile received. I hope that I will be able to address some of these issues at greater length elsewhere, but I realize that the question of the relationship between war, genocide, and the destruction and reconstruction of individual and collective identities is well beyond the abilities of a single scholar. It is only through exchanges such as this one that we will expand our understanding of past destruction and contribute in our own, admittedly very limited way, to its prevention in the future.

Omer Bartov was born in Israel, educated at Tel Aviv University and St. Antony's College, Oxford, and is now a professor of history at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, New Jersey. He was a Visiting Fellow at the Davis Center, Princeton University, and was a Junior Fellow at the Society of Fellows, Harvard. He has written widely on Nazi Germany, interwar and Vichy France, and the Holocaust. Bartov is the author of *The Eastern Front, 1941–45: German Troops and the Barbarisation of Warfare* (1985), *Hitler's Army: Soldiers, Nazis, and War in the Third Reich* (1991), and *Murder in Our Midst: The Holocaust, Industrial Killing, and Representation* (1996). This article presents some ideas that he will elaborate in a forthcoming book, *Mirrors of Destruction: War, Genocide, and Modern Identity*, a project that investigates German, French, and Jewish responses to violence in the twentieth century.

Review Essay

Histories of Childhood

HUGH CUNNINGHAM

MORE, PERHAPS, THAN ANY OTHER BRANCH OF HISTORY, the history of childhood has been shaped by the concerns of the world in which its historians live. If it is now a lively field, that is in large part because in the Western world in the late twentieth century there is considerable anxiety about how to bring up children, about the nature of children (angels or monsters?), about the forces, primarily commercialism, impinging on them, and about the rights and responsibilities that should be accorded to them. Historians themselves are subject to these anxieties and frequently acknowledge them as the inspiration for their work.¹ But, in addition, they are also responding to demands from the public at large. Seeking understanding and guidance, people turn to the past, hoping that scholars may be able to tell them about children and childhood in history.

This stimulus to understanding the historical roots of contemporary anxieties in the West exists alongside but often in isolation from another incentive to historical research on childhood: the poverty in which many of the world's children live, frequently work, and all too often die. Can a historical perspective on the life chances of poor children in the past contribute to understanding the economic and other factors that shape the circumstances of poverty in which most of the world's children exist?

For those seeking guidance, the historiography is likely to impart confusion. Historians differ not only in their interpretation of the past but in their definition of the field of study, and in the kinds of questions they ask. One approach suggests that the most interesting and answerable question to ask about the past is not to do with the lives children lived but with the ideas surrounding childhood, and with the way "childhood" has in different cultures variably stood for innocence, hope, naïveté, incapacity, or evil, or has embodied a nostalgia for times past. The emphasis here is firmly on the cultural construction of ideas to do with childhood.² An extension of this approach is to look at how such cultural constructions impact on the lives of children. Often advocates of the rights of the child, and alert to the suppression of the voice of the child in the present as well as the past, such scholars are engaged both in a rescue operation and in an attempt to recast the way we look

¹ See, for example, Philip Greven, *Spare the Child: The Religious Roots of Punishment and the Psychological Impact of Physical Abuse* (New York, 1991). Greven acknowledges that his exploration of the physical abuse of children in the past stems from a wish to eliminate it in the future.

² For this argument, and a rich exploration of its possibilities, see Carolyn Steedman, *Strange Dislocations: Childhood and the Idea of Human Interiority, 1780–1930* (London, 1995).

at the world; they want to make us more aware of children as agents.³ At the opposite end of the spectrum are those who argue that biology largely determines how children develop, and indeed how adults relate to them, and find in the past evidence for this.⁴ In this approach, the history of childhood merges into a history of motherhood. Somewhere in between lie those who argue that the important thing to do is to write a history of children—flesh and blood human beings of a certain age.

Those whose starting point is the condition of poor children tend to place their studies within a “family strategy” approach. This field of study itself subdivides into many component parts, depending on whether its inspiration is anthropology or neo-classical economics. In the former, the emphasis is on kinship patterns and roles within the family and in relation to other families, in the latter on the ways in which families seek to maximize their economic well-being. Children are sometimes marginalized in family strategy studies—the emphasis is on adult decision-making and the norms of the adult world. But a family strategy approach has the potential to enable the historian to evaluate differences in the role of children across time and culture—and to do this at the level of the mass of society and not just the elite.

Differences of approach are reflected in the sources used. Those interested in concepts of childhood and in the day-to-day lives of children draw on advice literature, diaries and autobiographies, visual images of children, material culture, and a miscellany of written material. In the family strategy approach, the preferred sources are quantitative in nature, and the approach often incorporates a formal model of human and family behavior.

The multiplicity of approaches suggests that there will be no uncontested answers for anyone looking in history books for guidance to present-day problems. The issue is further complicated by the fact that “childhood” is not a terrain on which historians are the only or even the chief guide. Social scientists of many kinds—sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists, psychoanalysts, demographers—can all claim to have distinctive approaches to the study of childhood, which historians ignore at their peril.⁵

This review of some recent work on the history of childhood will seek to take stock of where we are. A fundamental question is whether the approaches embodied in the different questions asked and in the different types of source material have anything to say to each other or whether they will continue to exist in hermetically sealed compartments. If they do, it will be suggested, our ability to address the anxieties that surround childhood, both in the West and globally, will be seriously diminished. We need to create space for dialogue between discourses that now tend to focus too exclusively on the cultural construction of ideas about childhood, on biological factors in the growing up of children, or on the roles of children in family economies.

³ The most sophisticated and influential representation of this approach is Allison James and Alan Prout, eds., *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood* (London, 1990).

⁴ See, for example, Linda A. Pollock, *Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relations from 1500 to 1900* (Cambridge, 1983); Barbara A. Hanawalt, *The Ties That Bound: Peasant Families in Medieval England* (New York, 1986), 10–11.

⁵ For some guidance to the literature, see C. Philip Hwang, Michael E. Lamb, and Irving E. Sigel, eds., *Images of Childhood* (Mahwa, N.J., 1996).

ALL HISTORIES OF CHILDHOOD can be placed in some relationship to the historiography of the subject. The vast majority are informed by what is easily the most famous book in that historiography, Philippe Ariès' *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime* (1960), translated as *Centuries of Childhood* (1962). It was Ariès' achievement to convince nearly all his readers that childhood had a *history*: that, over time and in different cultures, both ideas about childhood and the experience of being a child had changed. Like all historians of the topic, he was drawn to it by his own experiences, in his case the sense of stifling, family-bound childhoods in mid-twentieth-century France. Had childhoods always been like this? The answer was firmly "no." Ariès traced how the family and the school became the locus for children, and how they became excluded from the world of non-family adults. Nearly all subsequent historians of childhood have related to some part of Ariès' agenda, for its scope was wide: he studied changes over time and in different cultures in the concepts of childhood, the adult treatment of children, and the experience of childhood.

Ariès' influence remains profound nearly forty years after the publication of his book, particularly with respect to the study of medieval childhood. An at least partial mistranslation has galvanized medieval scholars into a mini-industry. The English version of Ariès' book contains the famous statement that "in medieval society the idea of childhood did not exist."⁶ The word "idea" was in fact a translation of the French *sentiment*, which conveys a very different meaning. But medieval scholars have, by and large, taken the English translation at face value and, moreover, assumed that Ariès' statement was a slur on the Middle Ages: the outcome has been a body of literature, summed up and best represented in Shulamith Shahar's *Childhood in the Middle Ages* (1990), in which it is shown beyond any manner of doubt that there was a concept of childhood in the Middle Ages; indeed, in Shahar's account, the Middle Ages were rather more enlightened and progressive in their attitudes to childhood and treatment of children than later centuries. What this body of scholarship left open, however, was the precise nature of this medieval concept of childhood, and its chronological and geographical scope.

It is the great strength of James A. Schultz, in *The Knowledge of Childhood in the German Middle Ages, 1100–1350* (1995), that he breaks away from this obsession with defending the Middle Ages against an imagined slur by Ariès.⁷ Schultz's study does not attempt to cover "the Middle Ages" as a whole either chronologically or geographically. He draws on extant Middle High German texts, many of them in fictional form, to argue not simply that there was a concept of childhood in Germany in this period but, more important, that this concept was radically different from the concepts dominant in the West since the Enlightenment. In the German High Middle Ages, people did not think that the way in which children were treated would affect how they turned out as adults (the characteristic modern assumption); they believed rather that the discerning eye could pick out from childish traits what the future adult would be like: childhood was important not in

⁶ Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*, Robert Baldick, trans. (London, 1962), 125.

⁷ James A. Schultz, *The Knowledge of Childhood in the German Middle Ages, 1100–1350* (Philadelphia, 1995).

itself but for what it might tell you about the adult to be. Quite contrary to modern opinion, whether a child was treated well or badly would have little effect on its adult future. In this closely contextualized study of a defined body of texts, Schultz has opened up a refreshingly new range of questions about childhood in the Middle Ages. He has broken free from the thrall of the mistranslation of a word in Ariès and is able to suggest that the concept of childhood he explores for the German High Middle Ages was in fact the dominant one in Europe until the eighteenth century: childhood was marked by its deficiencies more than by its attributes. At a time when there is a danger that the focus will be on the similarity of childhood across time and place, Schultz argues powerfully and eloquently for “the historicity of childhood”: the lives that children lead reflect not simply their human biology but also the cultural assumptions of the time and place in which they live—continuity is not, as Linda Pollock’s work has influentially suggested, the key theme in the history of childhood.⁸

The view that Ariès wantonly impugned the beliefs about childhood of non-modern societies has by no means been confined to the Middle Ages or to Europe. Scholars of the ancient world, of medieval Islam, and of many other societies have set out to see whether an idea of childhood could be discerned within them.⁹ The triumphant conclusion has always been that it can. Although Ariès is nowhere referred to in Anne Behnke Kinney’s *Chinese Views of Childhood* (1995), his presence and that of other Western historians of childhood can always be felt.¹⁰ The essays cover the period from the Han Dynasty to the present. What emerges is a pattern of thinking about childhood with similarities to and differences from that discerned by Ariès and others. Although the available sources do not allow for confident generalizations, there seems to have been a growing sentimentality about children within the elites of Chinese society. The most striking evidence for this comes from the mourning literature analyzed by Pei-yi Wu. “From the Tang to at least the fifteenth century,” he claims, “children were more written about in China than in Europe.”¹¹ The form of writing he investigates is necrology, writing about the dead. For those familiar with debates in Western historiography as to whether parents grieved for their dead children, the Chinese material will be of great interest. It provides evidence from the ninth century of grieving and mourning considerably beyond what ritual demanded, especially by fathers for daughters more than for sons. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, under the influence of the Wang Yangming school of Neo-Confucianism, there emerged a veritable cult of the child and an articulation of sentiments that in the West had to await William Wordsworth: children were raised above adults in understanding. “If one loses the heart of the child,” wrote Li Zhi (1527–1602), “then he loses his true heart.”¹²

This cult of the child has to be weighed against the considerable evidence of

⁸ Pollock, *Forgotten Children*.

⁹ See, for example, Mark Golden, *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens* (Baltimore, Md., 1990); Avner Gil’adi, *Children of Islam: Concepts of Childhood in Medieval Muslim Society* (Basingstoke, 1992).

¹⁰ Anne Behnke Kinney, ed., *Chinese Views of Childhood* (Honolulu, 1995).

¹¹ Pei-yi Wu, “Childhood Remembered: Parents and Children in China, 800 to 1700,” in Kinney, *Chinese Views of Childhood*, 137.

¹² Kinney, *Chinese Views of Childhood*, 147.

infanticide, especially female infanticide, in China. Ann Waltner notes the difficulty of establishing any precise measure of its scale but does not doubt its prevalence. Her main explanation for this has to do with dowries. Girls were expensive. Upon marriage, their only acceptable destiny, they had to be dowered, the amount of the dowry being all the greater because of the desirability that the groom should be of higher social status than the bride. Moreover, once married, brides and their dowries belonged to the groom's family. Where ideas and practices of this kind were prevalent, no amount of official condemnation of infanticide (and there was plenty of it) was likely to have much impact. At an institutional level, one Chinese response, similar to that in the West, was to set up foundling hospitals from the seventeenth century onward.¹³

THE LEGACY OF ARIÈS, in provoking numerous attempts at rebuttal of what was assumed (wrongly) to be his prime thesis, has produced a body of scholarship that one may hope has now run its course; it is time, as Schultz argues, to shift the agenda. In other respects, however, Ariès set a challenge that has proved to be too demanding for most historians. Ariès assumed that it was possible, within the covers of one book, to write about concepts of childhood, about the way children have been treated by adults, and about the experience of being a child. Most subsequent historians have more cautiously confined themselves to one of these tasks. They have, in addition, restricted themselves in the range of evidence they study. Ariès drew on a wide range of evidence and has been much criticized for failing to subject it to proper scrutiny. In particular, it has been said that he "read" images too literally.¹⁴ Such criticisms have induced caution among historians, and only now is non-written evidence beginning to make a renewed and welcome impact. Three examples may be taken as indications of a new confidence in the use of non-written sources.

First, on Ariès' own ground, the pictorial representation of children, Andrew Martindale has argued that, "around 1300, images of children became more lively, more human, and more probable." In a carefully contextualized study, he highlights the work of Simone Martini and his altar piece in Siena, which depicts a saint's involvement in miracles concerning children. Martindale explains these naturalistic images of children by relating them to a wider thirteenth-century acceptance of the importance of human experience and the human senses; all of this suggesting that the evaluation of childhood Ariès was concerned to trace may have been on a rather different and earlier time scale than he had imagined.¹⁵

Second, still in the Middle Ages, Nicholas Orme has attempted to see whether Ariès was right in thinking that children and adults shared the same culture. Drawing on archaeological finds, he examines the evidence of lead-tin alloy toys, which were capable of being mass-produced from about 1300, and links it with

¹³ Ann Waltner, "Infanticide and Dowry in Ming and Early Qing China," in Kinney, *Chinese Views of Childhood*.

¹⁴ See, for example, Pollock, *Forgotten Children*, 47; Shulamith Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages* (London, 1990), 95.

¹⁵ Andrew Martindale, "The Child in the Picture: A Medieval Perspective," in Diana Wood, ed., *The Church and Childhood* (Oxford, 1994), 197–232, quoting 197.

associated literary evidence. (In 1582, for example, the crown taxed imported “puppets or babies for children.”) Added to this is the evidence from games, calendar customs, and schoolbooks: together, it provides at least some evidence that children enjoyed a culture of their own.¹⁶

A final example is Karin Calvert’s *Children in the House: The Material Culture of Early Childhood, 1600–1900* (1992). Ariès’ account of the evolution of attitudes toward childhood draws to a close in the late seventeenth century: it is as though at that point he can discern a clear road that leads to the mid-twentieth century. It is one of the strengths of Calvert’s book that she delineates the twists and turns that were part of that evolution. In an earlier study, she showed how a comprehensive study of American portraiture revealed significant changes in the prominence given to children.¹⁷ The same theme is developed from a wider body of source material, including furniture and clothes, in her book: she argues a shift from “the inchoate adult: 1600 to 1750” to “the natural child: 1750 to 1830” to “the innocent child: 1830 to 1900.” The most convincing of these shifts is the first: Calvert shows how, in every aspect of child-rearing in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the aim was to get the young child upright: swaddling clothes and walking stools both had this purpose. The implication was that childhood was a stage of life to be passed through as rapidly as possible. It was therefore a change of enormous significance when in the second half of the eighteenth century the advice given to parents was that children should be allowed to develop at their own pace; Calvert shows how this was accompanied by a discarding of old forms of furniture and clothes. It has long been an issue in the history of childhood how far the advice given by experts was acted on by parents: Calvert demonstrates from a study of the material culture of the home that in middle-class America, at least, the advice was heeded.

This renewal of use of non-written evidence, in particular of what comes under the term “material culture,” is opening up many new possibilities for the study of the history of childhood. Curators of museums of childhood across the world, who must have been baffled at the failure of professional historians to give serious attention to their collections, may begin to expect a change. The material is abundant, much of it published in museum catalogues or books derived from collections.¹⁸ One sign of burgeoning interest in this field is the history of toys and dolls. Long of interest to antiquarians and collectors, it is now beginning to attract the attention of historians responding to contemporary concerns about the impact of commercialism on children and to the way in which gender is shaped. Miriam Formanek-Brunell in *Made to Play House: Dolls and the Commercialization of American Girlhood, 1830–1930* (1993) emphasizes how the manufacture of dolls became a male-dominated industry and how girls, as the consumers, were ambivalent about what was offered to them. Although a thoroughly scholarly book, it is difficult to read it as anything other than a decline from a pre-lapsarian past when,

¹⁶ Nicholas Orme, “The Culture of Children in Medieval England,” *Past and Present* 148 (August 1995): 48–88.

¹⁷ Karin Calvert, *Children in the House: The Material Culture of Early Childhood, 1600–1900* (Boston, 1992); Calvert, “Children in American Family Portraiture, 1670–1810,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 39 (January 1982): 87–113.

¹⁸ See, for example, Anthony Burton, *Children’s Pleasures: Books, Toys and Games from the Bethnal Green Museum of Childhood* (London, 1996).

antebellum, dolls were homemade and their use taught skills valuable in the domestic economy, to a world where female manufacturers lost out in their battle against the mechanization of dolls by males, and where dolls came to embody the desired preparation for motherhood.¹⁹ Gary Cross in *Kids' Stuff: Toys and the Changing World of American Childhood* (1997) is determined to break away from this approach, telling today's parents that fantasy toys have a history dating back to the early twentieth century, and that, in the 1930s, toys, especially for boys, were liberated from adult concerns about instilling proper values and began to appeal directly to the child's imagination—and to the child as consumer. But, in the conclusion, he reveals his own unhappiness about these developments, and hopes that children, through their toys, may “recover an imagination more rooted in the real world.”²⁰

These studies of the material culture of childhood in the past contribute both to the understanding of concepts of childhood in the past and to the real life experiences of children: we begin to know the material world in which they lived. But children's lives were shaped by more than what surrounded them, and a fuller understanding of what it was like to be a child in any culture requires a broader approach. The sources for such a study are likely to be greatest for recent periods of history where written documents can be integrated with personal testimony, whether autobiographical or gathered by oral historians. Anna Davin's *Growing Up Poor: Home, School and Street in London 1870–1914* (1996) indicates what can be achieved in a properly contextualized study.²¹ The context is partly geographical—the homes and streets of late nineteenth-century London are brought alive for us—but also chronological, for the period from 1870 to 1914 is seen by many historians of different countries as one in which the state began to take a markedly more prominent role in the regulation of family life and in which a definition of childhood as properly a period of dependence became dominant.²² One key issue underlying Davin's book is how far working-class families and children in particular were aware of this intrusion and how they responded to it. The main intervention was the introduction of compulsory schooling: this not only had its effects on the management of the family economy but also gave the state the opportunity to try to impose middle-class standards of speech, dress, deportment, and “civilization.” It is Davin's contention that the burden of this fell on girls: they were more likely than boys to be kept at home to help with domestic chores, so that they missed out on educational opportunities; what schooling they did have placed huge emphasis on needlework, depriving them of access to some of the more academic subjects; and the pressure to conform to new gender stereotypes of neatness was more compelling. In short, whereas the new conditions of childhood relieved boys from

¹⁹ Miriam Formanek-Brunell, *Made to Play House: Dolls and the Commercialization of American Girlhood, 1830–1930* (New Haven, Conn., 1993).

²⁰ Gary Cross, *Kids' Stuff: Toys and the Changing World of American Childhood* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), 238.

²¹ Anna Davin, *Growing Up Poor: Home, School and Street in London 1870–1914* (London, 1996). For a complementary study, also with much to contribute to the history of childhood, see Ellen Ross, *Love and Toil: Motherhood in Outcast London 1870–1918* (Oxford, 1993).

²² This theme is pervasive in the essays in Roger Cooter, ed., *In the Name of the Child: Health and Welfare, 1880–1940* (London, 1992).

some of the labor they had previously had to endure, for girls it tended to bring further burdens.

It would be easy to assume that, within the experience of childhood, girls have always drawn the short straw—that there is, in almost any society one can think of, a set of practices and assumptions resulting in differentiated and subordinate treatment of girls. Calvert's study, drawing on clothes and hairstyles, shows that the issue is more complicated. Until the late eighteenth century, girls' clothes and hairstyles were scaled-down versions of those of adult women. From about 1770, girls began to wear muslin frocks that were quite distinct from the elaborate clothing of adult women, and they wore their hair short in a manner scarcely distinguishable from that of boys. Boys' dress, however, from the age of about three, when they were breeched, remained distinctively masculine. A change came in the 1830s and 1840s, when both girls and boys from the ages of three to seven began to wear ankle-length pantaloons and half-length petticoats; this, combined with short hair, drew attention to what boys and girls had in common—their childishness—rather than what divided them. In the later nineteenth century, gender was again emphasized, a process that culminated in the adoption of color coding for children's clothes (blue for boys and pink for girls) shortly before World War II. These trends in the outward appearance of children were matched by similar ones in adult responses to the display of emotion in children.²³ Studies of this kind by Davin, Calvert, and other scholars have opened up the issue of gender in childhood as history, as something that changes over time; other contributions can surely be expected.

THE BOOKS I HAVE CONSIDERED SO FAR have all been influenced to some extent by Ariès. But there are limitations to the legacy from Ariès. The questions he asked and the sources on which he drew directed attention to the upper and middle classes. Those who have followed in his footsteps, either to support or rebut him, have equally concentrated on those classes. In sophisticated hands and with adequate documentation, as we have seen in the case of Davin's book, it is possible to find out about the experiences of childhood outside the privileged classes. But not many people have been able to do it, and we cannot be satisfied with the historiography of childhood while its focus is so exclusively the lives and thoughts of the well-to-do.

The potential benefit of a family strategy approach to the history of childhood is that it will enable us to gain some understanding of the experience of childhood and attitudes toward childhood in that majority of the population that is beyond the reach of the approach and sources characteristic of Ariès and his followers. "Family strategy" is a term whose difficulties need to be recognized. It has been used in widely different ways, sometimes implying conscious choice by families or, often implicitly, one or more family members, whereas in other hands the strategy can be

²³ Peter N. Stearns and Timothy Haggerty, "The Role of Fear: Transitions in American Emotional Standards for Children, 1850–1950," *AHR* 96 (February 1991): 63–94; Peter N. Stearns, "Girls, Boys, and Emotions: Redefinitions and Historical Change," *Journal of American History* 80 (June 1993): 36–74.

unconscious, observable only to the outsider.²⁴ Two recent books enable us to take stock of how successful it is proving to be in the analysis of childhood among the poor. The essays in John Henderson and Richard Wall, *Poor Women and Children in the European Past* (1994), draw largely on the sources of institutions (foundling hospitals and orphanages) to try to reconstruct what led people to abandon children to them.²⁵ This approach of course leaves us somewhat in the dark about that majority of the population who did not at any point in time abandon children to institutions; nevertheless, the proportion who did, particularly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, is sufficiently high to ensure that the conclusions reached will give considerable insight into how families weighed their responsibilities. The chief conclusion is not a surprising one, although it needs emphasis in view of a common supposition that the opposite was the case: children were a burden on the family economy. B. Seebohm Rowntree's famous analysis of the life cycle (1901), in which he showed how the poverty level of a family was adversely affected in ratio to the number of young children, proves to have been valid not only for late nineteenth-century York but for most societies in early modern and modern Europe.

The essays center on issues of concern to demographic and family historians: does the famous north/south divide between nuclear and complex family structure still hold? Can the "nuclear hardship" argument—that nuclear families were less likely than complex ones to be able to rely on their kin in times of hardship and more likely to turn to the collectivity—retain validity in view of the vast number of institutions for the care of children in the south of Europe? Pier Paolo Viazzo valuably notes how the nuclear hardship theory has largely concentrated on treatment of the elderly.²⁶ Bring children into the picture and a different set of issues and conclusions emerges, focusing on bastardy and abandonment. There has been something of a division of labor, with historians in northern Europe studying bastardy while those in southern Europe have researched abandonment. The assumption has tended to be that foundling hospitals were the south's Catholic way of coping with illegitimacy. In fact, they had, as the essays show, rather more complex functions.

Philip Gavitt shows how in fifteenth-century Florence many of the babies abandoned were the offspring of well-to-do men and their slaves or servants—the illegitimacy/abandonment link holds. But in the Basque region in the early modern period, the situation was quite different: a high rate of illegitimacy coexisted with

²⁴ The historical literature on family strategy is extensive. More recent studies on the economic role of children have been much influenced by Michael R. Haines, "Industrial Work and the Family Life Cycle, 1889–1890," *Research in Economic History* 4 (1979): 289–356; and Claudia Goldin, "Family Strategies and the Family Economy in the Late Nineteenth Century: The Role of Secondary Workers," in Theodore Hershberg, ed., *Philadelphia: Work, Space, Family, and Group Experience in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1981). Robert V. Robinson, "Family Economic Strategies in Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Indianapolis," *Journal of Family History* 20 (Winter 1995): 1–22, is an influential recent contribution. Wider questions on "family strategy" are addressed in contributions in *Historical Methods* 20 (Summer 1987): 113–25; and in Graham Crow, "The Use of the Concept of 'Strategy' in Recent Sociological Literature"; and D. H. J. Morgan, "Strategies and Sociologists: A Comment on Crow," both in *Sociology* 23 (February 1989): 1–29.

²⁵ John Henderson and Richard Wall, eds., *Poor Women and Children in the European Past* (London, 1994).

²⁶ Paolo Viazzo, "Family Structures and the Early Phase in the Individual Life Cycle: A Southern European Perspective," in Henderson and Wall, *Poor Women and Children*.

a low rate of abandonment. It was, ironically, when the illegitimacy rate declined in the eighteenth century that abandonment increased, largely, it seems, because responsibility for the care of illegitimate children passed from fathers (who were more likely to have resources to care for them) to mothers.²⁷

In the eighteenth century, both illegitimacy and abandonment increased but not, as one might have expected, in step with one another. Much of the increase in abandonment was fueled by legitimate children. In Florence, for example, in 1792–1794, 72 percent of those admitted to the Foundling Hospital were legitimate, and throughout the first half of the nineteenth century the percentage of the legitimate among those abandoned ranged between 40 and 70 percent. Volker Hunecke's work on Milan in the 1840s, translated into English here for the first time, provides the most telling evidence.²⁸ About one-third of all legitimate births were abandoned, a tradition having grown up that not more than two children should be kept at home at any one time. The intention, and the norm, was to reclaim the child when economic conditions in the family eased. In Florence, Milan, and many other cities, foundling hospitals created to rescue the illegitimate became used by families at pressure points in the family life cycle, or at times of general economic stress, to relieve themselves of their legitimate children. Nor was it only babies who were abandoned. Eugenio Sonnino examines orphanages for girls in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Rome, showing how the loss of one parent could well imply the admission of a child to institutional care in its early teens.²⁹ In many parts of Europe,³⁰ there grew up an economy of abandonment in which rural areas supplied wet-nurses for babies abandoned in the cities and then themselves contributed to the level of abandonment by ridding themselves of their own offspring in order to feed (at least until the next pregnancy) the other babies of the foundling hospitals. A system created by philanthropists for one purpose became diverted by its "customers" to serve a quite different one. Where the facilities for abandonment were limited or contained, as in Florence's neighbor Bologna, people must have coped in other ways with the pressures of the life cycle.

The records of institutions for the care of children are a rich source; they can sometimes include or be linked to demographic and other evidence. Together, they provide overwhelming evidence that families adopted strategies for their own survival and well-being dependent on the availability of facilities that could be molded to their use. Furthermore, the extent of abandonment is such that it raises fundamental questions about the value, both emotional and economic, placed on children.

²⁷ Philip Gavitt, "'Perce non avea chi la ghovernasse': Cultural Values, Family Resources and Abandonment in the Florence of Lorenzo de' Medici, 1467–85," in Henderson and Wall, *Poor Women and Children*.

²⁸ Volker Hunecke, "The Abandonment of Legitimate Children in Nineteenth-Century Milan and the European Context," in Henderson and Wall, *Poor Women and Children*.

²⁹ Eugenio Sonnino, "Between the Home and the Hospice: The Plight and Fate of Girl Orphans in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Rome," in Henderson and Wall, *Poor Women and Children*; see also Lola Valverde, "Illegitimacy and the Abandonment of Children in the Basque Country, 1550–1800," in Henderson and Wall.

³⁰ See, for example, David L. Ransel, *Mothers of Misery: Child Abandonment in Russia* (Princeton, N.J., 1988); James R. Lehning, "Family Life and Wetnursing in a French Village," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 12 (Spring 1982): 645–56.

By comparison, as is demonstrated in the essays in Richard L. Rudolph, *The European Peasant Family and Society: Historical Studies* (1995), historians of the European peasant family are relatively deprived—or, perhaps, it should be said that they deprive themselves, for peasant families, though one would not guess it from these essays, were often linked into urban/rural networks that made them part of the economies of abandonment.³¹ The focus of the essays is on the relationship between land ownership or use and family formation and on the impact of proto-industrialization. Children feature in it as the outcome of decisions about how best to preserve or enhance family fortunes. As Stanley Engerman puts it, “Individuals may choose between more goods for themselves, more children, and more leisure.”³² If they had children, it is implied, it was because of their perceived economic usefulness, as in proto-industrialization, or as an insurance against old age. If they did not, as in the Alpine region of Austria, which had the highest age of marriage and the highest proportion never married in Europe, then again it was an economically driven decision reinforced by cultural norms. There were huge variations across Europe in age of marriage, levels of celibacy and of illegitimacy, numbers of children born to a family, and destiny of children according to birth order and gender. Scholars have spent much effort and displayed considerable ingenuity in trying to plot and to provide explanations for these variations. Since the emphasis of this approach is on decision-making within constraints, it is the decision-makers (the adults) and the constraints (climate, inheritance systems, family forms, opportunities for migration) on which attention is focused. Children are only the outcome of those decisions: thus, by implication, the key factor in the history of childhood is the powerlessness of children. But it is legitimate to wonder whether the focus on decision-making may not over-rationalize human activity: it is one of the advantages of using some of the foundling hospital records that one can find in the tokens and messages attached to the abandoned child some evidence of the human processes beneath those sets of data that most easily lend themselves to statistical enquiry.

It is perhaps significant that the only essay in Rudolph's collection to give extended treatment to childhood is not on the peasant family at all but on families in the Rouen textile industry during the nineteenth century; there, the emphasis is not on the families' decisions but on the responses of Rouen manufacturers to proposals for changes in the law on child labor. Gay Gullickson describes the emergence by the 1870s of a set of ideas that not only considered that young children should be kept out of the work force but also that women should be restricted in their participation so they could play their “proper” roles as mothers. The issue, Gullickson suggests, had arisen from the new need for child care where paid labor happened in factories from which children were barred; in proto-industry or in agriculture, such issues did not arise.³³

The contrast between these two books suggests that the polarity drawn at the

³¹ Richard L. Rudolph, ed., *The European Peasant Family and Society: Historical Studies* (Liverpool, 1995).

³² Stanley L. Engerman, “Family and Economy: Some Comparative Perspectives,” in Rudolph, *European Peasant Family*, 236.

³³ Gay Gullickson, “Womanhood and Motherhood: The Rouen Manufacturing Community, Women Workers, and the French Factory Acts,” in Rudolph, *European Peasant Family*.

beginning of this essay between approaches influenced by Ariès and those by family strategy may be oversimplified, and in particular that there are different emphases within the family strategy approach. This surely is to be welcomed and should encourage some meeting of minds. Historians in the Ariès tradition may well find the material in some of the essays in Rudolph's volume rebarbative, but they are likely to find the approach in *Poor Women and Children in the European Past* accessible and interesting. A family strategy approach, adopted with sensitivity, can enormously expand the range of histories of childhood.

These two family strategy studies have concentrated on Western societies. It is becoming increasingly apparent that a history of childhood, taking its cue from the late twentieth century, must be a global history. A key ingredient of this would be an exploration of divergent patterns in the experience of childhood in different cultures in the past century and a half. The trend in the West in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was for the length of childhood to be extended. There was no one formal measure that brought this about, although there can be little doubt that the introduction and enforcement of compulsory schooling was the central issue. As the age of leaving school rose to reach fourteen in the early twentieth century and up to sixteen later on, so childhood seemed to be extended. Alongside this were numerous measures intended to separate out childhood as a distinct phase of life—a separate system of justice, a higher age at which marriage was permissible, a ban on access to such substances as alcohol and tobacco. It was easier to legislate for full-time compulsory schooling than to impose it; as Davin shows, both working-class parents and many magistrates believed that contributions to the family economy should take precedence over schooling. Nevertheless, over a period of about thirty years, the school habit became accepted.

One of the central arguments in the recent focus on childhood in the West during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has been that state and philanthropic action, together with rising standards of living, succeeded in bringing about a common experience of childhood for all children. That development brought to a head what in the *longue durée* must be the most fundamental shift in the experience of childhood, from one where nearly all children expected to contribute to the family economy at an early age to one where they were a net drain on that economy throughout their childhood and youth. The importance of this shift in the length and nature of childhood was brought out vividly in Viviana Zelizer's landmark study in the historiography of childhood. She showed how the valuation of children changed from one where they were valued according to their contributions to the family economy to one where they became productively useless but emotionally priceless—partly as a consequence of rising living standards but also because of the spread of new cultural norms respecting childhood.³⁴ The more emotionally valuable they became, the longer in life they were likely to be perceived as children. Such a change opens up for inquiry differences over time and between cultures in the perceived length of and meanings attached to childhood.

Myron Weiner in *The Child and the State in India* (1991) aims to show why this

³⁴ Viviana A. Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children* (New York, 1985).

vital transition has not occurred in a particular non-Western culture.³⁵ He is concerned to find out why child labor, described in telling detail, is so prevalent in present-day India. His analysis is historically informed; he argues that a comparison of experience in Europe, Asia, and Africa shows that it is not simply legislating for compulsory schooling but, more important, a willingness to enforce it, that can bring about this transition. In India, he argues, the willingness has been absent, and the consequence has been a higher level of child labor there than in many countries with lower per capita income. There is in India, he suggests, a culture at an elite level that accepts child labor, and until that culture changes no amount of laws or reports will have significant impact.

Weiner's approach represents one pole in a spectrum of attempts to understand what factors explain the prevalence or otherwise of child labor. At the other end lies the neo-classical family strategy approach: decisions about the deployment of family resources, it is argued, will arise out of an assessment of what will work best for the well-being of the family as a whole; child labor will diminish when a family has both the resources to invest in schooling (in terms of foregone income) and a perception that such investment will bring its own return.³⁶ In between lie analyses that suggest the complexity of the processes that have transformed the relationships between children and their parents.³⁷ It is a debate with some way yet to run, and whose importance it is difficult to exaggerate.

IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT THE ISSUES RAISED BY ARIÈS will continue to set part of the agenda for the history of childhood for the foreseeable future. From his stance in mid-twentieth-century bourgeois France, Ariès sought to understand how a particular set of beliefs about childhood and practices of child-rearing had come into being. Both those beliefs and practices have changed substantially in the succeeding half-century, but that of course has not lessened our need to try to understand the present by reference to the past. It is that need which nourishes the impulse to research the history of childhood. It is reasonable to hope that, inspired by what has been achieved by Schultz, other scholars will seek to achieve precision in documenting the ideals of childhood held in different societies at different times. Schultz's own work and that of other scholars such as Carolyn Steedman indicates that the outcome of such inquiries may well be a renewed emphasis on the period of the Enlightenment as the point of transition to a world expecting adult lives to be shaped by childhood experience and, at the same time, looking to childhood as the repository of values held in high esteem. Taken together, they made children and childhood of central importance in the West, with all the consequences that followed: the evaluation of children in terms of emotion rather than economic

³⁵ Myron Weiner, *The Child and the State in India: Child Labor and Education Policy in Comparative Perspective* (Princeton, N.J., 1991).

³⁶ An argument developed most forcefully in Clark Nardinelli, *Child Labor and the Industrial Revolution* (Bloomington, Ind., 1990).

³⁷ See Hugh Cunningham and Pier Paolo Viazzo, eds., *Child Labour in Historical Perspective 1800–1985: Case Studies from Europe, Japan and Colombia* (Florence, 1996); and, for a study that uses first-person testimony to chart the complexity of historical change, Harvey J. Graff, *Conflicting Paths: Growing Up in America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995).

contribution to the family, the enhanced spending power of children and the pressure to consume that is targeted at them, the issue of the rights they should enjoy. This emphasis on how the child foreshadows the adult invites a focus on the gendering of childhood, an issue that is likely to be of central importance in forthcoming work, as it is in many of the books considered above. What one may with less confidence expect is a willingness to compare different cultures. Scholars of non-Western cultures writing about childhood nearly always make implicit or explicit reference to Western experience (though rarely abreast of the more recent historiography). Within the writing about childhood in the West, comparative study is rare, scholars often remaining locked within their own national literatures. Systematic comparison would be valuable.³⁸

There are, in addition, issues not on Ariès' agenda that demand attention. Taking our cue from the present, the most striking fact about childhood in the world today is the gulf in life experience separating the children of the wealthy from the children of the poor. Its most obvious manifestation is the division between children who are an expense to their parents throughout childhood and beyond, and those who, through work of some kind, contribute to their family economies. This is primarily a global geographical division, with child labor in the developing world a rising cause for concern. But it is a division that also exists within the developed world; research is revealing levels both of child poverty and of child labor once thought to be things of the past.³⁹ It is the challenge of Weiner's book that he links this difference in the economic experience of children to the spread or otherwise of a set of ideas about childhood. These were issues that Ariès ignored. In the circumstances of the late twentieth century, they demand to be addressed, and addressed in a way that brings together more effectively than is being done at present the different discourses and academic practices of cultural history, economic history (the globalization of the world economy and its effects on children are of fundamental importance), and family strategy studies. It is no mean task.

³⁸ J. M. Hawes and N. R. Hiner, eds., *Children in Historical and Comparative Perspective: An International Handbook and Research Guide* (New York, 1991), contains valuable guides to the literature, country by country, but does not advance very far in the work of comparison.

³⁹ See, for example, Michael Lavalette, *Child Employment in the Capitalist Labour Market* (Aldershot, 1994).

Hugh Cunningham is a professor of Social History at the University of Kent at Canterbury. His work on the history of children and childhood includes *The Children of the Poor: Representations of Childhood since the Seventeenth Century* (1991) and *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500* (1995). He has co-edited with Joanna Innes *Charity, Philanthropy and Reform: From the 1690s to 1850* (1998). Cunningham is currently following up issues in the history of child labor, first formulated in "The Employment and Unemployment of Children in England c. 1680–1851," *Past and Present* (1990), and in a volume published by UNICEF and co-edited with Pier Paolo Viazzo, *Child Labour in Historical Perspective 1800–1985: Case Studies from Europe, Japan and Colombia* (1996).

Reviews of Books

GENERAL

MARTIN W. LEWIS and KÄREN E. WIGEN. *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of Metageography*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1997. Pp. xv. 344. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

I recommend this book by Martin W. Lewis and Kären E. Wigen as a vaccine against a lot of what you and I accept as given truths about geography: comfortable preconceptions, modern and ancient, classy and déclassé. We cannot think of everything in all its detail, so we categorize. Too often, we then proceed to think of the categories not just as conveniences but as real. In geography and its fraternal twin, history, we categorize the larger divisions of human space in terms of continents and of "worlds," east and west, first, second and third. We often take a further and dangerous step and think of the societies, customs, and historical experiences of the inhabitants of these expanses as somehow determined by their locations.

This book begins with a critical examination of the geographical metaconcepts of which we are surest: the continents. They turn out to be as much the products of history as of geology. The continental border with the least physical justification is one to which Europeans and Euro-Americans are deeply committed, the line between Europe and Asia. The Urals really are not an impressive range and they do not stretch far enough to make a proper border, anyway. But, many might say, so what? The border is more cultural than geological; it is a line between the more and the less rational. Whom do you find more reasonable, Adolf Hitler or Confucius? Stupid question, you say? No more stupid than the artificial divide between Europe and Asia.

Other often-cited divisions, for instance, the first, second, and third worlds, are even fuzzier than the continents. Portugal is in a First World region and Singapore is not, but which qualifies more fully for the First World category? Northern Italy is obviously First World, but what about the southern half of the boot? Is it sane to treat Monaco and China as in the same category because they are both nations?

The truth is, the authors point out, that the diversity between the societies within the standard atlas divisions of the world is usually greater than that between

those divisions, even genetically. Lewis and Wigen inform us that, on the DNA level, the northern Chinese are more like Europeans than the southern Chinese. Anyway, peoples and cultures interpenetrate. The Armenian and Jewish mercantile diasporas have been enormously important in history, and they practically never show up on anybody's maps.

Lewis and Wigen spend a lot of time pounding at the foundations of European metageography, but not because the authors are faddishly anti-Western. They demonstrate that Afrocentrism is as geographically simplistic as Eurocentrism and is often no more than that despised conception turned on its head. Afrocentrists can not even agree on whether the northern border of Africa is the Sahara or Mediterranean. The Nile and caravan routes connected the two "borders" for millennia. The Sahara was not quite the highway that the Mediterranean was, but neither was it an impenetrable barrier, so can we even declare Europe and Sub-Saharan Africa to be separate worlds?

But, I am obliged to moan, some categorization is a necessity. "Latin America" is fuzzy, but are not Argentina and Mexico more like each other than either is like, say, Nepal? Lewis and Wigen, fortunately, have not written a book calling upon us to chuck all our territorial constructs but one intended to "provoke a wider debate about the inadequacies of the world regional map" (p. 193). They offer ten principles of critical metageography, including rejections of ethnocentrism and geographical determinism and recommendations that we adopt a neutral nomenclature (no more "Old World" and "New World") and that we recognize "historical specificity": that is, the knowledge that our cartographical categories have and will change through time.

They offer two maps of world regions, combining all of the nations of Western Europe and placing that conglomerate at the same level of categorization as East Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa. They offer us major categories to which we have been purblind, such as African America, comprising all of the Caribbean and northeast coast of South America, plus the hump of Brazil. These maps, offered to trigger debate, are alone worth the price of this stimulating book.

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ANDRÉ BURGUIÈRE *et al.*, editors. *A History of the Family*. Volume 1, *Distant Worlds, Ancient Worlds*. Translated by SARAH HANBURY TENISON, ROSEMARY MORRIS, and ANDREW WILSON. Forewords by CLAUDE LÉVI-STRAUSS and GEORGES DUBY. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 713. \$39.95.

ANDRÉ BURGUIÈRE *et al.*, editors. *A History of the Family*. Volume 2, *The Impact of Modernity*. Translated by SARAH HANBURY TENISON. Foreword by JACK GOODY. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1996. Pp. vi, 585. \$39.95.

This distinguished team of editors has done a great service, commissioning essays from thirty-four scholars for a two-volume work surveying the family, worldwide, from prehistory to the present. An English translation brings this work, first published in France in 1986, to English-speaking scholars and students. Its breadth is astonishing. The eighteen essays in volume one, *Distant Worlds, Ancient Worlds*, discuss historical and anthropological approaches to the family; they then trace the family from prehistory through the ancient world and medieval Europe. The final section includes essays on the family in historical Asia and Arab Islam. The fifteen essays in volume two, *The Impact of Modernity*, assess the impact of recent centuries, beginning with a masterful survey of European families and finishing with a speculative essay about what is to come.

The books respond to the need for a broader version of family history in the wake of increasing demand for the globalization of knowledge and, in the United States, the trend away from teaching national histories toward teaching thematic courses. An interdisciplinary study, it includes sociological, psychological, and anthropological concerns and a glossary of largely anthropological terms at the end of each volume, along with a bibliography for each essay. In short, the volumes are designed to be used and useful. In the opening of volume one, the editors note the "risks and challenges of working without a model" (p. ix), but they have been successful at the two contradictory tasks that figure in even the most modest volume of essays and are extraordinarily daunting for these volumes: first, to allow authors to present the unique attributes of their topic and, at the same time, to produce a coherent set of essays addressing similar questions.

Volume one lays out the parameters of knowledge about "distant" families. Although the themes, information, and sources vary widely among the chapters, they are effectively prefaced by Claude Lévi-Strauss and by François Zonabend's essay on anthropology and the family. Most essays are fascinating. For example, Annie Forgeau's essay on the "Pharaonic Order" highlights the importance of emotion, especially harmony, in Ptolemaic Egypt; over half the pharaohs married their sisters, which is an especially crucial item of information for modern historians who consider the

incest taboo to be timeless and universal. Gulia Siss and Yan Thomas emphasize the political culture that identified the polis with the family in Greece and dictated paternity as the guiding principle of family life in Rome. The essays on medieval families fulfill Georges Duby's introductory observation that a linear path does not emerge from the evidence. Here Robert Fossier's essay on the feudal era in the eleventh through thirteenth centuries is particularly engaging, because Fossier employs a relative wealth of sources and particularly vigorous prose to examine the emergence of the nuclear family from the clan and the primacy of the parent-child unit. The final section on "Distant Times" offers a rich set of essays on China, Japan, India, and Arab Islam that vary markedly in their source base and level of information. Michael Cartier's essay on China offers dramatic and detailed evidence for one of the chilling themes of volume one: the obliteration of the female child and disregard for the adult woman until she successfully bore children as the married partner of a household head.

Volume two assess the impact of modernity on the family, or the "onslaught" of modernity as Jack Goody more brutally phrases it in his brief introduction. Two very useful and fundamental long essays on Europe by André Burguière and Françoise Lebrun follow: the first, "The 101 Families of Europe," on demography, family forms, and kinship; the second, "Priest, Prince and Family," on church and state. The volume then shifts to "Other Worlds," assessing the impact of colonialism, capitalism, and urbanization outside Europe and North America. It opens with the affecting "Children of the Apocalypse," in which Carmen Bernand and Serge Cruzinski assess the impact of colonialism on families in Mesoamerica and the Andes: catastrophic deaths were followed by the imposition of the Christian model of family and sexuality by conquerors who were hardly themselves model Christians in these dimensions. As do all the essays in this section, "Children of the Apocalypse" takes in the impact of more recent developments, which in this case are called "The Second Onslaught of Westernization": secularization, modernization, proletarianization, and migration to urban shantytowns. This section was most demanding for its authors, who all trace longstanding family patterns as well as changes in the recent past. Roland Lardinois follows up the history of the Indian family from volume one with a nuanced treatment of change and continuity since the nineteenth century. Jean-Pierre Dezon reflects on the role of colonial administrators and ethnologists in conceptualizing the families of Africa and points to the multiple and varied impacts on the family of colonial regimes and subsequent changes. Philippe Fargues gives the reader entrée into the "fortress" of the Arab Muslim family, depicting a longstanding pattern of intense family relations, including nearly universal marriage, the ideal of marriage with a first cousin, and a complete lack of opportunity to meet unmarried non-kin; Fargues then describes changes occurring with the "wid-

ening of the circle" now caused by male out-migration and female education.

Volume two closes with a set of essays on the varieties of families in the "Western World"—first, as affected by the industrial revolution in Europe, explained by Martine Segalen. For American readers, this will be familiar. The unfamiliar will come with Hervé Varenne's assessment of the contemporary American family. "Love and Liberty" is his title, because love "is what the family is all about," which explains its fragility (p. 418); liberty is embodied in the children's freedom. For Varenne, "the child is not king, he is Other and will be independent" (p. 422). Marriage, as institution and ceremony, is least important to the contemporary Scandinavian family summarized by David Gaunt and Louise Nystrom. Segalen and Zonabend are less placid about this trend: their essay on the French family notes an important study concluding that the welfare state provides no incentive to marry. They contrast the strong family ties among generations with the fragility of contemporary conjugal households. The former finds its way into the conclusion as one symptom of vital family solidarities.

One can conclude that the editors have taken on an impossible job and have done it well. They did not aim for an exhaustive study but rather for analyses of enduring features and key points of change. Several important subtexts emerge for the contemporary family, most obviously the importance of married women's work but also the key role of immigrants, the importance of Islam worldwide, and the general differences between Asian and Western family practices. There are a few sticking points: some essays, like that on socialist families, undertook an impossibly broad task. There are a few problematic phrase translations. Not every term is in the glossary. The update since the 1986 French edition may not be complete for every essay. Nonetheless, for scholars or students in search of a general history and starter bibliography, there is now a single English-language source, disciplined around a few most pertinent themes and literatures on the history of the family.

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JOHN M. RIDDLE. *Eve's Herbs: A History of Contraception and Abortion in the West*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1997. Pp. 341. \$39.95.

While it may well be that women over the centuries have had some kind of knowledge available to them for controlling fertility, ignored if not suppressed by "high" medical culture, John M. Riddle does an interesting thesis severe disservice by overstatement, inaccuracies, and sweeping assumptions. I hesitate to count the times phrases such as "probably did," "could have," and "must have" appear in these pages. Admittedly, it is hard to find evidence for something by definition excluded from the record. This difficulty, however, tends to lead Riddle to place more weight on

any "hard" evidence he can come up with than it can comfortably bear.

Basic assumptions that seriously militate against the wholesale acceptance of this book's contentions are that "natural" fertility has been constant, rather than variable, during the centuries covered; that the level of sexual activity likely to result in conception has likewise been constant; and that "males as a rule are less concerned about family size" (p.177). All are somewhat dubious propositions. The natural rate of spontaneous abortion seems grossly underestimated and apparently conflated with stillbirth. Even today, in Western societies enjoying reasonable health standards, nearly twenty-five percent of pregnancies are believed to end in miscarriage (some so early as only to be detectable by hormonal assay tests); a good deal more than the ten to twenty per thousand quoted (p. 179). And before the 1930s even doctors could not always tell whether a woman was actually pregnant prior to quickening. Riddle ignores broader contexts within which fertility decisions were made: there is no reference to Angus McLaren's superb *History of Contraception from Antiquity to the Present Day* (1990), which argued that in many epochs of history, fertility has seemed inadequate and requiring encouragement rather than overwhelming.

The case for the efficacy of classical prescriptions for fertility control would be stronger if some attention had been given to the effects of prescriptions for other conditions. It would have been interesting to see what was recommended for increasing fertility: did the same herbs figure? Infant mortality and infanticide seem to have been omitted in accounting for the relative smallness of families. Not being a classicist, I hesitate to make any detailed critique of this section, except to wish for more sense of the conceptual framework of medical thought in antiquity, but I was rather surprised to see (p. 32) that Artemisia was named for the goddess of love!

The idea that the "unfortunate and unholy marriage" of "witchcraft, midwifery, and birth control" (p. 110) underlay the suppression of witchcraft is not exactly novel, but it is probably no longer current among contemporary historians of early modern Europe. There seems a somewhat uncritical use of sources, with Margaret Murray (whose views on witchcraft are surely long discredited?) cited along with such respected modern scholars as Alan MacFarlane and Lyndal Roper. Since Leslie Reagan's work on the linking of midwives and abortion in the Progressive Era (*Bulletin of the History of Medicine* [1995]: 69), which examines the attack on (mainly immigrant) midwives by the North American medical profession at a specific period for historically contingent motives, is cited to demonstrate an almost transhistorical association of midwife and abortionist, one wonders to what extent other studies have been selectively quoted.

It is also startling to read that (by implication during the later Middle Ages) "With the greater urbanization of Europe and the development of an industrial,

commercialized society, people increasingly bought their . . . drugs from an apothecary" (p.123). Domestic medical practice, even in a rapidly commercializing society such as Britain, persisted up to the early nineteenth century. Similarly, questions of medical marketplace competition appear surprisingly early in the timescale: elite physicians surely were not drawing on the same patient constituency as wise women. There are several passages where the precise era discussed is far from clear.

Riddle tends to exaggerate the effectiveness of empirical reasoning and plays down "irrational" beliefs. He suggests that "if a woman ate something and subsequently had a miscarriage, she made an association between the two events" (p. 125). Other connections were made between events during pregnancy and its outcome that are no longer accepted: for example, the theory of maternal impressions. His anecdote about the geranium (pp. 144–45) suggests that even its presence in a room was still seen as dangerous to a pregnant woman in the late twentieth century.

Yes, there are interesting continuities of traditions concerning the effects of certain plants, as well as remarkable evidence of the fragmentary persistence of knowledge over centuries that is tantalizing, evocative, and suggestive. It is dubious, however, that these things support the edifice here erected upon them.

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BERNHARD LANG, *Sacred Games: A History of Christian Worship*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 527. \$40.00.

Many readers will find this book by Bernhard Lang fascinating and intriguing. Others will feel frustrated and dissatisfied. "The first full-scale history and interpretation of a collective spiritual act fraught with meaning," according to its publishers, the book tempts and challenges a reviewer. On reading it, however, doubts arise: the expectations raised by the book's subtitle are not met.

Lang argues that Christian worship "includes a limited number of major components that are repeated and form the backbone of whatever else may happen . . . [a] refined typology of ritual acts [which] . . . includes six elementary forms . . . [of] praise, prayer, sermon, sacrifice, sacrament, and spiritual ecstasy . . . [W]e may call them the six sacred games played out in Christian worship" (p. x). Each "game" is discussed in turn, each analysis beginning with the life of Christ or previous Jewish religious practice and ending in the twentieth century. The book is an impressive achievement, enjoyable and illuminating; but it is definitely more a record of "sacred games" than the "history of Christian worship" that most readers might anticipate. A fundamental question soon starts to nag: amid these sacred games, what is the author himself playing at?

The difficulty lies in the book's claims to be a

history. The adoption of broad chronological limits does not in itself make the contents a history. The suggestion of a historical shape for Christian worship does not lead on to long-term analysis of liturgical evolutions: the claim to be assessing structures provokes resonances with Gregory Dix's *The Shape of the Liturgy* (1945), but that work is notably absent from the bibliography. Indeed, the process of dissection leaves a somewhat shapeless residue. The historical coverage is decidedly patchy, even episodic. As so often happens with theological history, the Middle Ages seem to disappear. They are occasionally acknowledged, but only briefly: one chapter in the discussion of preaching moves "From Luke to Luther" (pp. 149–71), dashing from Gregory I to Luther in barely three pages that provide little more than a rapid comparison of Gregory and Humbert of Romans. The discussion of "The Sixth Game: Spiritual Ecstasy" omits almost everything between the late second century and the early twentieth. This determination to leap swiftly from early Christianity to the modern world means that there is nothing about the development of devotionism and little about changing historic responses to the demands of worship. Purgatory and the cult of saints—two dynamic contributions to the historic evolution of Christian worship—are almost ignored. Lang's history looks forward rather than back, invoking the past and origins (even if they must be considered speculatively, as with the analysis of the "Our Father") to influence future developments.

Ultimately Lang offers not a history of worship but an interpretation of worship using history and strongly influenced by present concerns. A twentieth-century agenda bubbles below the surface, although it would need a theologian to elicit it fully. The game is perhaps given away by one potent comment: in his lengthy commentary on the early history of the eucharist, Lang remarks of the unknown originator of the sacrificial rite celebrated at Antioch that "we note (and regret) his failure to conserve the original meaning of Jesus' cultic act" (p.230). The tension implicit here seems to permeate the whole text, becoming increasingly tangible as pages turn. Essentially it is a tension between a somewhat hieratic, numinous, remote, sacrificial approach to worship on one hand, and a more participatory, commemorative, immediate, affective (but matter-of-fact) response to Christ on the other. For Lang, this polarization is epitomized in the twentieth century by contrasting the attitudes of Rudolf Otto (1869–1937) with those of Luise Rinser and Sister Ann. This chronological focus—and its gendered aspect—are not accidental.

At one point, Lang calls his work an "essay" (p. 1): as essays, interpretations rather than histories, his analyses of these "games" provide stimulating food for thought. The book will interest historians of twentieth-century religion and those working on the early development of Christianity's story. For historians of

other periods, it offers an instructive read but only slim pickings.

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RICHARD C. TREXLER. *The Journey of the Magi: Meanings in History of a Christian Story*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 277. \$35.00.

Richard C. Trexler sets himself an ambitious task in this study of "the political sociology of the magi in Christianity from their appearance in Matthew until the present" (p. 4). This methodological choice leads Trexler to pursue relentlessly the ways in which the story and image of the magi served as a screen onto which were projected visions of political and social order that range from the imperial claims of Constantine to the commercialized corporate economy of the late twentieth century. The evidence Trexler adduces is correspondingly wide ranging; the fifty-four images that figure heavily in his analysis include fifth-century mosaics from Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome and a cartoon from a Swiss paper published in 1994. This is a work full of energy and erudition, but one with so much packed into a densely argued text of just over two hundred pages that it poses a daunting task for a reviewer and will challenge many readers as well.

The text from the Gospel of Matthew that describes the three visitors from the East who brought gifts to the child Jesus is vague about their identity and origin, a fact that allowed emperors and kings but also merchants, artisans, and beggars to imagine themselves into the scene. In the early chapters, we see the magi working to legitimate emperors and kings. The star that guided them, for example, was equated in late antiquity with the cross that Constantine saw in the sky just before his victory at the Milvian bridge. Trexler's analysis of the sixth-century mosaics in Sant'Appolinare Nuovo in Ravenna exemplifies another of his themes: the economic function of the magi, whose presentation of gifts turns the church into a "theatre, a powerful spatial and narrative inducement, to surrender and redistribute property" (p. 33).

By the ninth century, the magi, who had become "the prime social-organizational icon of Christianity" (p. 37), were being represented in popular plays, first in churches and then in the streets. At this point in their history, the magi began to assume at times a subversive role, for the actors who played them—such as the subdeacons who performed in several French cities in the twelfth century—were generally youthful and relatively powerless. But this subversive meaning of the magi is secondary theme for Trexler. More typical was the use made of the relics of the magi given to the Cologne cathedral in 1164, which became an obligatory pilgrimage site for newly crowned emperors. Between 1200 and 1500, kings in northern Europe and urban elites in Italy claimed legitimacy by presenting themselves "in the guise of magi to great outdoor audiences" (p. 76).

Some of Trexler's most intriguing evidence and analysis comes in chapter three, where he reviews some of the glorious representations of the magi from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. (Here and throughout, readers will regret the absence of at least a few color illustrations; the black and white reproductions are sometimes small and muddy.) During this period, a polarity develops between the first two magi and the third, who is made into an exotic figure— young, sometimes black, and sometimes effeminate, thus representing the generational and gender conflicts and geographic expansion of the time. For Trexler, this iconography reveals "conflict, not consensus around the crèche" (p. 123), as artists used the magi as a way to domesticate those who trouble the social order.

In his chapter on El Dorado, Trexler follows his subjects into Asia, Africa, and the Americas and suggests that their myth helped to shape European expansion, as explorers sought to find the homelands of the magi. Magian rituals were exploited at times to turn conquest into harmony, as native peoples were organized into processions to act out voluntary submissions to Christian authority modeled on the behavior of the three kings. Trexler notes as well the ways in which such rituals could invert the social order, for although submitting, the natives also assumed the role of kings in a drama that could be read as a pluralistic exercise. The subversive theme emerges again in his treatment of the early modern period, when beggars and children took over from kings the role of the magi. The magi were also domesticated in this period, showing up at family feasts of the Epiphany, when the one who discovered a bean or a small figure in the "galette des rois" was crowned king for a day. In his final chapter on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Trexler proposes that the magi as described by the nineteenth-century visionary Catherine Emmerich have become "deathless dolls in crèches" (p. 194). He notes as well the tendency for modern Westerners to go in search of the wisdom of the East, where magi possessed of secret wisdom dwell: a sign of the "breakdown of the ancient journey" (p. 203) and, by implication, of the hold of this traditional Christian image on our imagination.

Trexler is not afraid to speculate in his search for the "meanings in history" among magian representations and texts, and readers may question some of his judgments. I found myself puzzled at times by conclusions that seemed to have only tenuous connections with his evidence, as when Trexler concludes that, in paintings presenting the "exotic" third king, "the androgynous rake . . . stands for the biological reproduction of the races," while "the impotent first and second kings . . . merely want to maintain, or culturally reproduce, the existing patriarchy of their societies through a stale and authoritarian ceremonialism" (p. 123).

Trexler's command of the evidence is formidable, but it is also and inevitably selective. In his final chapter, he makes a passing reference to Gian-Carlo

Menotti's opera, *Amahl and the Night Visitors* (1951), a version of the magi story that might suggest a less pessimistic view of their status in the popular imagination of the late twentieth century. In Menotti's story, the magi catch an impoverished and crippled boy in the act of stealing the gifts; but after their initial anger, they acknowledge that Jesus does not really need them and the boy, miraculously cured, joins them on their voyage, so that he can present his crutch to Jesus. Having read Trexler, I have been pondering the meaning of Menotti's story in light of the long history of magian presentations and pondering as well the significance of its "commercial-free" telecast—sponsored very publicly by Hallmark cards. Not many academic books succeed as well in their attempt to provoke such reflection. At times fascinating, at times frustrating, this is a rich, complex, and rewarding book.

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XINRU LIU. *Silk and Religion: An Exploration of Material Life and the Thought of People, AD 600–1200*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. viii, 235.

"This is a story of silk, and of much more than silk." Thus begins this frustrating study, which suggestively parallels Janet L. Abu-Lughod's *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250–1350* (1989). But where Abu-Lughod highlighted from the outset her theoretical program—namely, to argue for an urban, merchant-based, pan-Eurasian "world economic system" three centuries earlier than posited by Immanuel Wallerstein—Xinru Liu covers similar territory without paying attention to theory, or even to overall significance. The book's concluding statement, "Three Circles and Two Monopolies," reiterates the densely documented contention that religion, silk, social status, and commerce were intimately and progressively intertwined in Chinese, Islamic, Byzantine, and Latin society from roughly the sixth century C.E. onward, and that the Chinese and Byzantine governments controlled certain silk products. This invites the question, however, of whether the interrelationships between silk and religion were sufficiently similar to warrant so suggestive a comparison.

The strongest portion of the study illustrates the complex relationship of silk to Buddhist ritual practices across Central Asia and in China, substantiating, in particular, the importance of large-scale donations of silk to monasteries and shrines. This discussion enriches the reader's notion of the Silk Road, even though the particulars of that trading system are not the primary topic.

As Liu's attention shifts to Byzantium, the question of the comparability of textile economies emerges. Where Buddhist sources had stressed quantity, Byzantine evidence focuses on quality. The empire's fascination with this luxury product is fairly compared with that of T'ang China. But the role of silk as an essential product in the domestic economic system and in

interregional trade is more questionable. Liu demonstrates the flow of silk ecclesiastical vestments and draperies into Latin Europe from Byzantium and Islam and compares the European cult of saints with developments in Buddhist popular religion that enhanced the importance of silk fabrics. Yet the scale of consumption seems drastically lower and the argument that silk became a standard medium of exchange in interregional trade less persuasive. The implicit equation of bolts of plain silk cloth in Central Asia with elaborately embroidered or patterned garments within the Byzantine trading orbit raises the question of whether the textiles traded were highly valued as silk or according to variable artistic and labor inputs.

Liu's third circle, Islam, is particularly problematic. Relying on the weak reed of pre-Islamic Arabic poetry to argue for an enduring contrast between Islamic asceticism, which frowned on wearing silk garments, and an Arab-inspired hedonism that knew no bounds, the author suggests that silk was a preeminent item of elite consumption and interregional commerce despite its decidedly lower profile in Muslim tradition. Certainly, no one would deny the importance of a silk industry in medieval Islamic society or the use of silk embroidery on the fringes of honorific garments distributed by rulers. The role of silk in that economy pales in comparison with cotton, however, or with linen in Egypt. Interregionally, merchants such as the Egyptian Jewish traders studied by S. D. Goitein may well have stocked silk as a standard product, but within the Muslim orbit, most textile merchants dealt in cotton. Nor did silk play a role in the Islamic religion comparable to that it played in Buddhism and Christianity. To be sure, the Kaaba in Mecca was draped every year by a fabric richly embroidered with silk; but in general, mosques did not acquire silk vestments, and shrines did not utilize silk draperies.

A more theoretical presentation might have argued that the relationship among silk, religion, social status, and commerce varied along an east-west gradient according to some variable such as the abundance of the product or the quality of alternative fabrics. Without some basis for fine-tuning the book's comparative approach, the reader is left with a dense, diverse, and useful compilation of materials but denied a clear and persuasive statement as to the significance of the comparisons made and their possible relationship to other presentations on medieval Eurasian interconnections.

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ALFRED W. CROSBY. *The Measure of Reality: Quantification and Western Society, 1250–1600*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 245. \$24.95.

In his new book, Alfred W. Crosby shifts his concerns away from the concrete biological realities that have shaped his earlier studies. Instead, he focuses on the shift in *mentalité* toward quantitative and visual think-

ing that paved the way for European imperialism in later centuries by fostering a superior understanding of science and technology. In commenting on the motivation for his study, Crosby observes, "as I played out my role as a biological determinist, I was nagged by the impression that Europeans were incomparably successful at sending ships across oceans to predetermined destinations and at arriving at those destinations with superior weaponry" (p. x).

Crosby structures his narrative around the metaphor of combining oxygen, combustibles, and the "striking of the match" in order to produce fire. First, he outlines the "oxygen and combustibles" that are "necessary but insufficient to explain the increase in quantificational thinking" (p. 50): that is, the rise of commerce, the revival of learning after the influx of the Aristotelian corpus into the Latin West, and the introduction of technological innovations such as mechanical clocks and geometrically precise maps. Then Crosby discusses the "striking of the match" that finally produced "the shift to the visual" and quantificational thinking in music, painting, and bookkeeping: "I speak of composers, painters, and bookkeepers. They were the devotees of a visual and quantitative perception of the stuff of their crafts" (p. 137). In the ensuing panoramic overview, Crosby attempts to demonstrate how developments as seemingly distinct as the birth of polyphonic music at the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris, the birth of perspective in the artistic revolution of the Italian Renaissance, and the emergence of double-entry bookkeeping among fourteenth-century Italian accountants all contributed to a rise of visualization and quantification. In a brief epilogue, Crosby comments on the lasting impact of this "New Model" of understanding. He observes that it "offered a new way to examine reality and an armature around which to organize perceptions of that reality. It proved to be extraordinarily robust, providing humanity with unprecedented power and many humans with the comfort of a faith . . . that they were capable of intimate understanding of their universe" (p. 239).

In electing to write a comparatively short book that traverses a wide terrain, Crosby has made the inevitable trade-off, opting for breadth of vision at the expense of depth of analysis. Intrinsically, there is nothing wrong with this choice; in an era of ever more fine-grained studies, one longs for overarching syntheses. The test of mettle for such an endeavor, however, is to distill the essence of "state of the art" scholarship for the issues discussed in such a way that a lay reader comes to appreciate the broader underlying concerns that inform more in-depth studies. Unfortunately, this book does not accomplish this task as fully as it might.

In some respects, Crosby has attempted to write a very *au courant* study that tries to extend the players in the intellectual mutation known as "The Scientific Revolution" from a handful of astronomer/mathematicians to encompass a wider domain of historical actors. In making passing references to some of the more traditional "heroes" of this well-known story,

however, Crosby demonstrates that he is not as fully in command of the scholarly literature as one would like. For instance, Crosby comments on fourteenth-century scholastics such as Nicole Oresme by observing that "the closer these armchair thinkers got to discarding the concept of a finite and hierarchical universe, the less was their immediate influence. Oresme . . . may or may not have been read carefully or read at all by the likes of Copernicus and Galileo" (pp. 102–03); comments like these do not take account of the century-long work of medievalists from Pierre Duhem onward who have demonstrated the medieval antecedents to modern science. Similarly, Crosby acknowledges the influence of various strands of Neoplatonic mysticism among the "devotees of a visual and quantitative perception" by observing that "even if befuddled with Neoplatonic balderdash, they had to do more than speculate" (p. 137). Again, such remarks do not take into account works that have appeared during the past several decades arguing for a more symbiotic relationship between Neoplatonic ideas and the origins of a "scientific" outlook. In short, the reader is presented with several vignettes that display major innovations in diverse aspects of European culture from the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries; as a whole, however, the study still appears impressionistic and selective by not doing full justice to the richness of scholarship on the history of the period.

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THOMAS L. HANKINS and ROBERT J. SILVERMAN. *Instruments and the Imagination*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 337. \$39.50.

Surprisingly, the history of science has paid relatively little attention to the history of scientific instruments until recent years. One reason for this has been the fact that some historians of science have questioned the exact role and importance of instruments in the development of science. Alexandre Koyré, one of the founders of the history of science as a modern discipline, emphasized an idealist epistemology to explain the development of science. According to this epistemology, science developed because of theories and ideas that emerged from the mind of the scientist, such as Platonism in the case of Galileo. For Koyré, scientific instruments served only as rhetorical devices to demonstrate what the mind had already discovered. In more recent years, Koyré's attitude toward experiments has been challenged by an empiricist epistemology. Historians of science have come to believe that experiments do not simply confirm or challenge already existing theories, but that experiments could, in themselves, generate new scientific knowledge. But even in this empiricist epistemology, scientific instruments still attracted little attention and seemed unproblematic. This was based on the assumptions that scientific knowledge originated either in a specific theory or in a specific experimental situation and that

scientific instruments only confirmed or challenged knowledge without contributing to or generating knowledge on their own.

This important book by Thomas L. Hankins and Robert J. Silverman demonstrates how a variety of instruments, many of which would appear to modern scientists to be very marginal to the development of science, have played a significant role in the definition of what was acceptable science. The authors analyze the ways in which such devices as a clock thought to be powered by sunflower seeds, the magic lantern, an ocular harpsichord that produced harmonious mixtures of colored lights, the Aeolian harp which produced music from the wind, instruments that produced graphical recordings, the stereoscope that produced three dimensional images from photographs, and various artificial speaking machines, all helped to establish the boundaries of science during the period from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth century.

Through a study of such marginal instruments, the authors creatively investigate such important issues as the role of natural magic in the development of modern science and the question of whether instruments extend or distort the senses or substitute one sense for another, as in the case of instruments that produce graphs. By tracing the use of such devices, Hankins and Silverman consider the relationship between instruments and language. Although instruments are clearly objects or things, they also function like words in the sense that they help us to interpret other objects and things. In such roles, instruments can be seen, on the one hand, as revealing inherent secrets of nature, or, on the other hand, as mere conventions created by human beings. The authors show how instruments, as mediators between the subjective mind of the scientist and the objective external world of nature, could be thought to manipulate nature by revealing what exists in the world or thought to manipulate the senses by allowing the scientist to see small or distant objects. They argue that, as mediators between subjects and objects, early instruments played the role of displaying phenomena by creating effects, such as a vacuum, that not occur naturally; but, by the second half of the eighteenth century, instruments began to play more of a role in confirming theories.

Hankins and Silverman conclude that a study of instruments, particularly marginal instruments, provides new insights into the nature of science that differ from the insights gained through the study of theory or experiment. Through a focus on instruments, science comes to be seen as determined by what instruments are capable of doing. Although creation of an instrument requires a prior knowledge of some conceptual framework or paradigm, once an instrument becomes a crucial component in a particular area of scientific inquiry, it can play an important role in determining what questions are asked and what range of answers are acceptable. The use of scientific instruments such as the telescope, microscope, and air pump did not simply shift the boundaries of what was considered

acceptable science; it caused a reevaluation of what was considered to be the common core of science.

In the end, the authors raise the interesting argument that instruments cannot provide mathematical or deductive certainty because the value of objectivity is itself both subjective and moral. But instruments can give "moral certainty," which is connected to the degree with which a wise and prudent person would hold to a conviction of certainty. This does not mean that science lacks any criteria for truth, but it does suggest that scientific certainty is more of a moral judgment that scientists make in a particular context and that will, by necessity, vary throughout history.

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QUENTIN SKINNER. *Reason and Rhetoric in the Philosophy of Hobbes*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xvi, 477. \$49.95.

In this rich study, Quentin Skinner argues against what he considers still to be the prevailing view of Thomas Hobbes, that of a philosopher "formed" by the scientific revolution. Such a perspective allows only a "partial picture of Hobbes's intellectual development" (p. 216), because it misses the important fact that before *De Cive* (1642), not the culture of science but "humanist literary culture" "formed" him (p. 217). This provides a framework for a more particular examination of Hobbes's understanding and practice of the relation between reason and rhetoric in his pursuit of a *scientia civilis*.

Skinner recognizes three distinct periods. Hobbes's early writings are specifically characterized by a "deep absorption in the rhetorical culture of Renaissance humanism" (pp. 2–3). In the 1630s, Hobbes began to abandon *studia humanitatis* and especially rejected the ideal of *vir civilis*, the "theory of citizenship associated with the classical art of eloquence" (p. 257). The *Elements of Law, Natural and Politic* (1650) and *De Cive* practice this turnabout; their goal, according to Skinner, is "to challenge and overturn the central tenets of the *ars rhetorica*" (p. 257), to discredit the necessity of a union between rhetoric and reason. They were meant to demonstrate that civil (and moral) science was as demonstrable by reason as were natural sciences. Then with the 1651 publication of *Leviathan* (1651), Hobbes reversed his position again, claiming a distinction between moral and natural sciences and demonstrating that in the moral sciences eloquence must be employed as support for demonstrative reasoning. And he did so in such a practical way that, according to Skinner, *Leviathan* is "a belated but magnificent contribution to the Renaissance art of eloquence" (p. 4).

In pursuit of his history, Skinner claims to do what he argues that Hobbes did, practice what he preaches: in Skinner's case, a methodological approach to history that has come to be known as "contextualist," an

approach whereby Skinner aspires to recover the original intellectual context—Renaissance cultural debates about moral and civil science—within which Hobbes's ideas were formulated. To do so, Skinner "employs" words (particularly rhetoric) the way Hobbes understood and used them. There is no other way that rhetoric means in the seventeenth century, he states. By resituating Hobbes in his own intellectual context, Skinner maintains that he is purging Hobbes's ideas of retrospective and "theoretical" meanings and demonstrating original meaning.

Curiously, to uncover original meaning, Skinner differentiates what Hobbes was doing from what his texts mean, and thus emphasizes linguistic action. It is not clear, however, that such a methodological approach honors the contextual reality that Skinner claims to be unveiling. The dichotomizing of doing and meaning that Skinner practices and that most scholars today accept unreflexively as ontologically real, has a history, one that begins to acquire epistemological meaning in the seventeenth century, and one in which Hobbes played a productive part. Although Skinner's assumption that he can recapture in unmediated fashion what Hobbes was doing linguistically, while bracketing the linguistic dimension of meaning in his works, may contradict the Renaissance humanist traditions he is supposedly demonstrating, it may, however, reflect more closely what Hobbes was beginning to do. Thus Skinner, in part, undermines his own historical agenda by missing Hobbes's dynamic agency in transforming the very traditions he is employing.

Still, Skinner's aim to use an understanding of Renaissance humanist discourses on rhetoric to read Hobbes's texts bears a fruitful harvest. The first main part of the text is a brilliant introduction to and account of the *Ars Rhetorica* in the English Renaissance. It is valuable on its own and as a reminder of how useful traditional intellectual history is: how important it is to know about what others knew, about their ways of knowing, and how possible it is to know a lot about what and how they knew. We are reminded of how ahistorically people in the Tudor era read, used, and conversed with the ancients. Cicero, Quintilian, and contemporary rhetoricians participated in the same debates. Humanist lessons about antiquity notwithstanding, individuals in this period were not thoroughgoing contextualists. But with Francis Bacon, Hobbes, and others, such contextualization was beginning to take place.

As well, Skinner presents Hobbes always writing in response to Renaissance traditions of neo-Ciceronian theories of eloquence and treats his intellectual development from this perspective. Thus, Hobbes's construction of two distinct and antithetical theories of civil science frames for Skinner his evaluation of *Leviathan* as a prime example of a rhetorical work, one reliant on the technique of *ornatus*, and particularly of laughter and how to provoke it. Hobbes, then, is located in a tradition of Renaissance satirists that stretches from Thomas More and Desiderius Erasmus.

By Hobbes's time, Skinner affirms, the *Ars Rhetorica* were becoming characteristically touched by "ironic condescension," and Hobbes had become the most powerful of the ridiculous, ironic, sarcastic scoffers.

Skinner's focus on these Renaissance debates and on Hobbes's place within them is meant to highlight sympathetically the dialogical approach of Renaissance humanist culture against which modern philosophy rebelled. Skinner notes that modern philosophy replaced negotiation with competing truths as accounts of rationality and moral argument, and correctly situates Hobbes at the crossroads of this transformation. By the 1630s, Hobbes felt that by making justice a subject of dialogical methodology, humanists jeopardized civil science. And though he moves away from his anti-rhetorical phase with the *Leviathan*, what Skinner does not note is that Hobbes maintained attention to methodology as strategy even as he altered his methods, and he thus participated in establishing the "given" sense of a dichotomy between meaning and action that Skinner assumes. Thus Skinner argues that as Hobbes came to believe that "interest" could undermine reason, he "reverts to the humanist ideal of a union between *ratio* and *oratio*" (p. 347). Skinner's goal is to correct "the widespread tendency among Hobbes's commentators to write as if the governing assumptions of his civil philosophy remained at all times fundamentally the same" (p. 347). This he wisely does, but at the cost of characterizing Hobbes's methodological revolution in premodern terms as a return to traditional assumptions.

Finally, if Skinner has not fully resituated Hobbes in his own intellectual contexts, it is because those contexts are not meaningfully separate from later ones that they historically inform. And while it is as ahistorical to deconstruct those connections as it is to construct meanings retrospectively, the pursuit of historical contexts remains the best way to learn about both the past and its connections to the present. After reading Skinner's book, we know a lot more about Hobbes, English Renaissance thought, and the history of modern Western ideas. Hobbes translated Aristotle, as Skinner points out, to emphasize the importance of making images "farre fetcht," to make things "unalike" and "unproportionable," to jolt people into seeing things in new ways. Difference instead of sameness to measure and construct meaning is a fundamentally historical principle of modern historical meaning. To be farfetched without getting lost, either in the past or the present, is the modern, historical project and characterizes Skinner's very fine book, too. To construct meaning through difference, as Hobbes attempted, requires and allows irony and laughter that are spatial and secular as opposed to holy, constructive as opposed to revelatory, modern as opposed to pre and postmodern.

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LESTER D. LANGLEY. *The Americas in the Age of Revolution, 1750–1850*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1996. Pp. xvi, 374. \$35.00.

During the half century between 1776 and 1826, the majority of the American continent severed political ties with its European metropolises. Thirteen British colonies—not including those in Canada—became the United States; the French portion of the island of Saint Domingue (Santo Domingo in Spanish) became Haiti; and the continental regions of Iberian America became nine independent nations: Mexico, Central America, Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, the Río de la Plata, Paraguay, and Brazil. (Subsequently some Spanish-American countries divided.) Because the process of separation included violence, warfare, and destruction, these phenomena are often called revolutions.

There is a vast literature on those transformations. Only a few authors, however, have attempted to examine the independence of more than one country, usually in Spanish America, or, more rarely, Iberian America (by including Brazil in their analysis). In this regard, Lester D. Langley's book is significant because, as the author declares, it is intended to be "a comparative history of the revolutionary age" (p. 2). He carries out the comparisons by presenting separate accounts of the American, Haitian, and Spanish-American revolutions and an assessment of their outcomes.

Langley indicates in the introduction that there is no acceptable definition for the term "revolution," which sometimes he uses interchangeably with the phrase "wars of independence." Although he asserts that no theory fully explains the three revolutions, he nevertheless invokes theories to make his case. Linear explanations, we are told, are wrong. He suggests that chaos theory may be useful but subsequently discards it as inadequate. Finally, he embraces complexity as the solution. Langley uses those theories not in their strict mathematical, logical, or scientific sense but in a vague commonsensical manner. Despite efforts to inform his work with theory, he does not offer an explanation of the phenomena studied. Instead, he ultimately concludes that these revolutions, like the weather, were chaotic and complex.

The book is based on hundreds of secondary sources, some of whose interpretations are at odds with one another as well as with Langley's own analysis. Moreover, his command of the material varies considerably. The section on Haiti is generally sound, perhaps because that revolution possesses a smaller, more coherent historiography. His assessment of the United States is more controversial. He challenges many current interpretations about the meaning and outcome of the American Revolution, often on the basis of judgment rather than data-based analysis. For example, he considers the market wage labor system to be a subtler form of oppression than indentured servitude inasmuch as both relied on coercion. The section on Spanish America is the weakest of the three

and is marred by significant gaps, outmoded concepts, stereotypes, misconceptions, and errors.

Langley characterizes the American movement as the "Revolution from Above," the Haitian as the "Revolution from Below," and the Spanish-American one as the "Revolution Denied." The author believes that elite British-American leaders not only feared other social groups but succeeded in limiting the "revolutionary" forces unleashed by the Revolution. Further, he emphasizes the inequalities of wealth and power that remained after independence. In contrast, he considers the Haitian Revolution to be truly radical because from it emerged the first state created by former slaves. Finally, he asserts that Spanish-American leaders, who feared democratic institutions because of the multiracial majority in their midst, sought to undo the democratic practices that they had been forced to introduce to achieve victory.

At first glance, the outcomes of the American and Spanish-American revolutions, as discussed by Langley, appear to have much in common. The elites of both regions restricted or undermined social revolution. In reality, the differences are immense. The United States, which possessed vast wealth, provided its white population with economic opportunities that were not available in the rest of the world. They—not the Indians, the people of color, or the slaves—are the ones U.S. scholars have in mind when they write about the rights and opportunities available in the new nation.

Langley's account of the Spanish-American revolution focuses on the insurgent leaders and their activities. But that is only one aspect of the process of independence. A full understanding of its development and outcome requires a broader political and economic analysis. It is important to realize that the insurgencies in Spanish America coincided with the great political revolution of the Spanish world that enfranchised all adult men, except those of African ancestry, without requiring either literacy or property qualifications, and that provided representative government at the local—cities and towns with a thousand or more inhabitants—the provincial, and the imperial level. In the economic sphere, one must keep in mind that despite its fabled silver mines, Spanish America did not possess great wealth, particularly arable land. Even before the insurgencies erupted in 1810, the region experienced significant economic contraction. That decline deepened because the war against the French in Spain and the virulent and protracted guerrilla wars in Spanish America shattered the Spanish world.

Unlike the United States, which had but one revolution, several insurgencies with different characteristics erupted in the lands to the south. Mexico's experience was entirely different than those of northern South America, the Andes, or the Río de la Plata. Although Mexico and Central America participated fully in the profound political transformation of the Spanish world, most of South America did not. Thus,

Langley's observations about Simón Bolívar's, and other South Americans', fears of the colored masses are not applicable to Mexico, which began its national life with mass popular politics.

The section entitled "Bolívar's America" highlights the problem of homogenizing the Spanish-American revolutions. Bolívar's actions did not affect either Mexico or Central America, and they had very limited impact in the Río de la Plata and Chile. His "America," therefore, constituted perhaps twenty percent of the land area and thirty percent of the population of Spanish America. Moreover, Bolívar was a destroyer, not a builder, and an autocrat, not a democrat. His was not the lasting heritage of the Spanish-American revolutions, despite the claims of a vast hagiographical literature. More significant were the contributions of civilian statesmen, such as José Guridi y Alcocer and Miguel Ramos Arizpe of Mexico, who wrote democratic constitutions and established representative government.

Langley's failure to understand the evolution and process of Spanish-American independence is evident in the section entitled "The Revolutionary Legacy." There he does not discuss in any detail the nature of government and society in Spanish America after independence. He seems to believe that the Spanish world lacked representative and democratic traditions. Throughout the book, he asserts that Spanish Americans, particularly Mexicans, were influenced by the United States. Contemporary scholarship, however, holds the opposite view.

Despite his critical attitude toward the American Revolution, Langley has an American—that is, U.S.—perspective on the period. That view is evident in his argument that the United States avoided the "militarism" and the "dictatorship" of the Spanish-American nations, an assessment that emphasizes the former's success and the latter's failure in instituting civilian government. The problem with such an argument is that it is not only misleading but also false, depending on how one defines militarism. The United States certainly established civilian government, but it became one of the most aggressive, expansive, and warlike nations in the world. The northern republic's success resulted from a number of factors. It obtained independence through an international treaty in time to benefit from the great economic opportunities generated by the French Revolution and the wars it engendered. Moreover, the United States had no strong neighbors to challenge its territorial and economic expansion. It did not, therefore, require a large army and navy. In contrast, the nations of Spanish America did not obtain recognition until the 1830s, and as a result they were forced to spend large sums to defend themselves from Spain and other foreign enemies, including the United States. Facing economic as well as political and social crises, many Spanish-American nations turned to strongmen to restore internal order and political stability. But they did not possess strong military forces and thus did not estab-

lish militarist systems. One can only speculate about how those countries might have evolved had conditions been as favorable as those enjoyed by the United States.

The book would have benefitted from a more extensive discussion of Haiti at mid-century. Like Spanish America, Haiti did not enjoy order or prosperity after independence. The European nations, which failed to subdue the Haitians, isolated them by expanding profitable tropical agriculture to other Caribbean islands, thereby reducing Haiti to poverty. That context is important in explaining why the Haitian people failed to achieve economic prosperity and political stability.

Despite these criticisms, Langley's effort to compare those revolutions is to be commended because it highlights both the opportunities and the difficulties of comparative history. His book will generate considerable discussion and, I hope, will inspire more research and analysis of the American, Haitian, and Spanish-American revolutions.

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VERNON A. ROSARIO, editor. *Science and Homosexualities*. New York: Routledge. 1997. Pp. 308. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$18.95.

The study of homosexuality contains potential minefields for the scholars researching the topic, especially historians. This book edited by Vernon A. Rosario, grew out of a series of papers presented at an annual meeting of the History of Science Society. It concentrates on one such hazardous area: the debate between essentialists and constructionists. Essentialist theories propose that homosexuality is a biologically determined, objectively detectable, erotic orientation that can be identified in all cultures and throughout history, albeit under diverse behavioral appearances and at different prevalence rates. Constructionist theories propose instead that homosexuality is a concept used relatively recently in Euro-American cultures to describe a specific type of person and that person's erotic interest in others of the same sex. Notice that the term used is homosexuality, not same-sex activity. This is important, because same-sex activities have been almost universal among some segments of any society, but homosexuality is a late nineteenth-century term and implies, according to the constructionists, a kind of gay culture and a self-definition of being gay (although just when this occurred is still being argued by historians). Note, too, that much of the discussion above is about male sexual behavior, not female, and that is because the debate has concentrated on males.

The discussion of lesbianism has usually been tied into discussions that tended to view women as weaker and less intelligent than men but important as mothers and wives. Two articles in this collection bring attention to this kind of put-down by physician observers. Margaret Gibson looks at clitoral corruption and the

construction of female homosexuality in the period 1870–1900, while Erin G. Carlston studies the American medical community and female homosexuality from 1926 to 1940.

Several of the articles in the book appeared earlier in different form, such as Hubert Kennedy's study of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. Kennedy has written a full-scale biography of Ulrichs, who is regarded as the founder of modern studies of homosexuality, or at least as close to that as one person can be. Also receiving attention from authors who have previously written on them are Richard van Krafft-Ebing (by Harry Oosterhuis) and Magnus Hirschfeld (by James D. Steakley). The study on Krafft-Ebing is particularly valuable because of the archival material about the collection of cases and Krafft-Ebing's response to them. Similarly, Steakley brings new data to bear on Hirschfeld and emphasizes how the so-called English translations of his works were not very good; at least one of them was of a book attributed to Hirschfeld by his translators, who wrote it themselves and included only a mishmash of what Hirschfeld had written. Both articles will give new importance to these early pioneers. Ulrichs, Krafft-Ebing, and Hirschfeld were all what might be called essentialists, however, while most of the current generation of historical researchers tend toward constructionism, a view that began to gain influence in the 1970s.

History certainly offers strong support for aspects of the constructionist viewpoint, as Alice Dreger's study of the misconceptions about hermaphrodites illustrates. The conclusions of the "scientists" were picked up by the intellectual community in general and accepted as proven, which of course they were not. Rosario looks at how deeply the French novelists of the turn of the century were influenced by the accepted interpretation of homosexuality. His essay is especially valuable, because he also recounts some of the findings of the French researchers in the field, a group mostly ignored in the standard histories of homosexuality.

Most of the remaining articles concentrate on the American scene, including an article by Julian Carter, who ties in prejudicial earlier studies of homosexuality with similarly prejudicial studies about African Americans and other minorities. Extending the argument for essentialism in the volume is Richard C. Pillard, who examines the work of other biologically oriented researchers as well as reporting on his own.

One reason that medical studies of homosexuality gained such a strong following, even in the gay and lesbian community, is that they seemed socially progressive. That is, by attempting to define homosexuality either as inborn or as an illness that could be cured, they offered either a medical solution, which was much preferable to incarceration or other punishments, or, in the more daring cases, held homosexuality to be simply a variant of behavior. As Stephanie H. Kenen points out, the ultimate authority in this essentialist view was the non-physician Alfred Kinsey, who attempted to render the whole question moot. For

Kinsey all sexual behavior was "natural," including homosexual contact. But many medical and biologically oriented professionals, not content with such an answer, wanted to find some kind of difference in the brain, or in hormones, or even in the "gay" gene, and the search which Kenen examined in the 1930s and 1940s continues.

Most critical of this search into causal factors are two biologist contributors: Garland E. Allen and Anne Fausto-Sterling. Fausto-Sterling is more of a constructionist than Allen, although both are far too good biologists to deny any biological influence.

Whether one subscribes to one or the other of these theories or looks for a middle ground, as I do, the reader will come away with a better understanding of the current state of studies into same-sex love and the dangers of making simplistic definitions. Dreger, Carter, Kenen, and Jennifer Terry all emphasize in different ways the seductive power of "scientists" drawing conclusions when the data have been incomplete. Although we can hypothesize about the factors involved in making one homosexual or heterosexual or bisexual, there is as yet no answer, neither from science nor from history.

Each article has its own separate notes and bibliography, and these for the most part represent a good sampling (although many researchers whom I would have expected to find are somehow missing). Rosario and his contributors are to be commended for making a diverse collection so provocative and interesting. Anyone anticipating research on the topic would be well advised to read this book before venturing out into the minefield.

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WILLIAM R. EVERDELL. *The First Moderns: Profiles in the Origins of Twentieth-Century Thought*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1997. Pp. xi, 501. \$29.95.

William R. Everdell's book advances three broad propositions: that Modernism is a viable, though beleaguered, cultural tradition whose origins can be traced back to the years between 1872 and 1913; that it was the invention of a group of intellectual pioneers or "geniuses" spanning national and disciplinary boundaries; and, finally, that their story can, and should, be told in the form of a "narrative history of ideas" based on a chronological linking of their biographical profiles and ground-breaking works.

Everdell's narrative opens with the achievements of a trio of mathematicians, Georg Cantor, Julius Wilhelm Richard Dedekind, and Gottlob Frege, who, in the decade between 1872 and 1883, raised the problem of numerical continuity and opened the way to a foundationless, discontinuous, nonobjective universe that was to be the hallmark of twentieth-century Modernism. It continues at an ever-dizzying pace with the experimental work of Ludwig Boltzman, Georges

Seurat, Walt Whitman, Arthur Rimbaud, Jules Laforgue, Santiago Ramón y Cajal, and Sigmund Freud and culminates with the break-through achievements of Arnold Schoenberg, James Joyce, and Wassily Kandinsky. By the pivotal year 1913, which Everdell presents as the "cultural Vesuvius" of Modernism, everyone who was anyone in the world of European high culture—and even a few who were not—has made at least a cameo appearance in Everdell's account. Given the sheer mass of individual lives referred to, it is unavoidable that their stories should be mere vignettes rather than in-depth analyses. Yet, Everdell's unflinching eye for the colorful detail, the revealing anecdote, and the serendipitous encounter has the undeniable effect of producing a suggestive and colorful panorama of fin-de-siècle artistic and intellectual life.

The cumulative picture of Modernism that emerges from these biographical accounts, however, is not particularly original or controversial. Modernism, Everdell tells us, is characterized by self-referentiality, radical subjectivity, multiple perspectives, the rise of statistical probability, and, most important of all, ontological discontinuity. Although he insists that the crucial elements of this new cultural constellation were invented by individual scientists, philosophers, and artists, he does not rule out the significance of social causation either. Fragmentation and discontinuity had existed, he concedes, in the social experience of Europeans as far back as the 1820s, when the first locomotive was introduced. Thus, Modernism was not only the result of a paradigm shift in fin-de-siècle high culture but also the "long-term objective consequences of industrial modernity" (p. 356).

Despite these fairly conventional historical conclusions, Everdell's reinterpretation of Modernism is a deeply paradoxical enterprise. Methodologically, it is dedicated to what he calls the old-fashioned premise "that history can still be written: history being defined in that rudimentary whiggish way as the story of how we got the things we value, the things that are currently important to us" (p. 6). Significantly, however, the book is hardly an example of traditional narrative history. It is ultimately a fractured set of biographical sketches whose connecting links are forged, not by teleological logic, but by the artifice of an ever-present narrator at hand to point out implications, coincidences, possibilities, and probabilities not inherent in the facts themselves.

More problematic still are the unresolved tensions between Everdell's avowed and implicit purposes in this book. On the surface, the author poses as a challenger of the factious and overspecialized professional historian who has become seduced by Continental "theory" and has lost touch with the needs of the average reader. "The reader will recognize," Everdell claims, "no sense of obligation here to narrow the field of research or to restrict what is written about Modernists to things that have never been published before. The usual academic taboos against supplying a

lay reader with a general history are not in effect" (p. 11). Yet the sincerity of Everdell's appeal to the generalist is not entirely convincing. His book was written not to correct the abuses of overspecialization but, as he admits in the epilogue, to deliver a decisive blow in possibly the most arcane of academic debates of the past two decades: that surrounding postmodernism. "If the stories in this book make sense," he concludes, "then Modernism is still with us and postmodernism may not mean half as much as Continental criticism thinks it does. Such a view is on the level where the scholarly fur flies. It is large and invites controversy" (p. 360).

What is the nature of the controversy that Everdell invites the reader to engage in? How can a book that functions so completely within the inherited paradigms of Modernist interpretation claim to be subversive? Who and what are being challenged here? The questions are worth pondering, since Everdell is not alone in experiencing a profound sense of crisis, disorientation, and beleaguering in his intellectual and professional lives, nor is he alone in linking this crisis to the phenomenon of postmodernism. Yet nowhere does he define with any degree of seriousness what he means by postmodernism, why it poses a threat, and why Modernism represents an antidote to the threat. Is postmodernism or Continental "theory" really the source of any threat to the traditional historian or simply the convenient symbol for a loss of professional relevance and meaningful connection with the broader issues of our times? If this is the case, then I would venture to guess that Everdell's defense of Modernism is not so much a solution for the problem of postmodernism as a symptom of it. To this reader, at any rate, the lesson of reading such a book is that what is needed under the circumstances is not the questioning of professional boundaries but their radicalization: not the abandonment of theoretical commitments but their deepening.

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GEORG G. IGGERS, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge*. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, in association with University Press of New England, Hanover, N.H. 1997. Pp. x, 182. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$15.95.

Georg G. Iggers's brief overview of trends in historiography is an expanded translation of a book published in Germany in 1993. The three-part study concentrates on European and American trends in history writing in the twentieth century, especially since World War II. The impetus for the book seems to have been the "postmodernist challenge to historical studies," and Iggers engages in what Peter Novick has called (in another context) rejection by incorporation; that is, he frames theoretical writing after the linguistic turn as being part of the long "dialogue" of historiography.

raphy (with itself?), so that the theory has little effect on the practice of and thinking about history writing. The book has sections on postmodernism and is mostly concerned with social history, but neither of these modes of thinking seems to have had any effect on how Iggers conceived or wrote his own study.

The first part of Iggers's book is concerned with what he calls "classical historicism," by which he means a perspective on the world that saw all meaning being revealed by change over time. Historians were to discover and disseminate meaning and orientation, but they were often torn between their obligation to the truth and their positions in politicized societies. Moreover, the move toward rationality that gradually swept through historiography undermined the mission of communicating essential meaning. The social sciences that would assimilate history were concerned with piecemeal explanations, not an explicit articulation of the Truth with a capital T. Despite the wealth of philosophical and historical literature to the contrary, Iggers seems to see classical historicism as undermined more by the development of the scientific side of historiography than by the destruction of the ideal of progress and faith in meaning brought about in the West by modernization, colonialism, and the crises that preceded and followed World War I.

The second part of Iggers's book is concerned with social history, or what the author calls the challenge of the social sciences. In this regard he focuses on the *Annales* school, German historical social science, and Marxist social science. Each chapter gives a brief account of some of the key players and their texts. The move away from single defining individuals and institutions is a common theme, and the development of quantification (and then the backing away from it) is mentioned several times. "The computer" comes up as something that historians have used, but how they used it and what statistical models were important for these schools is given no attention. Although the title of this section is "the challenge of the social sciences," the emphases on particularity and cultural meaning emerge as vehicles that eventually undermine the paradigms of systematic rationality at the base of social science most generally.

Curiously, Iggers begins his section on the "post-modern challenge" not with Michel Foucault or Hayden White but with Lawrence Stone's essay on the return of narrative (*Past and Present* 85 [1979]). Iggers rightly turns to microhistory as an arena wherein social science is both used and abused, but he fails to address the extraordinary tension between the empiricism of Carlo Ginzburg, Robert Darnton, or Natalie Zemon Davis and the narrative force that has legitimated their empirical work as historically significant. This is especially unfortunate, because that tension might have been compared to parallel developments in romantic historiography of the nineteenth century or with recent changes in anthropology and literary criticism.

Iggers is surely right to notice that the interest in the past has only grown more pronounced in the last

decades. This interest is not confined to, nor seriously represented by, historiography. One wishes that Iggers had said something about the desire for the past that history writing tries to satisfy (as Stephen Bann has done for the nineteenth century) and to which many other forms of expression are responding. In this last decade of the century, across the humanities and even in some of the social sciences, it is once again seen as a great weakness not to be historical (enough). And in the more public arena, the movements for cultural heritage, identity, and collective memory bespeak an important investment in the past. Unfortunately, this is not part of Iggers's subject, and he does not attempt to situate recent trends in historiography in relation to these crucial changes in how people attempt to make sense of the past.

In the end, Iggers is thankful for all the contemporary trends: social history, semiotics, anthropology, even deconstruction; they can all be part of the dialogue of historiography as representatives of what he calls a "chastened Enlightenment." So, historiography survives scientific critiques and the challenge of the linguistic turn by simply sticking to its guns and borrowing ammunition from those who would try to be its enemies. This old maneuver is used too quickly to be compelling. The book as a whole reads like a good annotated bibliography, punctuated by assertions of the author's views on science, narrative, and the Enlightenment. If you agreed with those views before starting to read, or want your students to become acquainted with some of the important books and journals in European history since World War II, then you will enjoy the "dialogue" that Iggers creates and describes.

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BULLITT LOWRY. *Armistice 1918*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 1996. Pp. xv, 245. \$35.00.

The five armistices signed in the autumn of 1918 between the victorious and vanquished powers in the Great War shaped the political, social, and economic future of Europe for decades to come. Although he touches briefly on the negotiations that removed Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey from the war, Bullitt Lowry focuses his attention on the tortuous diplomacy that eventually produced the armistice with Germany that was signed in the famous railway car in the forest of Compiègne. Anticipating the complaint that these events have already been exhaustively treated in previous studies, Lowry correctly observes that his predecessors—Frederick Maurice, Harry R. Rudin, C. N. Barclay, Pierre Renouvin, Gordon Brook-Shepherd, and Stanley Weintraub—either lacked access to, or failed to exploit, the full panoply of archival sources in the United States, Great Britain, and France that he has mined. This work, although it appears almost eighty years after the historical events that it addresses, qualifies as the first study of the

armistice terminating World War I that is based on government records and private papers from the three principal powers that won the war.

Several prominent themes emerge from this carefully researched, lucidly written narrative. One is the depth of the irritation felt by the European leaders at the presumptuousness of President Woodrow Wilson in conducting bilateral negotiations with the German government after receiving from it, on October 5, a proposal for an armistice based on his imprecise set of war aims popularly known as the "Fourteen Points." Another theme is the skill with which Colonel Edward House, Wilson's man-on-the-spot at the Supreme War Council in Paris, conspired with French Premier Georges Clemenceau and British Prime Minister David Lloyd George to bamboozle his ingenuous chief in Washington. Lowry recounts how House solemnly assured Wilson that his airy principles for a just and lasting peace had been enshrined in the Allied Powers' armistice proposal when they had, in fact, been virtually ignored throughout the negotiations by statesmen intent on pursuing what they deemed to be their nations' vital interests.

Lowry also emphasizes the commanding influence of Marshal Ferdinand Foch in the drafting of the military clauses of the armistice terms. Once Clemenceau had established his supremacy by blocking Foch's bid for an independent role in the negotiations, the French premier consoled the sulking marshal by throwing his weight behind Foch's draft proposal (which was to serve as the basis of discussion in the Supreme War Council). Neither Lloyd George, Clemenceau, House, nor any of the Allied military representatives succeeded in modifying to any significant degree the original Foch draft. Even the fifth clause, stipulating German evacuation and Allied occupation of the left bank of the Rhine and the bridgeheads on the right bank opposite Cologne, Mainz, and Koblenz, survived, despite Lloyd George's and Wilson's skepticism. Lowry's suggestion that House may have supported the French position on the Rhineland in exchange for Clemenceau's acceptance of the Fourteen Points (p. 91) remains a tantalizing if unsubstantiated conjecture. In any case, the long, acrimonious imbroglio over the Rhineland at the peace conference and after may be traced to this arrangement that was improvised during the two weeks before the armistice.

Lowry's final evaluation of the armistice of 1918 is a positive one. Its provisions had little to do with the Fourteen Points, but those Wilsonian precepts were so vague and subject to interpretation that the European leaders could easily pay lip service to them while pursuing their particular national interests. On the other hand, it fell far short of an unconditional surrender: Even Foch rejected the possibility of a full-scale invasion of Germany and the occupation of all German territory if an acceptable armistice arrangement could be achieved without further bloodletting. None of the Allied statesmen and military leaders expected the Germans to accept the stringent condi-

tions that they were offered in the railroad car, and all assumed that the war would drag on into 1919. What they failed to appreciate was the extent to which the political and social order of Germany was disintegrating into mutiny and revolution even as they drafted their terms, compelling representatives of the new German republic to accept whatever was offered.

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KEVIN McDERMOTT and JEREMY AGNEW. *The Comintern: A History of International Communism from Lenin to Stalin*. New York: St. Martin's. 1997. Pp. xxv, 304. \$49.95.

There seems to be little room for the history of lost causes and dead empires, but Kevin McDermott and Jeremy Agnew have defied the market conventions and written an excellent short survey of the history of the Communist International, focusing chiefly on its activities in Western Europe. They also bravely and convincingly describe the reasons for such an undertaking in their introduction. The authors see the Comintern, or at least "the spectre of communism," as a significant force in the history of the world in the 1920s and 1930s, and they point out that the authors of older, standard studies of the Comintern, such as E. H. Carr, had no access to the archives. They say that there is no one-volume history of the Comintern, although they fail to mention the two books by Franz Borkenau that served that purpose in the 1950s and 1960s. In any case, their volume is shorter and more scholarly than Borkenau's *The Communist International* (1938) and *European Communism* (1953).

McDermott and Agnew are quite right that, in its day, the Communist International struck fear into the hearts of many Western leaders and hope into the hearts of many of the poor and downtrodden around the world. With the wisdom of hindsight, both the fears and the hopes seem misplaced today. Certainly, at the time of its demise in 1943, the Communist International had become a weak and irrelevant arm of Joseph Stalin's Soviet government. Even Stalin, according to many sources, had nothing but contempt for its agents. The death of the Soviet Union itself would seem to make the Comintern more of a dead end in history. But there may be much to learn from failed institutions or the ways in which perceptions of them influenced world history. In their pithy survey of the Comintern's history, McDermott and Agnew make a strong and appealing case for a return to the subject. They adorn their work with a few juicy snippets from the newly opened Comintern archives and the work of revisionist Russian scholars such as F. I. Firsov and A. Iu. Vatlin, who have been excavating among the fifty-three million pages therein.

The intended audience for this short and snappy book are college undergraduates, and the authors do a remarkable job in providing a coherent survey and analysis of the rise and fall of the Comintern, which

operated in every country in the world for two decades. The book provides an explanatory introduction, a list of acronyms for relevant institutions, a convenient documentary appendage, and a fairly complete bibliography of the literature that includes both Russian and Western sources. It is extremely well organized, with a valuable ongoing discussion of the historiography and issues involved. Among the many valuable new insights one finds here are specific information about Moscow's financial support of the world's communist parties and a valuable analysis of the interaction between Soviet domestic policy and international affairs in the development of Comintern policies. In particular, it seems that, despite Stalin's increasing domination of Soviet domestic policy, he had little to do with the three major Comintern policy shifts in the 1920s and 1930s: the united workers' front in 1921, the left turn in 1928, and the popular front in 1934. McDermott and Agnew also demonstrate that when Russian domination came in the 1920s, it was often, as Carr pointed out, sought by communist parties rather than imposed from Moscow. Throughout the 1920s, they argue, despite increasing Russian control, there was still considerable independence among the stronger Western communist parties.

Although communism would ultimately achieve its greatest successes in underdeveloped countries after World War II (and after the death of the Comintern), in this volume Comintern policy on the peasant and agrarian question is given only a short and negative treatment in the single chapter on a non-Western nation, China. Other parts of Asia, Africa, or South America are not treated at all. In their introduction, the authors also confess their neglect of the subsidiary organizations of the Comintern, like the Red International of Trade Unions (the Profintern), the Communist Youth International (KIM), International Red Aid (MOPR), and the Peasant International (or Krestintern). Considerations of space may have compelled them to omit these important areas of activity, but they deserve more attention than they received, and works on these subjects should have appeared in the bibliography.

There are some minor shortcomings. The jacket blurb misleads when it says, "This is the first single-volume history of the Communist International in the English language to incorporate material from the newly opened Soviet Communist Party Archive in Moscow." There are a few archival tidbits in chapters two and three, dealing with the period where the authors have done their own research, and some references to Russian sources that have used the archives, but these contribute only a little to the substance of the book. One would have wished for more. Finally, since the book was designed for college students, the bibliography should have included a separate annotated list of the existing reference works. Thomas Hammond's valuable *Soviet Foreign Relations and World Communism* (1965) does not appear at all, and the annotated checklist of sources by Witold

Sworakowski, *The Communist International and its Front Organizations* (1963), is buried in the general bibliography of secondary sources without any explanation of its unique value for researchers. Although the subject matter may be too sophisticated for American college students, McDermott and Agnew have performed a signal service to the scholarly community by providing so much valuable information and analysis within a few hundred pages. Scholars and graduate students should be delighted.

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BRADLEY F. SMITH. *Sharing Secrets with Stalin: How the Allies Traded Intelligence, 1941-1945*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1996. Pp. xix, 307. \$35.00.

Bradley F. Smith has written extensively on intelligence matters at all levels. His new book is one of the latest contributions to the Modern War series. One hopes that, in future selections, the series editors will offer a brief introduction to provide some historical context for the work, and especially how it relates to the series as a whole.

Smith's book is a comprehensive and critical look at the exchange of military intelligence among Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States during the last four crucial years of World War II. It is the first such book published. The substance of the exchange consisted primarily of tactical, technical and signals intelligence. Tactically the three allies were interested especially in order of battle intelligence; technically they were anxious to learn the details concerning the deployment of new weapons systems by the Axis powers. Signals intelligence was gleaned through the establishment of listening stations on Soviet soil. Smith's book focuses on the practical details of the exchange of information.

One of the first things to strike the reader is how a tangle of personalities ensnared the intelligence exchange system from the very beginning. Smith is especially good at capturing the quirky character of Major-General Noel Mason Macfarlane, the head of 30 Mission. Few actors on the stage of military history seemed destined, as if by design, to wreck an alliance. Macfarlane's anti-Soviet, colonial—the Soviets would say imperialist—and elitist outlook did little to endear him to his Soviet counterparts. The Americans generally fared better after Brigadier General J. A. Michela was replaced by Major General John Deane, a protégé of General George C. Marshall, in the summer of 1943. Deane understood that any successful intelligence exchange program had to be based on a principle of utterly objective reciprocity. Not only did the reciprocity of exchange have to be self-evident, it also had to be verifiable. In the end, the Americans demonstrated an exchange reciprocity that was viewed by the Soviets as more objective, self-evident, and verifiable than the version offered by the British.

Smith's use of a broad variety of new declassified archival sources goes a long way to dispel one of the persistent myths of World War II: that the United States and, in particular, Franklin D. Roosevelt were naive dupes in their security relations with the Soviet Union. From the perspective of intelligence sharing, it is clear that all three allies were motivated primarily by national self-interest, meaning self-preservation and the defeat of Germany, Italy, and Japan. The principle of reciprocity has broader alliance implications when coupled with a notion of national self-interest. Together they create a paradoxical hybrid of *common* self-interest that becomes the cohesive force in any enduring military alliance.

The focus of Smith's general narrative offers further insight into the origins of the Cold War. The ebb and flow of the exchange of intelligence was a mosaic reflective of Allied relations as a whole. In this light, one could argue that the origins of the Cold War could be traced to the death of Roosevelt, who clearly espoused and enforced the principle of common self-interest. With his death—and the death of his vision—the sharing of intelligence took a subtle and irretrievable downturn. Lend-lease and the necessity of maintaining Soviet military involvement in the Far East provided the remaining impetus for active and fruitful intelligence exchanges between the Americans and Soviets until war's end.

Smith's book is an important contribution in the study of the "sociology of alliances." He shows how alliances among nations arise first as relationships among peoples and how the strengths and weaknesses of those ties ultimately redound on the alliance itself. Smith's narrative is especially important to ponder in view of the fact that all security arrangements in future will be multilateral.

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KEVIN SMITH, *Conflict over Convoys: Anglo-American Logistics Diplomacy in the Second World War*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xvi, 318.

The title of this book by Kevin Smith is a bit misleading, as the volume does not deal with U-boats or convoys *per se*. Rather, it is a detailed analysis of the World War II crisis in British merchant shipping, the Anglo-American effort to resolve that crisis, and the relationship between this "logistics diplomacy" and Allied strategy. The book is exceptionally well-researched, especially in British and U.S. government archives. It is also complex and nuanced in its interpretations and linkage of issues, revisionist in many of its conclusions, and strongly condemnatory of the behavior of most if not all of the individuals involved.

Military strategy and operations are extraordinarily dependent on logistics. Yet with such notable exceptions as the volumes by Richard M. Leighton and Robert W. Coakley in the U.S. Army official history,

scholars of World War II have not sought to combine them into a comprehensive picture. As Smith clearly shows, the same held true for Anglo-American officials during the war. The result was near disaster and deep bitterness in all quarters.

Smith argues that the shipping crisis was primarily the result not of German U-boat sinkings but of a prewar decline in the British shipping industry that quickly led to dependence on American assistance. Winston Churchill severely compounded that crisis and dependence by a Middle East strategy that his nation could not support logistically if it were to receive the imports it required. The situation became even worse with the expansion of shipping commitments that accompanied Soviet and U.S. entries into the war, and it reached critical proportions with the "logistically catastrophic" invasion of North Africa in 1942 (p. 73).

Franklin D. Roosevelt came to the rescue later in 1942 with a pledge to transport additional imports to Britain, but he failed to inform his armed forces, obtain their concurrence, or fuse logistical and strategic considerations. Consequently the issue became deeply interwoven with civil-military bureaucratic conflicts over the control of shipping as well as the Anglo-American strategic debate, and the mismatch between stated Allied strategic plans and available logistical means continued. So did the "perpetual incoherence" of the Roosevelt bureaucracy (p. 198). The results by early 1943 included broken promises, cancelled operations, another presidential intervention, and deep bitterness and suspicion on both sides of the Atlantic. Only expanded U.S. production of ships and victory in the U-boat war prevented further crisis in mid-1943. By that time, however, the Americans were fed up with the combination of British dependence on U.S. logistics and insistence on using it to support a Mediterranean strategy they opposed, and in late 1943 they used that dependence to force British agreement to cross-Channel operations.

Most if not all of this, Smith implies, could have been avoided had British and U.S. leaders understood and faced logistical realities and planned strategy accordingly, and had certain problematic officials been disciplined or removed. One could argue, however, that the sad history he so well analyzes was preferable to the supposedly rational alternative, for adherence to logistical realities as he describes them could well have precluded the launching of any major Allied offensives in 1942 or 1943, with possibly catastrophic consequences for public support of the war and Allied unity. Such adherence would also have required Churchill and Roosevelt to act in ways antithetical to their characters, part of which was their insistence on pressing for what appeared unattainable rather than accepting limits. This almost drove their conservative military advisers crazy, but it also forced them, as well as the logisticians, to attempt things that they never would have on their own. Perhaps, then, logistical chaos was a necessary price of Allied victory.

Logistics are often avoided because they are considered complex as well as less exciting than strategy and operations, and this volume does little to challenge such generalizations. Indeed, its prose is often as dense and difficult as its subject. The book is well worth the effort required, however, in its focus on a critical World War II issue and the relationship of that issue to Anglo-American strategy and wartime relations in general. By exploring that relationship in such breadth and depth, Smith has made an important contribution to our knowledge of numerous aspects of the World War II Grand Alliance.

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NIGEL JOHN ASHTON. *Eisenhower, Macmillan and the Problem of Nasser: Anglo-American Relations and Arab Nationalism, 1955–59*. (Studies in Military and Strategic History.) New York: St. Martin's. 1997. Pp. viii, 273. \$59.95.

The "problem" of Gamal Abdel Nasser, according to Nigel John Ashton, differed depending on whether one's frame of reference was Washington or London. This book is less about Nasser than about contrasting Anglo-American impressions of Egypt's proclivity to stymie Western ambitions in the Middle East. By mid-1956, those ambitions lay primarily in shoring up alternative bastions of influence and minimizing Egypt's regional clout. Conflicting British and American perspectives on where and to whom to turn produced a "constant source of tension in Anglo-American dealings through to the end of the 1950s, and lay behind many of the differences of opinion which were to emerge" between the two allies (p. 79).

To British diplomats, who after March 1956 shed any illusions of cooperation with Egypt in regional security, Nasser remained the "inveterate enemy" (p. 79). He continually frustrated British plans to promote Iraq—at least until the 1958 Qassem coup that toppled the Hashemite monarchy—as Egypt's regional replacement. Nasser was not, Ashton argues, Anthony Eden's particular obsession. Harold Macmillan, Eden's foreign secretary and then post-Suez successor, a man "more prepared than his predecessor to entertain the opinions of others" (p. 9), shared Eden's assessment of Nasser, as did most British policy makers. Macmillan certainly enjoyed better relations with the Americans, yet he, too, remained at odds with Washington over crucial particulars.

For the Americans, Nasser was to be judged ultimately by Egypt's position with regard to the Soviets, the American obsession. John Foster Dulles may, like Eden, have invoked Adolf Hitler to describe Nasser. American hopes of promoting King Saud as Nasser's rival may have reflected a "shallow" understanding of Arab politics (p. 112). Yet, as Ashton relates, American policy was guided by an overriding pragmatism, a ready willingness to reassess Egyptian policy and to allow Nasser "a bridge back to good relations with the

West" (p. 79). Nasser certainly realized this and played the Communist card deftly, continually confounding British efforts to stake out a joint Anglo-American policy.

The competing visions of Western allies, one an empire in decline and the other an ascendant power, are not a new story. What Ashton does is carry the story beyond Suez. In so doing, he reconceptualizes Anglo-American (particularly British) strategy and diplomacy. His primary contribution is to refocus Britain's gaze away from Cairo/Nasser and toward Baghdad/Nuri al-Said prior to the Suez crisis, refuting the common belief that Suez represents the "terminal date" (p. 100) of British regional influence. What Dulles scorned as "desperately grasping at straws" (p. 79), British policy makers saw as a sensible strategic shift toward Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf. Subsequently, they felt betrayed when the Americans waffled on the Baghdad Pact, precisely over the issue of Iraqi inclusion, and acted unilaterally in Lebanon. Only after the Qassem coup did British diplomats abandon hopes of joint Anglo-American action. They had finally become "subsidiary," although not "subservient," allies (p. 207).

Throughout, Ashton provides a careful narration of events on the ground in the Middle East, one rooted in a solid reading of English-language scholarship by area specialists. He resists characterizing regional leaders according to the flowery protestations of confounded diplomats ("extremists" and so on). He describes and analyzes events with dispassion, perhaps to a fault—there is little feeling for many characters involved—and expects his readers to be aware of the broader outlines of history that he analyzes. Historians familiar with the documentary record will no doubt find shadings they may want to re-tint. But Ashton has outlined a framework for understanding the latter half of the 1950s that future students of the period will want to engage.

With no small recognition of irony, Ashton postscripts his conclusion by examining the birth of Kuwaiti independence in 1961 and the mobilization of British troops on the contested border with Iraq. At once, he underscores the continuity of British interest in looking beyond Suez to the Persian Gulf and turns our gaze toward ongoing tensions between and among regional and world powers that continue to dominate headlines. If American and British leaders today find themselves embracing a common policy in the eastern Arab world, Ashton reminds us how awkward that embrace has been throughout much of the post-World War II era.

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JUSSI M. HANHIMÄKI. *Containing Coexistence: America, Russia, and the "Finnish Solution."* (American Diplomatic History.) Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 1997. Pp. xx, 279. \$39.00.

During the Cold War era, Finland was something of an oddity, often misunderstood by outsiders who failed to appreciate that Finland's own interests were not necessarily those of the two power blocs. The Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, concluded with the USSR in April 1948, committed Finland to military cooperation with the Soviet Union in the event of an attack on its territory by Germany or its allies; but the preamble to that treaty also expressed Finland's desire to remain outside the conflicts of the great powers. Under President Urho K. Kekkonen (1956–1981), this treaty became the cornerstone of a Finnish foreign policy of active neutrality, founded on good-neighbor relations with the Soviet Union: the “Finnish solution” of the title of this book.

Kekkonen's predecessor, Juho Kusti Paasikivi, whose presidency ran through the period covered here, was notably more cautious by temperament and circumstance; but as Jussi M. Hanhimäki shows, the seeds of American distrust and suspicion of Finland's intentions were already sown before Kekkonen took office as president in 1956. He argues that both Moscow and Washington recognized the “exceptionalism” of Finland even before the signing of the treaty in 1948. For Moscow, there were several positive signs of a smooth relationship developing; for Washington, Finland was a Nordic outpost of Western democracy, “a puncture in the Iron Curtain” (p. 17). The 1948 treaty sensibly changed American perceptions, and subsequent Finnish attempts to pursue an active policy of neutrality tended only to reinforce suspicions in Washington that this could benefit the Soviet Union. Kekkonen's advocacy of a neutralized Scandinavia in his so-called “pajama speech” of 1952 was seen by the American ambassador to Helsinki “as a further step in Russia's maneuvers to promote the concept of Northern neutrality,” a neutrality that the State Department tended to regard as unrealistic in a divided world.

The American attitude toward neutrality in general and Finnish neutrality in particular remained ambiguous after 1956, Hanhimäki concludes. Kekkonen's policy of bridge-building and growing Western suspicions of “Finlandization” created an enduring dilemma, as the more perceptive commentators of the 1970s such as George Maude recognized. But in the interstices of great power confrontation, Finland was nonetheless able to survive and prosper; an international subsystem characterized by a high living standard and near immunity to international conflict was in Hanhimäki's view the most important result of the Finnish solution.

This is a well-researched and ably argued study of a European exception, and it is in fact the exception rather than the Finnish solution that will perhaps make more sense to the non-Finnish reader. Set within the context of current Finnish writing on this period, Hanhimäki's book is refreshingly free of venom or hysteria, in part because he is not primarily concerned with the domestic implications of foreign policy making, but also because he allows his sources to portray

the controversial figure of Kekkonen. Opinion was divided; some observers felt him too clever and ambitious to make a good puppet for the Soviets, while others saw Moscow giving him special treatment in order to make him dependent on their support. Kekkonen was a central character, certainly, but not the all-powerful prince of darkness portrayed in the prolific writings of Hannu Rautkallio. Not the least of the virtues of Hanhimäki's book is the skillful manner in which he conveys the limits and possibilities of foreign policy making. Finland was clearly a puzzle for American policy makers but, in the end, a relatively minor one: if not quite a peanut, to borrow the inelegant epithet of V. M. Molotov, then perhaps a hickory nut, hard to crack but unlikely to be the talking point of the party.

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ANCIENT

GORDON S. SHRIMPTON. *History and Memory in Ancient Greece*. Assisted by K. M. GILLIS. (McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Ideas, number 23.) Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1997. Pp. xvii, 318. \$55.00.

Some historiographers imagine the Greek historians to be more similar to historians of the last two centuries than they are. Gordon S. Shrimpton surveys both what the Hellenic historians did and what they claim to have done, when programmatic paragraphs or passages survive, such as in Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Ephorus, and Polybius. Shrimpton's ambitious book demonstrates communities of habits, techniques, and assumptions about reception. The book contains two chapters and two appendixes. An introduction compares ancient and modern approaches. The historian's function was differently conceptualized. “[Truth] had nothing to do with investigation and discovery and everything to do with the meticulous presentation of tradition” (p. 7). The power of the community to control what will be remembered is absolute (p. 172). This is an overstatement. Historians considered themselves subservient to their chosen constituencies' traditions, their legitimated memories. Shrimpton's introduction, however, also notes the distorting dynamics of victors in war and authors impassioned by ideology or disappointment in politics, such as splenetic Theopompus. This personal factor conflicts with the previously alleged omnipotence of communal memory.

The chapter entitled “Rhetoric, Reason, Science, and Memory” emphasizes communal memories (as opposed to archival research or even topographical reconnaissance) in shaping ancient histories, local and panhellenic. Furthermore, no person owned “public knowledge,” and no copyright protected a writer's product. Shrimpton claims that Herodotus is “pushing his native region into the limelight as often as he can” (p. 157), but immediately after he notes the latter's

repeated criticisms of Ionia. Indeed, Doric Halicarnassus was no friend of the Ionians, so no basis supports the alleged (but disproved) "regional chauvinism." Shrimpton seems less persuasive in criticizing Herodotus's parochialism and prejudices than in desacralizing (following Robin Collingwood) Thucydides's over-rated differences from Herodotus, his objectivity and perspicuity.

Thucydides's erasure of conflicting accounts "achieves an illusory precision" admired by generations who cannot confute it (p. 162). Thucydides himself qualifies the reliability of battle narratives (7.44.1). The distorting features cannot be controlled, but comparing ancient historians to modern journalists and movie makers (p. 169)—deployers of presentist stereotypes (p. 186)—seems extravagant invective.

But how, then, can ancient historians show respectable reliability? Shrimpton believes the competition of many small data bases enabled the roving ancient historians to identify disparity and correct chauvinistic distortions. A problem in evaluating this hypothesis is that the local historians (Hellanicus, Hecataeus, Charon) are now lost, except for erratically preserved fragments.

Chapter two examines ancient procedures of verification. Greek historians wrote "representative narrative" that does not seek close correspondence to specific events, as we do (p. 87). Hellenic oralism (face-to-face processing of the past) blocked what we might term "realism," or a verification of truth-claims and a controlling of prejudices (p. 96). Shrimpton carefully converses with scholarly predecessors, with the exception of Robert Drews's *The Greek Accounts of Eastern History* (1973).

Shrimpton conceives that Herodotus had provided "poetic heroization of the Persian War" (p. 100), a *mythodes* or "story form" that suited contemporary audiences' expectations, but Thucydides ejected this quality from history—or failed to find it in his dire war—and so produced a history without heroes. Shrimpton asks why Thucydides removed and obliterated documents such as treaties and inscriptions from the finished parts of his work (pp. 128–29). Was he changing the criteria of inclusion in other books? Shrimpton speculates that the *Histories* are unfinished because the unexpected outcome of the war rendered Thucydides's original thesis about Athenian power obsolete and untenable (p. 161). He consequently reformed it to serve as a "therapeutic rehearsing of [Athenian] mistakes" (p. 204). But this tack is itself utterly nonconforming.

One excellent appendix examines Herodotus's source citations, refuting Detlev Fehling's Herodotus-as-liar-and-fabricator thesis (*Herodotus and his Sources* [1989, 2nd ed.]). Proving Herodotus wrong in one or another of his facts or stories does not prove that Herodotus invented the matter, since communities fabricate their own histories. Herodotus recorded what he had heard. The second appendix on subdivisions in Thucydides's narrative seems less successful. Shrimpton

argues that Thucydides put far-off battles into his less busy "winter" divisions of years.

Shrimpton writes lucid English, but his many topics and ancient authors produce jumpy arguments and difficult transitions. Odd generalizations pepper an analysis covering wide territory. Charles Fornara, in *The Nature of History in Ancient Greece and Rome* (1983), more successfully combines micro and macro-analysis. Shrimpton believes that history "aims primarily at recording success" (p. 210). Yet the ancient historians of large wars were usually exiled politicians and generals or cosmopolitan travelers who recorded and dissected strategic errors and disasters on both sides. Shrimpton knows this but has not resolved the explicit and implicit conflicts between *communis opinio* and the Hellenic historians' revisionist positions.

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JAMES C. ANDERSON, JR. *Roman Architecture and Society*. (Ancient Society and History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1997. Pp. xxiii, 442. \$39.95.

This book brings together a wealth of information on six topics important to the understanding of Roman architecture between the Republic and Constantine, each assigned a chapter: the Roman architect, the building business, the supply of manpower and materials, city planning, public architecture, and everyday architecture. The first three chapters fit into the rubric of part one, "How the Romans Organized Building"; the last three fit into part two, "How the Romans Organized Space." James C. Anderson's treatment of these topics is even-handed and noncommittal, a virtue for a book whose primary intention is to cover all the sources, including ancient texts, archaeological studies, and architectural histories.

One cannot fault the book's thoroughness. Anderson has collected and arranged all the facts in a logical framework to provide a useful compendium, a reference work rather than a standalone study. Anyone wishing to know what Roman architecture looked like should look elsewhere, to the beautifully written and illustrated two-volume *Architecture of the Roman Empire* by William L. MacDonald (1965–1986), or to surveys like J. B. Ward-Perkin's *Roman Architecture* (1977) or Lawrence Richardson's *New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (1992).

Anderson's expertise as a scholar of ancient texts serves him well in answering the questions about the organization of building posed in the first three chapters. The second part of the book, on Roman spatial organization, is less successful. Its three chapters are much less original than the first three and fail to come to life because they require two things lacking in this book: extensive visual analysis of actual buildings and an adequate illustration program. These chapters traverse territory well known to the specialist but bewildering to the neophyte who has neither visited the sites

nor studied the illustrated handbooks of Roman architecture.

It is true that Anderson succeeds in creating a logical taxonomy of building categories, illustrating each with fitting examples, most taken from Rome, supplemented by Pompeii and Ostia. But in a book produced without a single photograph, it is impossible for the uninitiated to get any idea of the appearance, materials, and relative scale of the buildings. Since the author has no desire to discuss the visual or aesthetic effects of Roman architecture, one cannot fault him for failing to discuss them. Even so, the book would have been much more useful for the general reader had the press provided a minimal illustration program. The illustrative apparatus provided, limited to line-work—that is, plans and drawings—is far from adequate. Most plans are too small to read details and lack north-markers and other orientation devices. Because all of the linework in the volume is reproduced from other sources rather than being redrawn for this book, much detail is lost to reduction and reproduction. Related to the problem of illegible drawings is the book design itself. Even for the reader with sharp eyesight, the text font is tiny and faint and the italic subheadings tinier and fainter. The press cut corners here as well as in the meager illustration program.

This volume belongs to a series called Ancient Society and History. Yet Anderson nowhere defines what he means by “society.” His title suggests that his book will be a social history of Roman architecture, employing the methodologies of social history. We should expect an account of the ways in which built form indexes the culture of the people who commissioned, built, and used their buildings and spaces. What we get, instead, are many examples of building types that the reader must populate with Roman individuals. The book is at its best when the author cites texts and inscriptions that tell us who architects were and how classical authors viewed architecture; when he is describing building forms on the basis of archaeological evidence, it is a bleak, peopleless landscape that Anderson draws—accurate in fact but far removed from the dynamics of social pressures that shaped the city of Rome.

Anderson has created a timely and much-needed work of synthesis based on his extensive knowledge of the sources and using consistently sound judgment. It boasts accurate notes, an up-to-date bibliography, and a helpful index. It is a fine reference work that will be useful primarily to classicists and to historians who already have an understanding of the history of Rome and its architecture.

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PAT SOUTHERN. *Domitian: Tragic Tyrant*. New York: Routledge; distributed by Indiana University Press. 1997. Pp. viii, 164. \$35.00.

Ronald Syme deprecated the genre of imperial biography as “cheap and easy” (*Tacitus* [1958]). Fergus Millar rejected the very concept: “neither the actions nor the politics of an emperor can be meaningfully studied until the whole social context has been examined over a substantial period, and perhaps not even then” (*Journal of Roman Studies* 56 [1966]). A tall order. The debate continues, as does the production of imperial biographies.

The first Domitianic one was Stéphane Gsell’s *Essai* (1894). Domitian never attracted Robert Graves, although he makes a fictional appearance as villain in Sylvia Fraser’s *The Emperor’s Virgin* (1980). Kenneth Waters broke new ground in the 1960s with a series of sympathetic articles, which were followed by two erudite, readable, and slim (rare virtues) biographies by Brian Jones: *Titus* (1984) and *Domitian* (1992).

Pat Southern’s biography is also readable (many good jokes and no jargon, commendably scorning semantic theory) and slim, consisting of twelve crisp chapters buttressed by laconic endnotes. She applies neither black nor white wash to Domitian but seeks to understand and explain by telling his story, from the boyhood years on Pomegranate Street at Rome to his grisly palace assassination on September 18 A.D. 96. The military chapters are, not surprisingly, the best, given Southern’s previous books (with Karen Dixon) on the Roman army. Her Domitian is capable and conscientious, remote and rebarbative, easy to respect, impossible to like.

The blurb claims novelty for Southern’s psychological profile, but it is a skimpy and dubious finale. She attaches weight to Domitian’s adoption of Minerva as his surrogate mother, the sole source for which is Philostratus’s marginal and flimsy *Life of Apollonius* (7.24). Mainstream authors say only that he venerated this goddess. And, mindful of Humphrey Carpenter’s dictum that “biography is prurience,” where is the sex? Suetonius harps on Domitian’s priapism (“bed-wrestling,” he called it), multiple mistresses, aquatic cavorting with prostitutes, and other fun-sounding things. This consorts ill with Southern’s picture (exaggerated from Suetonius) of a solitary emperor. Rome did not fall because of any emperor’s sex life, but our choices define us, and in our age, tales of presidential philandering still draw readers. (See Vivian Green’s *The Madness of Kings: Personal Traumas and the Fate of Nations* [1993].)

Southern’s ignorance of Byzantine sources is lethal. John Lydus’s depiction of Domitian the destructive neophile undermines her characterization of him as “not in the least innovative” (p. 122). There is no need for puzzlement (p. 92) over Jordanes’s nonsense about imperial greed provoking barbarians to war: in the writings of sixth-century authors, Domitian is a paradigm of evil (see, for example, Procopius’s unique account of a horrific statue based on the bits of corpse collected by his non-grieving widow, Domitia). By rare contrast, the chronicler Malalas represents Domitian as a distinguished philosopher. All of this should be

grist to Southern's psychological mill, but she cites none of it.

Diverse details disconcert: Mettius Pompusianus (p. 16) was not executed for carrying an atlas (only a secondary charge) but because he was astrologically minded and had an imperial horoscope; the Porta Capena (p. 127) was not now disused, being operational in the contemporary writers Frontinus, Juvenal, and Martial. Eusebius's *mica aurea* is not "otherwise unknown" (p. 128); it is the subject of Martial 2.59. Southern's claim (p. 127) that *odium* is a Freudian slip for *odeum* made by the Chronographer of 354 is hilarious; the latter was simply reproducing both spelling (a common one) and list from Suetonius.

The book's bibliography is serviceable though short (four pages compared to Jones's seventeen) and not always up to date (for example, there is no use of Otto Reinmuth's work on Egyptian prefects). The index is rarely more than a meager and eccentric onomasticon: why record such transients as Oliver Cromwell and Isaac Newton while omitting Dio, Suetonius, and Tacitus, who appear on virtually every page? Still, the book's production is agreeable, with sensuous paper, good illustrations, and accurate printing. I noticed minor slips, errant references, and a non-existent emperor "Serverus" in the index.

A curate's egg, then: this biography is less novel than claimed, often too tidy—Jones's concluding "enigma" better suits Domitian—and less impressive than recent imperial lives by Anthony Barrett, Anthony Birley, Miriam Griffin, and Barbara Levick. Yet Southern is frequently enjoyable and plausible on a worthwhile subject, and I look forward to her advertised biography of Augustus.

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RICHARD ALSTON. *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt: A Social History*. New York: Routledge. 1996. Pp. viii, 263. \$59.95.

This is an interesting work on a subject that has been much discussed in recent years for the Roman Empire as a whole. The province of Egypt is unique because of the wealth of papyri that throw light on its history; the present work provides welcome additional material for those interested in the functions of the army in the Roman provinces and the relationships and interaction between the army and civilian population.

In the past, it was generally assumed that Egypt was a province *sui generis*, but now it is often argued that Roman Egypt was no different from other provinces, and observations about Roman Egypt are considered to be relevant for other provinces. A work of this kind is thus even more welcome. Richard Alston analyzes the Egyptian material, draws conclusions, and does indeed make general inferences, but he does not actually discuss other provinces. Alston has opinions of his own on a variety of subjects and never restricts himself to presenting mere lists of facts. It is all the

more surprising, therefore, that he regularly fails to acknowledge conceptual debts to previously published works. Indeed, some of the latter are mentioned in the bibliography but not in the footnotes, where they ought to appear. It will suffice to mention Ramsay MacMullen's *Soldier and Civilian in the Roman Empire* (1963) and various essays of Brent Shaw, but there are many other omissions. Occasionally, Alston also indulges in some posturing, overstating the argument of others in order to create more of a profile for himself (for example, in the discussion of recruitment and veteran settlement in chapter three).

There is space here only for a limited number of observations that cannot take into account all of the important issues raised in the book. The quality of Alston's work as a papyrologist should be judged by specialists in that field. Alston observes that there is no strategic plan governing the placement of military units in the province. The army was based in the main population center, on nodal points of the communication system, and along roads. The choice of location of the important garrisons was political, not strategic. This observation is, in itself, not novel, but it is useful to see that it applies to Egypt as well, for this point of view has not been accepted by all Roman historians. Alston argues that the soldiers did not merely maintain order and defend Egypt from any external threats; they also represented the political authority and power of the provincial governor and, through him, of the emperor.

Chapter three discusses recruitment and the status of veterans. Alston argues against the view—not very prevalent—that veteran settlement and recruitment from the reservoir created by such settlement led to the existence of a military caste. He offers some evidence for legionary recruitment outside Egypt. It is not clear, however, what this tells us about the military or civilian origins of the recruits. It is also significant to see that veterans did not tend to settle together in Egypt. It must be observed, however, that these are precisely issues where there may be substantial differences between provinces and over time.

Alston, unlike some of us, is an optimist. He believes in an army that was fairly well integrated in provincial society. The Roman army was engaged in many tasks connected with the provincial administration. There is evidence of tax collecting, or accompanying tax collectors; supervision of grain boats; supervision and guarding of the quarries in the Eastern Desert; caravans from the Red Sea to Koptos and beyond; road and bridge building; and various police duties, including protecting desert roads against banditry. Alston concludes that "the Roman army was probably as brutal as any other army when it put down rebellions or revolts, but it is impossible to believe that the transactions attested in our evidence were conducted in an atmosphere of mutual distrust and hatred" (pp. 160–162). This is a legitimate view but one contrary to the impression many scholars derive from literary sources in other provinces. These suggest that there was a good

deal of tension, inequality, and bullying. All the same, the question is whether Alston is right for Egypt and, if he is, whether we should return to the image of Egypt as an exceptional province or not.

There is much else in the book that cannot be discussed here, despite its interest: the army and the economy, a chapter on the evidence from the village of Karanis, some remarks about the later Roman Empire. In this connection, it must be observed that appendix one reflects careless reading of the *Notitia Dignitatum*.

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J. E. MERDINGER. *Rome and the African Church in the Time of Augustine*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1997. Pp. xvi, 267. \$40.00.

The rise of the bishop of Rome to a position of supreme authority in the Western church is one of the most important facets of the history of late antiquity and the early Middle Ages. It is also one of the most diversely interpreted, thanks to what emerges as a secondary theme in J. E. Merdinger's fine book: Protestant-Catholic debates about the papacy carried on in the guise of historical analysis. In the case of North Africa, Protestant historians have portrayed a proud, independent, regional church that resisted Roman interference in its affairs, while Catholics have seen a North Africa that welcomed guidance from the See of St. Peter. Armed with evidence in the form of the new letters of Augustine of Hippo first published by Johannes Divjak in 1981 and having (it appears) little interest in criticizing or defending papal authority, Merdinger presents a more complicated picture. In her view, the core values that North African Christians developed to fight heresies and schisms in the second and third centuries ("apostolic tradition and unity with the source") "bound them to the great church at Rome, more tightly sometimes than they wished" in the fourth and fifth centuries (p. 206).

The book has two parts. Part one provides a brief survey of early church history and then studies the ecclesiologies of three North African Christian writers: Tertullian, Cyprian, and Optatus. The opening chapter gives a rough sketch of the rise of Christianity in the Roman world for the general reader who may wish to explore early canon law. Predictably, it is here that the specialist finds the most with which to quarrel: for example, the claim that "slaves, handymen, maids—people at the bottom of the social scale—were the first to respond to the gospel" (p. 7) and remarkably hostile descriptions of such "heresies" as Gnosticism (p. 11). The ensuing discussions of the African church fathers provide clear expositions of their thought and emphasize their development of the concept of *origo*: the unity of the church and the truth of its doctrine are found in unity with the single "source," Jesus Christ, and this unity finds its expression in the "primacy" (*primatus*) of Peter, who embodied in himself the

apostolic witness and thus the oneness of the episcopate. Still, the North Africans did not equate essential unity with Rome with absolute obedience, as the example of Cyprian's conflict with Stephen of Rome demonstrates.

Part two examines clerical appeals from North Africa to the Roman bishop during the episcopate of Augustine through close study of key councils and canons and through detailed reconstructions of specific cases, such as those of Aparius, Honorius, and Antony of Fussala. Merdinger details the North African church's increasing reliance on Rome for appeals in ecclesiastical cases involving bishops in particular, even as the North Africans and the pope both made efforts to regulate such appeals, especially by lower clergy. For example, when Bishop Honorius in Mauritania Caesariensis caused controversy by attempting to transfer to a larger, more prestigious see, Augustine and his colleagues did not hesitate to refer the matter to Pope Boniface. On the other hand, when a trouble-making presbyter named Aparius appealed condemnation by his bishop directly to Pope Zosimus, the North African bishops resented the pope's decision to send his own representatives to Africa to investigate and, so they thought, to tell them what to do. In this case, the Africans invoked the canons of the Council of Nicaea as limits to papal jurisdiction in their region. Merdinger demonstrates that the North African episcopate increasingly looked to Nicaea and its canons for authoritative guidance on its own internal policies and its relationship with the bishop of Rome. Merdinger's arguments are all the more convincing because she invites the reader into the work of historical evaluation by presenting alternative views and reasoned defenses of her own conclusions.

This book makes a significant and welcome contribution to the history of early Christianity and late antiquity, and it does so in a clear and engaging style that renders canon law and ecclesiastical court cases accessible, interesting, and even dramatic. In addition to demonstrating the careful philology and judgment of a skilled historian, Merdinger tells a good story, one that no doubt will replace previous accounts of these events because of its new evidence and its freedom from religious polemics.

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ANTTI ARJAVA. *Women and Law in Late Antiquity*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 304. \$65.00.

The last few years have witnessed a profusion of works on women in the transitional age of late antiquity. Antti Arjava's contribution to this subject reviews legal evidence concerning the status of women over an immense period spanning the second to seventh centuries C.E. His aim is to understand how the great changes that marked the end of antiquity—the disin-

tegration of the Roman state, the growing domination of the Christian church, and the emergence of the Germanic kingdoms—affected the status of women (p. 1). Although Arjava does not want his study to be seen as an exercise in legal history, almost all of the sources that he employs and to which he introduces the reader are, in fact, legal ones. Since his arguments are founded on legal texts, they logically reduce to the categories considered to be important from the perspective of the law: matters of property (marriage, divorce, dowry, guardianship, and inheritance) and the regulation of sexual liaisons that transgressed status barriers and the confines of matrimony. Arjava's attempt to trace the changes in women's lives in the *longue durée* is therefore frequently frustrated by the nature of the surviving compilations of law, especially those from the "barbarian" successor kingdoms of the West. Time and again, as for example on questions as fundamental as the legal rights of widows or women's right to adopt children, Arjava provides a recitation of the legal norms of the Roman state but has to confess that what the Franks and the other Germans did in the post-Roman West is simply not known (p. 94). Moreover, since many of the great forces of change in the period, especially Christianity, are not adequately reflected in the conservative and secular discourse of the law, it is hardly surprising that Arjava does not find much evidence for "change" in women's lives.

A study based on legal norms that does not even ask fundamental questions about which parts of the law were more likely than others to reflect social practice—for example, the law on divorce as opposed to that governing matrimony—is necessarily open to doubt. Any research program that intends to go beyond what is already available in existing treatments of woman and the law (such as Jane F. Gardner's *Women in Roman Law and Society* [1986]) must surely have at its center an analysis of the relationship between the legal norms and quotidian practice. Alas, Arjava tends to bury such important matters in footnotes. For example, Roman laws penalized divorced and widowed women who remarried within legally prescribed waiting periods; but the papyri from Roman Egypt show that "divorcing couples did not take any notice of the rules" (p. 168, n. 34). Rich fields of existing research on the gap between centrally decreed legal norms and the strong regional and cultural variations that existed in the high Roman Empire are therefore not as central to Arjava's research as they should be. What is needed for the western Roman Empire is precisely the sort of detailed dialogue between law and practice that has been provided by Joëlle Beaucamp for the eastern Mediterranean (*La statut de la femme à Byzance: 4^e-7^e siècle*; 2 vols. [1990–1992]).

Arjava's traditional focus on the language of the legal texts leads to questionable assertions, such as his statement that "Christians simply did not have any distinctive behaviour pattern of their own" (p. 257), a bold claim that is contradicted by his own analysis of the imperial legal decrees on divorce and remarriage

(pp. 167–89). Although Arjava gives no hint of it, the long-term forces of which Christian norms and behaviors were part were certainly implicated in the emergence of a rather distinctive Western European demographic regime, in which a significant portion of the whole population remained outside marriage. On the other hand, Arjava sometimes gives Christians too much credit. As Paul Veyne and Michel Foucault (who is missing from the bibliography) pointed out decades ago, the egalitarian regimen that imposed a similar sexual and moral discipline on both men and women was already becoming well entrenched by the first century of the empire. Surely, too, it is Arjava's concentration on legal texts that compels him, almost inexorably, to his final conclusion that virtually nothing at all changed for most women in the Roman and post-Roman West (pp. 265–66).

Last of all, it must be said that large parts of the work are not much more than rehearsals of the legal norms that are already well expounded in standard handbooks of Roman law: legal texts that have been adduced in such recent books on women and the Roman law as Susan Treggiari's monumental study *Roman Marriage* (1991). Indeed, for most of the periods and the problems tackled by Arjava, Judith Evans-Grubbs's *Law and Family in Late Antiquity* (1995), a wide-ranging work that is especially sensitive to social contexts and political developments and to the limitations of the legal evidence, is to be preferred. The few additional perspectives that the careful reader might cull from Arjava's research, therefore, do not seem to justify the publication of another book-length treatment of the subject.

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MEDIEVAL

STEPHEN S. EVANS. *The Lords of Battle: Image and Reality of the Comitatus in Dark-Age Britain*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 1997. Pp. viii, 169. \$63.00.

Few topics in early medieval history are as obscure as the *comitatus*, or warband, perhaps the basic social and military unit of organization among the post-Roman ruling classes. Because warband members were almost all illiterate, their world must come to us either through heroic oral poetry (often not recorded until long after the period in which the oral tradition thrived) or through hostile clerical chroniclers with little sympathy for warband values. Using these sources and the latest archaeological findings, Stephen S. Evans aims to present a complete picture of the *comitatus* of Dark Age Britain. Various chapters detail the social and military structure of the *comitatus*, how its image in heroic poetry matches the reality presented by other sources, and the social and economic institutions and conditions that supported its existence.

Evans's picture includes both British and Saxon

warbands, which he takes to be essentially similar. This is probably a reasonable assumption. But we know little about British warbands, and the evidence for them is late and almost completely oral poetic. As a result, Evans cannot really prove this assumption satisfactorily and is unable effectively to deploy the comparative method he discusses in the introduction. Still, Evans succeeds in presenting a fairly clear and organized general introduction to Dark Age warbands in Britain, emphasizing the very small numbers involved (a warband of twenty men would have been substantial), the domination of warfare and society by a predatory warrior elite, and the focus of warfare on pillaging and cattle raiding. Students new to the topic will find this a useful book.

Specialists, however, will be disappointed. Evans refers extensively to the primary sources, but all his basic conclusions are based on the secondary literature; there is little that is original about his presentation. In addition, the book suffers from a number of significant problems. First, the selection of secondary authorities is extremely limited and quirky. The *comitatus* was fundamentally a military institution, but few works on medieval military history show up in the bibliography. The omission of Richard Abels's work, for example, is inexplicable. Broader reading would have allowed Evans to use some real comparative material in the chapter on military organization and to contribute to important debates such as the extent of Roman influence on early medieval warfare. But he seems unaware of this historiography. Moreover, Evans purports to connect the *comitatus* in the British Isles to its Germanic roots going back to Tacitus. But the vast and crucial German literature on the topic is completely missing: the secondary literature is exclusively English.

Second, Evans's use of the primary sources is surprisingly naïve. He recognizes the limitations of oral literature as a source for specific events while making a good case, based on the work of Albert Lord, for accepting the everyday details of the poems. But he fails to distinguish between material details, which are likely to be accurate, and the presentation of ideals, which are much more subject to manipulation. Evans simply accepts, for example, that the dominance of lordship over kinship ties presented by heroic poetry and chronicle sources is accurate for this age. But the biases of these sources—of poetry toward the lords it meant to please, and of the later chronicles toward resurgent kingship, which had an interest in promoting lordship—make this a case much in need of careful argument. Such simplistic readings abound.

Finally, two fundamental issues are missing. How can a work on the social and economic structure of the warband not include the word reciprocity? Evans dances all around the basic socioeconomic characteristic of the lord-follower tie that held the warband together, but he never names it and so never quite gets it. And why *comitatus*? Why not simply warband? Does Evans see this as Tacitus's *comitatus*, distinguishable

from other sorts of warbands? If so, he needs to explain how a Germanic institution is also found among the British. And since the unique details that distinguish the Germanic *comitatus* from warbands around the world were probably a Tacitean literary invention, some explanation and defense of these details is needed as well. These problems prevent Evans from adding much to our knowledge of Dark Age warbands and mar an otherwise useful introduction to the topic.

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MARINA SMYTH. *Understanding the Universe in Seventh-Century Ireland*. (Studies in Celtic History, number 15.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 1996. Pp. 341. \$70.00.

Seventh-century Ireland had no scientific texts or compendia of general knowledge, not even Isidore's *De natura rerum* or his larger encyclopedia. Only biblical commentaries, Roman poets and grammars, and a writer's model book were available. Yet, two authors wrote comprehensive surveys of the physical universe that reveal an unexpected amount of interest in the physical world for its own sake.

As Marina Smyth describes them, *De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae* (654–655) and *De ordine creaturarum* (post-675) offered a simple but orderly universe “consistent with the Christian faith, which speaks of a provident God who ‘established all things by measure and number and weight’ (Wisdom 11.21).” It included the classical theory of four elements (earth, water, air, fire) striving to reach their natural places (gravity). Ancient speculations about the regular behavior of stars and planets were lacking, but a 532-year cycle of Easter dates was thought to reflect the actual behavior of Sun and Moon. It seems that the Easter tables provided data series that were useful enough for describing a close correlation of lunar phases and tides, perhaps also implying observation of these phenomena.

According to Smyth, the very paucity of classical scientific knowledge freed Irish scholars to entertain new thoughts. From St. Augustine's idea of *rationales seminales* (those hidden seeds that define the nature of things and how they grow), writers pursued a curiosity about the properties of material things. God “seems to be creating a new nature when he brings forth from the hidden recesses of a particular nature that which had hitherto been concealed within it” (p. 45). Concerning the elements and the animate or inanimate things made from them: there are “gradual changes occurring all around us” (p. 291), but “there can never be mutations from one nature to another” (p. 301). Mirabilia reported in the Holy Scriptures were considered to have happened within a greater schema of physical reality which is perfectly and absolutely regular. A wide range of Irish writings from this period seem to take the same attitude, so that the author can

say: "Irish Christianity was a faith in which the material world was welcome" (p. 307).

If I may raise one question about this excellent study, it concerns an *idée fixe* about the Earth being flat for early Christians. Smyth acknowledges that some Irish authors refer to the Earth as *sphaera*, others say *globus*, and several use *ovo* (egg) as simile; *testa ovi* for the *mundus* (cosmos or universe) and *vitellus ovi* for the Earth (egg shell and yolk). Because classical arguments about the Earth's shape are lacking, she supposes that ovoid images mean that the Irish are uncomfortable with *sphaera* as applied to the Earth. Smyth also offers another writer's suggestion that *globus* meant "mass," not "roundness," concluding that the Irish probably believed the Earth to be flat, even if none of them said so. In Latin, however, a thing that has thickness called *globus* cannot be flat. Whether or not an egg is perfectly round or bulges, all the Irish were comfortable with three-dimensional images of the Earth.

Raymond Beazley, H. F. Tozer, and many others asserted that early Christians rejected the scientific cosmology of pagan Greek philosophers and therefore must have believed that the Earth was flat. Antagonism by Christians toward science was a major project of nineteenth-century enlightenment. Even though she does not share their assumption in that regard, Smyth cites Beazley and Tozer as authorities for the misdemeanors of early Christians. She may not realize that "flat earth" is also a modern notion, used especially by Americans to bolster their national pride with fiction about the past. Without evidence or logic, both Christian/Greek "antagonism" and "flat earth" live on in some minds, and Augustine was right to say that reason alone can lead anywhere it will. But there is no cause to introduce the "flat earth" into seventh-century Ireland.

With this exception, Smyth has offered an important and well-written book about the simple but sensible cosmology of early Irish scholars who were interested in the physical universe for its own sake.

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IVAN G. MARCUS. *Rituals of Childhood: Jewish Acculturation in Medieval Europe*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 191. \$25.00.

Ivan G. Marcus's fine study joins a growing movement in Jewish studies, both medieval and late ancient: namely, a renewed attention to the Christian context within which Jewish culture in general and religion in particular developed during those two contiguous periods. It should be emphasized that, in the late nineteenth century and in the early years of the twentieth, this aspect of Jewish historical and cultural research was commonplace; there is hardly an issue of the great *Wissenschaft des Judentums* journals that does not have articles on patristic literature, *a fortiori* on the Christian Scriptures as an integral part of the study of

Jewish history. For reasons that I would not even guess at, however, such research fell largely into desuetude in the last half-century. Marcus is one of the early swallows in a spring that includes work by the Israeli medievalist Israel Yuval and such scholars as David Biale, Galit Hasan-Rokem, and Amnon Raz-Krokotzkin. All pay close regard to the fact that, for most of its life, rabbinic Judaism has been produced within the cultural matrix of the church: initially the embattled but growing pre-Constantinian church but, since the fourth century, the church as the predominant religious and cultural institution of Europe. Into this new (or rather, renewed) discursive world comes the work of Marcus.

One version of this research paradigm investigates narratives that Jews and Christians share and modify in their interactions with each other. Marcus's work enters into the tradition of analysis of what he refers to as "social polemics," which he defines as the ways that Jews and Christians in Latin Christendom "celebrated their religious cultures in public ceremonies which the members of the other saw and which helped shape their own way of making sense of the world" (p. 2). In his introduction, Marcus thematizes this difference in approaches, suggesting that the study of ritual provides access to "the mentality shared by the rabbinic elites and other Jewish men, women, and children" (p. 4). This implicates the study of narrative in an elitist form of research that studies "Jewish culture," "male, rabbinic, and written," as opposed to ritual research that seeks to understand "the Jews as a culture." The distinction is, however, somewhat misleading, since it implies that narrative belongs exclusively, or even primarily, to the realm of the elite, written rabbinic culture, whereas the work of such scholars as Eli Yassif and Hasan-Rokem has more than demonstrated that the opposite is true. Jewish narrative is a complex production of the circulation and recirculation of oral materials into and from the written texts and, as such, is as much a product of and producer of and witness to the Jews as a culture as is ritual. Moreover, shared and exchanged narratives seem less ineluctably to lead to polemic, even tacit "social polemic," than do the "public ceremonies," in which, perhaps, cultural subgroups reinforced their separate identities. This is not to criticize Marcus's approach but only to suggest a catholicity or spectrum of approaches and materials in the richer description of cultural interaction between Jews and Christians, both in late antiquity and in the Middle Ages.

Marcus proposes that the notion of "acculturation" has to be historicized, dividing between modern "outward" acculturation, in which the borders of Jewish and non-Jewish identities are blurred, and premodern "inner" acculturation, which results in "internalizing and transforming various genres, motifs, terms, institutions, or rituals of the majority culture in a polemical, parodic, or neutralized manner" (p. 12). Although the distinction by and large makes sense, it seems, once more, too starkly to eliminate possibilities for

other forms of shared cultural creativity than reactive appropriation. Rather than two cultures interacting, I would prefer to speak of a single complex cultural system or interculture. But this is, finally, only a quibble, if a not insignificant one; the book is magnificent, richly detailed, and well argued throughout.

As promised in the title, Marcus's main focus is the study of the particular rituals through which a Jewish male child entered into the world of Torah study. This choice is particularly felicitous in that it deconstructs the very opposition of the high and the low or the rabbinic and the popular, for this most quintessential of people's life cycle rituals is precisely about the practices of the rabbinic elite. Marcus demonstrates beyond serious doubt the complex interactions of Jewish with Christian ritual practices in the production of this rite. I can do no better in summing up its thesis than to quote Marcus himself: "Though prompted by a shift in Jewish culture, the ritual was articulated in the 'grammar of perception' of contemporary Jewish-Christian cultural polemics. The symbolic act of ingesting sanctified bread (the honey cake), itself a symbol for the Torah, is a response to the eucharistic devotion: the ways the teacher and child are portrayed make sense especially in light of the imagery of the Christ Child and the Madonna; and the idea that the father who brings his son to school offers him as a sacrifice competes with the contemporary image of the Christ Child in the eucharist as a sacrifice" (pp. 16–17). In my opinion, the *pièce de résistance* of the argument is the powerful articulation between the ritualized sacrifice of Jewish children by their parents during the Crusades; developments in Eucharistic piety in the twelfth century, in which the Eucharist was imagined as the sacrificed Christ Child; the so-called blood libel against Jews for sacrificing Christian children; and the spiritualized ritualization of the entry of the Jewish boy into Torah learning as a type of pure redemptive sacrifice, replacing actual death (much as Christian ascetic "white martyrdom" replaced "red martyrdom" in the fourth century) (pp. 100–101). The book instructs both in material and in method and is highly recommended for all medieval historians as well as anyone interested in the processes of cultural interaction.

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GUGLIELMO CAVALLO, editor. *The Byzantines*. Translated by THOMAS DUNLAP, TERESA LAVENDER FAGAN, and CHARLES LAMBERT. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1997. Pp. 293. Cloth \$48.00, paper \$19.95.

This is one of those rare books that both amateur and specialist can read with profit. First published in Italian in 1992, it is the work of an international team of scholars who have contributed essays on ten different groups of Byzantines. The classification is one that the Byzantines themselves would have recognized,

arranged in what they would have considered a roughly ascending order of status: the poor, peasants, soldiers, teachers, women, entrepreneurs, bishops, functionaries; emperors, and saints. Unlike some modern readers, the Byzantines would not have cared that these categories overlap in such types as poor peasants, female saints, or military functionaries: the roughness of the classification reflects Byzantine society, which lacked systematic organization. Some may object that the contributors also follow the Byzantines' tendency to minimize the changes that occurred between the fourth century and the fifteenth, but this is a problem with any short topical survey, and most contributors recognize it. They almost always avoid the more serious anachronism of making the Byzantines seem more modern than they were.

Editor Guglielmo Cavallo deserves credit for this classification scheme and also for a generally inspired choice of contributors representing French, German, British, American, Greek, and Russian scholarship. To write an introduction for such disparate material without resorting to bland truisms must have been hard; the result is perhaps the weakest part of the book, making some dubious generalizations (for example, "No one felt safe, and the most common emotion must have been insecurity" [p. 10]). The processes of editing and translation also allowed a few errors to creep in.

Evelyn Patlagean's opening essay on the poor notes the stresses the empire underwent as its population grew before 550, then declined, grew again from the ninth century, and declined again after the Black Death. In general, she finds that poverty—and certainly urban overcrowding and malnutrition—waxed and waned along with the population. The late Alexander Kazhdan's treatment of the peasantry is a treasury of data on Byzantine agriculture based on a lifetime of mining recalcitrant sources. Nonetheless, as he frankly admits, "The Byzantine peasant remains much more enigmatic than the Byzantine *basileus* or the Constantinopolitan intellectual" (p. 73).

Unlike the other contributors, Peter Schreiner restricts his essay on military men to the sixth through twelfth centuries and appears to make a serious mistake. I know of no basis for his statement that "In principle we can assume that compulsory military service existed for the rural population, at least until the eleventh century" (p. 80). The evidence seems clear that, in principle, service was voluntary in the sixth century and hereditary thereafter, and that there was no general "draft" of the sort that Schreiner postulates (p. 81).

In an essay on teachers, the late Robert Browning provides many compelling details and casts Byzantine teaching in a more favorable light than is customary, suggesting that "without the contributions of Greek teachers, Renaissance philosophy would never have broken loose from the straitjacket of scholasticism" (p. 115). Alice-Mary Talbot's essay on women makes the most of the limited evidence; her error that Michael VI married his predecessor Theodora (p. 141) is a minor

one. Nicolas Oikonomides's essay on entrepreneurs is a welcome corrective to the idea that the Byzantines lacked the entrepreneurial spirit, despite the commanding role that Italian merchants came to have in the empire's external trade.

Vera von Falkenhausen's essay on bishops gives a generally sympathetic picture of the problems the latter faced in their relations with domineering emperors on the one hand and independent-minded monks on the other. (On p. 193, the impossible birth date of "ca. 825" given for George of Amastris seems to be an editing error for his death date.) André Guillou's essay on functionaries does justice to the complexity of the subject, but he sometimes mixes evidence from different periods a bit too freely, as when Psellus in the eleventh century and Procopius in the sixth century are treated almost as contemporaries (pp. 223–24).

Michael McCormick's treatment of the large subject of emperors is concise but vivid. Most stimulating, perhaps, is Cyril Mango's final essay on saints, which sharply distinguishes the image of the saint from its historical original—when there was one. Mango's argument that "The historian cannot simply accept what he reads in the text if he wishes to establish what the saint actually did" (p. 266) raises a point that many students of Byzantine hagiography have ignored. Uncritical acceptance of hagiographers' claims for their heroes is a major reason for the recent exaggeration of the role of the "holy man" in society.

Naturally, such a wide-ranging book includes some controversial statements. I for one would disagree that the Comneni were aristocratic reactionaries (pp. 10, 34), that cavalry formed most of the army after the sixth century (p. 53), that Iconoclasm never had anything to do with military revolts (p. 90), that the purchase of offices (and not merely of titles) was the rule in the eleventh century (p. 200), that the patriarch and bishops routinely swore an oath of loyalty to the emperor (p. 204), that barely three percent of those castrated survived (p. 220), or that Justinian II, although admittedly no saint, was "a monster of iniquity and cruelty" (p. 262). But such points can be argued and may be considered differences of interpretation rather than mistakes.

Overall, this is an interesting and useful collection. Some well-chosen illustrations would have made it even more so.

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GILES CONSTABLE. *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xx, 411. \$64.95.

This is a book of extraordinary erudition, the fruit of a lifetime devoted to the study of medieval religious life. An exemplar of all the strengths of traditional scholarship on the Middle Ages, it is also revolutionary. Giles Constable defines the twelfth century as a water-

shed in Western religious history. The rapid changes of this era, he argues, produced new sensibilities that characterize Christian spirituality in the modern era: the reformers of the twelfth century "built new and inner bridges based upon a direct dependence on God, a devotion to the human Christ, and a lively sense of the degradation of the human condition and of the possibilities of redemption through reform" (p. 326). Although medievalists have long acknowledged this century as a site of innovation and rebirth, their emphases have been on socioeconomic changes and developments in elite culture (for example, the revival of Roman law and new interest in classical antiquity). Constable accomplishes an important breakthrough in understanding the religious changes of this period by shifting attention away from the polemical battles of both the investiture contest and the reform of monastic life and emphasizing instead the spiritual commonalities that united religious reformers in twelfth-century Europe.

He does this through "thick description." There are chapters on the new variety in forms of religious life that emerged in the twelfth century, the circumstances fueling reform and practical means chosen for accomplishing it, the "rhetoric" of reform, and the internal organization of reformed institutions and their relations with the world around them. These chapters may appear deceptively simple in their descriptive character—and they are admirably accessible, making this a book to be enjoyed by students and non-specialists as well as medievalists—but they constitute more than a mere summary of what we know of religious life in the twelfth century. Each chapter develops themes that Constable weaves together in the penultimate chapter on "The Spirituality of Reform": he emphasizes "flexibility and tolerance for new ventures and ideas" (p. 6), a new primacy of individual religious needs and a personal relationship with Christ, and a new focus on inner virtues combined with work in the world. The final chapter relates this spirituality to other changes in the twelfth century, and this is where the novelty and importance of Constable's characterization of religious life becomes clear. He conceives of this reformation as largely a response to the rapid social changes of the eleventh and twelfth centuries—the development of towns and trade, the emergence of new social groups, the more visible presence of poverty on the urban landscape and growing sense of social dislocation—that had "created an ever-widening gap" between the institutions of the medieval church and many believers (p. 301). The new spiritual values of the reform bridged this gap, but not without losses. These were suffered mainly by monastic institutions. Although they survived the challenges of the reform movement, monasteries lost their preeminent status in Christian society as new visions of religious life emerged.

In this evaluation, the author's deep empathy and admiration for the monastic life is manifest. Herein lies both the greatest strength and weakness of this

book. Constable's insight into monastic thought and his ability to elucidate its most humane qualities are unparalleled. He vividly evokes the intense longings and passionate beliefs that moved men and women to abandon the world for a life of disciplined renunciation and spiritual struggle. Only a lifetime of scholarly preoccupation with monastic texts could yield this rich portrait. But this preoccupation with monasticism occludes other highly significant religious traditions in Constable's account. In his own assessment, the author emphasizes the importance of the new diversity of religious orders and ways of life, identifying as most novel the hospitals, military orders, and institutions of lay brothers and sisters (*conversi/ae*). After a brief initial treatment of these new religious groups, however, they disappear from Constable's narrative: his portrayal of the spirituality of the reformation of the twelfth century is based almost exclusively on monastic texts, with some reference to works by regular canons. The bibliography also does not reflect much of the interesting work already accomplished on these new interpretations of the Christian life.

But Constable has provided an interpretive framework that will both foster research on the religious mentalities of this period and channel debate on their meaning and significance. I hope that Cambridge University Press will issue an affordable paperback edition of this important work so that it reaches the wide audience it deserves.

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THOMAS H. BESTUL. *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society*. (Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1996. Pp. viii, 264. \$39.95.

This important book explores Latin texts narrating Christ's Passion. Discussing these texts as "popular," Thomas H. Bestul emphasizes audience fluidity and asserts a dynamic model of reciprocity within Latin/vernacular discourses. He attributes the rampant textual instability and authorial misattribution in this genre to creative literary acts that oppose ideals of strict canon formation, even interpreting the sometimes wild elaboration of Gospel accounts as challenges to the hegemony of scholastic biblical interpretation. Bestul opts for both diachronic and synchronic approaches, and, although he contrasts cultural materialism and poststructuralist and deconstructive criticism, he fruitfully draws insight from both.

Chapter one is a literary history of the genre, complemented by the appendix "Preliminary Catalogue of Medieval Passion Narratives." After discussing sources of the narratives, Bestul creates a chronological survey of the genre highlighting major affinities and concluding with brief sections on Latin devotional poetry and vernacular treatises. The genre's ramifying branches defy easy categorization, and Bestul's delin-

eation of this literature's development constitutes a major achievement.

The next three chapters examine major issues of representation. Turning to the portrayal of Jews, Bestul asserts that the anti-Judaism of these texts is crucial to understanding how they reflected and actively supported the growing hostility toward Jews. For example, Bestul describes Ekbert of Schönau, author of a popular Passion narrative and an anti-Jewish tract, as preoccupied with the physical defilement of Jesus by Judas's kiss or by Jews spitting on him. Such pollution concerns are interpreted within larger cultural dynamics of rigidly defined social groups that especially define Jews as a menacing group threatening to overturn the right order of Christian domination. This chapter offers a sobering analysis that supports Bestul's claim about the violent force of devotional texts in late medieval culture.

Next, Bestul examines portrayals of the Virgin Mary and their implications for gender. He affirms the possibility of heterogeneous responses among medieval audiences, even as he concludes that the portrayal of female speech/silence, passivity, and suffering in these texts reassures the predominantly male audience of the containment of female power and emotion. These conclusions are particularly interesting given Bestul's contextualization of the texts within a culture where women visionaries and saints often claimed an extraordinary intimacy with Christ that relativized male clerical authority. Yet Bestul's equation of extreme emotion with irrationality, his dichotomy between meaning and emotion, and his assertion of speech as a universal requirement of human power—perspectives neither obviously operative in these texts nor explicit in his theoretical framework—are assumptions open to challenge. Also, could the fact that many Passion narratives were written for women nuance the analysis of representations of women? And, if the "real" audience for these texts was primarily the male clergy, how does the feminized textual audience (addressed in apostrophes like *O vos filie Ierusalem*) shape male subjectivity?

The final chapter analyzes representations of Christ's tortured body. Most Passion narratives minutely delineate the physicality of Jesus's suffering. Bestul locates this literary development not simply within the rising devotion to Christ's humanity but also within the increasing practice of judicial torture that accompanied the revival of Roman law. He asserts that Passion narratives "legitimated the violence of unspeakable acts by developing an imaginative register about the pain and torture that came to be taken for granted as a natural and inevitable part of reality" (p. 155). Although earlier Bestul argues forcefully that these texts created scorn for the torturers (i.e., the Jews), he also suggests that the torture of social outcasts created a context for appreciating the magnitude of Christ's suffering.

Despite his focus on devotional literature, Bestul does not directly address devotion itself. He asserts

that devotional texts are, like all texts, the products of social processes. Of course, this is so, but one is left to wonder whether devotion as cultural practice is relevant for understanding the surprising qualities attributed to these texts, such as their relative freedom from the authoritative associations of their Latinity, their tendency to be read in ways that contravene their authors' intentions, and their susceptibility to alteration and reattribution.

Finally, this book deserves a conclusion. This is not a request for a unifying statement flattening the complexities into coherence but a plea for further reflection on the interplay among these disparate themes. Given Bestul's sophisticated analysis, I would have welcomed the insights that a conclusion might elicit. Nonetheless, the book is a major contribution: its erudite command of a sprawling body of literature undergirds its rich insights and provocative claims.

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BRUCE L. VENARDE. *Women's Monasticism and Medieval Society: Nunneries in France and England, 890–1215*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1997. Pp. xix, 243. \$42.50.

The centerpiece of Bruce L. Venarde's book is a database described at length in Appendix A, with a handlist of 850 women's monastic foundations between 400 and 1350. It covers the dioceses of England and most of modern France, centering on southern England and northwestern France, particularly houses subject to Fontevraud. The list includes the names and dates for foundings, closings, restorations, and other information gleaned from charters, with the best available printed source constituting a useful reference for any research in the subject. The word "monasticism" in the title should be taken seriously. The database can only accommodate monastic communities large enough, wealthy enough, and stable enough to leave a paper trail. Small communal arrangements that rarely left a record are recognized but could not be incorporated into a book heavily based on statistical analysis.

Venarde has followed other recent historians in mining economic records, which reflect the behavior of secular supporters, and these have disclosed that female foundations grew most rapidly in times and places where women were able to take the initiative. Thus, he documents a modest rise from the tenth century reaching a crescendo in the twelfth and shrinking in the thirteenth century, although foundations remain at a high level compared to the tenth-century nadir. As women in the twelfth century gradually lost control of their own fortunes and found their family situations weakening through adjustments in the marriage and inheritance laws, their ability to endow new foundations also declined. On this point, some of the conclusions might bear a more searching analysis.

Venarde tends to perpetuate the bias of the sources in crediting secular men with the patronage of women's communities. He does not take account of the trend to make men the actors of record in the assignment of their wives' fortunes.

I do not think that anyone would dispute the claim (p. 91) that the collection of difficulties called the *Frauenfrage* began in the twelfth century. Venarde insists on the traditional framing of the question as a problem of too many women rather than as a problem of too few opportunities for women commensurate with those that opened for men (and encouraged them to celibacy or late marriage). I agree unconditionally that the history of women religious must be treated on its own terms, not as an adjunct to men's experience, but lack of comparison obscures inherent gender problems. The failure of women's houses to ensure a steady flow and increase of endowments, for example, demands comparison with male success. Only when it is clear that women received far more modest endowments, poorer properties, or income rather than income-producing donations tied to a family strategy of supporting relatives can their economic activities be adequately assessed. Only when the success of the developing orders is highlighted can we understand the significance of women's exclusion.

Venarde has a tendency to see mysteries and controversies where they do not exist. He distorts studies that were originally pointed in a different direction to justify a contention that previous scholars have seen a setback for female monasticism in the twelfth century. I am at a loss to name the "historians of women and religious life" who depict the twelfth century as a period of retrenchment followed by expansion in the thirteenth. Certainly the imposition of clerical celibacy and a heightened emphasis on sacramental spirituality created restraints on women's religious activity. But no one has seriously challenged Jacques de Vitry's narrative outline dramatically incorporating women into the reform enthusiasm of the twelfth century followed by attempts at their exclusion in the thirteenth. Venarde's interpretation of women's exclusion from the new orders as proof of their autonomy and creativity is an original one. The prevailing opinion is that women were at a severe disadvantage in relationship to the equally skyrocketing male foundations precisely because they were forced to remain "institutionally independent of the contemporaneous movements with which church historians are usually concerned" (p. 54). Despite his enthusiasm for female agency, however, Venarde uncritically accepts the idea that women's foundations were inspired by the energies of men (preachers or bishops) rather than women looking for official sanction.

The major weakness in this book is its lack of historical context, which could easily have been supplied from the growing historiography on twelfth-century women. Despite its conceptual weaknesses, I recommend it for its splendid documentation: both the

database and the anecdotal material gleaned from the charters.

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IAIN MACLEOD HIGGINS, *Writing East: The "Travels" of Sir John Mandeville*. (The Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1997. Pp. ix, 335. \$49.95.

This very carefully prepared and entertaining book exemplifies reader-response criticism. Iain Macleod Higgins details a skilled contemporary reader's responses to the *Travels* of the probably fictive John Mandeville and also deals with the responses to the French original (ca. 1356) of successive medieval copyists and translators both anonymous and known, like Michel Velser and Otto von Diemerigen. For Higgins, each rewriting or "overwriting" produced a new Mandeville just as good or bad as the original.

These collective overwritings of Mandeville's "multi-text" are "intertextual" (p. 12) "dialogic response[s] to previous and contemporary writings about the East" (p. 11) offered by a variety of different sensibilities. Higgins is less interested in the vexed question of Mandeville's borrowings from actual traveler narratives like those of Odoric of Pordenone and William of Boldensele (he skirts the plagiarism issue by seeing the *Travels* as a traditional medieval *compilatio*) than he is in the Mandeville author's own "representation of the multiple East." The *compilatio* technique shows the author's "at once bold and conservative attempt to fashion a single, more or less coherent textual and geographical world out of the diverse works" (p. 51) of his predecessors, a claim argued more forcefully in chapter three. Although there are few discoveries about either Mandeville's identity or the textual history of his book here, what we do have is a response to the *Travels* by one who has obviously read and compared their many versions and variants, offering us an extremely detailed discussion of the various overwritings and their historical results. For Higgins, the *Travels* are a "new kind of work that attempts to entertain, instruct, persuade, chastise, challenge, and console its imagined audience by providing" a fuller and more "theologically correct" (p. 13) picture of the world than that of Marco Polo.

Behind his critical approach is the assumption that "no text is ever simply given; it is always construed and constructed in the act of reading" (p. 16), a belief grounded on Bernard Cerquiglini's notion that "medieval writing does not produce variants; it is variance" (p. viii). Thus, Higgins is interested not only in what the Mandeville author actually wrote but also in the work's different versions, which omitted or interpolated material (for example, the story of Ogier the Dane) or rearranged it for heightened rhetorical effectiveness.

This book can best be described as an extended

commentary on the *Travels*, which pauses along the journey to provide detailed analysis of certain key sections. Chapter one offers a general history of the book and its putative author, recent critical responses, and in brief compass the "stemma" of the text, its variants, and translations. Chapter two considers the book's prologue (which Higgins places in the *accessus ad auctorem* tradition) with special attention to its rhetorical strategies as crusade propaganda—as a knight, Mandeville is bound to defend Christendom and expand its scope—and as an exploration of "the earthly place of Christianity [and] the extent of Latin Christendom" (p. 33). Indeed, the Mandeville author spends so much time on doctrinal matters and creedal differences because his "audience is defined as a religious community" (p. 42). This chapter also studies how the variants offer us different Mandevilles. Chapter three treats the Mandeville author's stop in Constantinople as a first stage on a pilgrimage route and shows that the *Travels* differ from more orthodox pilgrimage how-to books of the period by, among other things, adding the fascinating series of alphabets at the ends of sections describing different countries. Chapter four shows how the *Travels* rework William of Boldensele's material on Egypt, suppressing the original's animosity toward Saracens by seeking to humanize them through the narrator's encounter with the Sultan. Chapters five and six treat the borrowings from Odoric in the portions dealing with India, China, the Tartary of the Great Khan (an exploration of earthly power), the beliefs of Caucasian Christians, the threat of Jewish escape from the walls of the land of Gog and Magog, and, finally, the Land of Prester John. Chapter seven considers Mandeville's "generous embrace of pagan piety" (p. 205) and his journey through the Vale Perilous as both an example of his ability to spin a tall yet compelling tale and an illustration of his personal piety before the one God who rules all men. The book's final chapter considers the *Travels'* coda: Mandeville, old and gouty, impelled to write by a Liègeois physician and getting his book validated by the pope in a personal audience.

Higgins's view of the *Travels'* purpose as "instructing, chastising, challenging, and consoling [the] projected Christian audience" (p. 267) is genial and appealing. Anyone journeying through this book will find, despite a few stops where the analysis seems more than the episode can bear, that the voyage is a rewarding and thought-provoking one.

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COLIN RICHMOND, *The Paston Family in the Fifteenth Century: Fastolf's Will*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 276. \$59.95.

This is the second of what will be at least three books by Colin Richmond devoted to the history of the Pastons. The first, *The Paston Family in the Fifteenth Century: The First Phase*, appeared in 1990. Both works

are welcome and valuable additions to the impressive corpus of recent scholarship on the late medieval English gentry and county elites, including Simon Payling's *Political Society in Lancastrian England: The Greater Gentry of Nottinghamshire* (1991) and Christine Carpenter's *Locality and Polity: A Study of Warwickshire Landed Society 1401–1499* (1992).

Richmond departs from the general characteristics of such works, however, in two fundamental ways. First, he is exclusively, almost obsessively, concerned with a single family over time rather than a regional or shire collectivity of families of similar status. Second, he is studying what is the best-known and most familiar family in all of medieval English history. Although letter collections of other families, notably the Stonors and Celys, have survived and are now receiving critical attention, the Pastons have no near rivals. The family records are unmatched for quantity and have long been widely available to scholars, both in James Gairdner's edition (*The Paston Letters*, rev. ed., 4 vols. [1910]) and in the more recent and accurate edition by Norman Davis (*Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, 2 vols. [1971–1976]). In terms of perception and general accessibility, the personalities and basic lineaments of the Paston family story have reached, and influenced, a wide audience ever since the appearance of Henry S. Bennett's classic *The Pastons and Their England* (1922). But there is no doubt that Richmond has mastered the material as no other scholar before him and thoroughly eclipses Bennett on every score.

The present book focuses on a single, extended, and complex watershed in Paston family fortunes: the disposition of Sir John Fastolf's will after his death in 1459, and in particular title to the centerpiece of his estate, Caister Castle. Thus Richmond addresses the question of Paston typicality much more sparingly than he did in his earlier work, and then largely to assert it as a given. For example, in introducing a discussion of various memoranda prepared by William Paston for his nephew Sir John Paston II in 1466–1467, Richmond writes that they show “how exacting the life of a gentleman, his councilors, his relatives, and his friends might be, if his family's desire for social advance was paramount, which it was in well nigh every case. The Pastons are not in that regard exceptional” (p. 180).

That much granted, it is otherwise the particularities, indeed the idiosyncrasies, of Paston entourage maneuvering and manipulation that fill Richmond's pages. Caister was, in the event, the only significant property the Pastons got, and the story of the gap between its intended use and its final recovery in 1476 is the core of the book. Fastolf had desired Caister to become a chantry college. Richmond has marshaled all the available, often daunting, evidence and subjected it to exhaustive examination. He is thus able to recount, in minute and persuasive detail, the tortuous but ultimately unsuccessful efforts to fund the chantry in the 1460s and 1470s and, through those, the more general dynamics of the Pastons' outlook and behav-

ior, especially as prompted or conditioned by the actions of the upper nobility. William Worcester, Fastolf's friend and agent and author of the *Book of Noblesse*, figured prominently with both John I and John II in the project and drily dubbed it an “infynyte processe” (p. 216). Protracted and frustrating stories of this sort abounded in every medieval generation. What give special flavor and value to this one are the immediacy and depth that the Pastons' own personalities and voices, preserved in their letters, bring to it. It takes the historian, and one of great patience and dedication, to contextualize and explicate those voices for our contemporary understanding. In Richmond—despite a tendency toward occasional patches of overwriting—the Pastons clearly have their modern historian, and it is to be hoped that his next book on them will not be long in appearing.

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MODERN EUROPE

INGEBORG CLEVE. *Geschmack, Kunst und Konsum: Kulturpolitik als Wirtschaftspolitik in Frankreich und Württemberg (1805–1845)*. (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 111.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1996. Pp. 455. DM 68.

The subject of this richly documented study is the fusion of artistic taste, modes of production, and trends of consumption that occurred in the first half of the nineteenth century, first in France and then in Württemberg and other European states, and was encapsulated in the slogan: “*Geschmacksbildung als Gewerbeförderung*” (cultivation of taste as promotion of industry). Ingeborg Cleve shows how this fusion was promoted by artistic and industrial exhibitions, museums, journals, public instruction, new techniques for reproducing and circulating artistic masterpieces, and by the activities and writings of such influential enthusiasts as John Bowring, Matthew Boulton, and George Cumberland in England; Charles Dupin, Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy, and Toussaint Bernard Éméric-David in France; and Johann Joachim Winckelmann, Gottlob Heinrich Rapp, Johann Friedrich Freiherr von Cotta, and a host of other artists, scholars, educators, politicians, and entrepreneurs in Germany. Their message was that art can and should act as a catalyst to transform industrial products into objects of consumption and, in the process, give form and expression to the national character.

Museums, notably the Louvre, played a central role in this process, Cleve argues. For it was museums that first emphasized the close connection between the carefully controlled public display of works of art, the formation of canons of taste, and the generation of national consciousness. More than any other single institution of the period, museums promoted an economy of spiritual goods analogous to the material economy, fostering a standard of taste that united

intellect and feeling, the ideal and the actual, fantasy and reality, past and present, theory and practice, production and consumption, and a new, aestheticized sense of national and social solidarity. This model, inspired in part by romanticism and Saint-Simonism, first took hold in France, where the Louvre and other museums, generously supported by the state, served to propagate the values of the French Revolution. But it was quickly accepted and adapted to local conditions in Württemberg and elsewhere and was eventually used against France and England.

The bulk of the book deals with the adaptation of the French model in Württemberg, especially in its capital, Stuttgart. To explain this development, Cleve proceeds more as a cultural sociologist than a conventional historian. That is, she seeks to discover the rules that in every society underlie cultural models in relation to their material context, organize them into a system, and bring this system into an intelligible relationship with the dominant structure and modes of production. Thus, she organizes her material under such headings as the contours of a provincial capital; the aestheticization of the modern mode of perception; the relationship between artists, craftsmen, and the industrialization of art; modern taste as both a motor and an obstacle to technological development in Württemberg; and the transformation by industry of the cultural functions of museums. Cleve shows how the symbiotic relationship between traditional "high" culture and economic policy was possible in the first half of the nineteenth century, and its profound effect on virtually every aspect of public and private life, remnants of which survive to the present. It left its mark on everything from architecture and urban planning to the production and marketing of luxury goods, clothing, furniture, interior decoration, books and journals, food, beverages, and tobacco products. Public taste for these goods was shaped and enhanced by their display of now readily recognizable images of Greek and Roman, Gothic, and Renaissance artistic objects. But Cleve also reveals the inherent fragility of this symbiosis and its subversion by the spread of heavy industry, class conflict, and the rise of new, anti-traditional, functional, and naturalistic aesthetic trends after mid-century.

This book is a theoretically and historically informed study of a fascinating, if now almost forgotten, phase in the development of modern culture and consciousness. The idea of artistic taste as a formative force on industrial production, consumption, and social integration, which proved so fruitful in the first half of the nineteenth century, now seems, as Cleve correctly observes, obsolete and almost incomprehensible. At the same time, as she shows, the acceptance of the visual arts as the standard of taste, and of the museum as the aesthetic arbiter of works of art and industrial products, was a necessary precondition for the progress of industrialization and the rise of modern consumer society. One of the many virtues of her erudite book—and the kind of innovative cultural

history it exemplifies—is that it thematizes the relationship between cultural ideals and their social and economic appropriation, which cultural historians of any period should find rewarding.

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PAUL GRIFFITHS, ADAM FOX, and STEVE HINDLE, editors. *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England*. (Themes in Focus.) New York: St. Martin's. 1996. Pp. vii, 331. \$45.00.

Those who despair at disciplinary centrifugalism can take heart: social historians are joining new historicists in seeking to complicate our understanding of order. Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox, and Steve Hindle, editors of this admirable collection of essays on the negotiated processes of social peace in early modern England, proclaim that "governors and elites" were unable "merely to enforce their wills by coercion" (p. 2) and that authority was diffuse, mediated, and ambiguous. Francis Bacon would have agreed, for he defined political control as "authority, assent, reputation, opinion." For Bacon, "authority" was a two-way street. The traffic flow was, predictably, observed by William Shakespeare, who in "King Lear" had Goneril deride Lear for abdicating his "authorities" even as Kent descried something he called "authority" in the face of the now powerless king. And in his bleakest moment, Lear himself provided the supreme challenge to the hegemonic vision when he held out the farmer's dog barking at the beggar as "the great image of authority."

Other poets, too, have seen through what W. H. Auden in our century called "the lie of Authority." The complicity of the ruled in their own subordination has long been apparent, and few would any longer maintain that for half or more of the population law and order was simply a matter of external imposition. Indeed, in recent years the pendulum has swung the other way, and scholars of various stripes, preoccupied with community and consensus, have implied not just the internalization by the majority of the values of the elite but an organic world of self-constraint and willing deference. It is with the consensualists as much as with the contenders for coercion that the contributors to the present volume are concerned as they restore the ordinary people of the past to joint-authorship of the historical narratives they lived.

Keith Wrightson opens the collection with a thoughtful and schematic outline of the common themes. In neither home nor neighborhood were the lines of authority clearly articulated: whatever the theory (which, we may suspect, was fudged enough), practice demanded constant negotiation and mutual concession. The bonds of local custom were no more immanent than those of patriarchy and were everywhere modified, contended for, reshaped and reasserted. Affectivity, of course, mitigated fathers' rule (Griffiths shows not a few poor parents in Norwich reluctant to give up their children to service), but the

experience of those in the toils of patriarchy has largely been lost to view. Contributors here point in different directions. On the one hand, J. A. Sharpe's skillful exposure of the intergenerational dimension in cases of demonic possession suggests stresses that young victims eagerly released in their ravings. But, on the other, Bernard Capp's recovery of the networks of women—neighbors and “gossips”—and the informal (and sometimes physical) power these might wield points to considerable flexibility in family and society.

Participation rather than exclusion is a watchword throughout, from Andy Wood's demonstration of the sophisticated use of customary law in the mining regions—prime centers of socio-economic change and, we might think, of proletarianization—to Hindle's account of popular use of the mechanisms of the law in his study of the practise of binding over. Christopher Hill's contention that law was imposed from outside to coerce the poor in the name of property looks pretty shaky. Yet there is a narrative frame to this volume congruent enough with Hill's grand claims. Wrightson argues, as he has elsewhere, that under pressure of socio-economic change and political and religious reform, the seventeenth-century social lexicon became steadily more class-oriented and exclusive. Martin Ingram questions such assumptions of an early seventeenth-century watershed when he convincingly demonstrates the huge chronological range of the campaigns for moral reformation. Nevertheless, we may still see that watershed in the inexorable triumph of written evidence over memory and unwritten custom in local disputes—the subject of Fox's essay—and in Griffiths's account of the denunciations of masterless youth, especially young women, in a Jacobean Norwich beset by immigration and by pressures on employment. In the end, it is E. P. Thompson's vision rather than Hill's that this volume acknowledges. John Rule's final essay, on employment disputes in the eighteenth century, underscores the practical importance of craft identity, reinforced by apprenticeship, in the often stormy transition from relationships of master and man to waged labor: the commodification as well as the formalization of authority underlay the plebeian culture of “independence” and protest that Thompson celebrated. And, as Wrightson observes, the roots of that bifurcation lay in the earlier period, among the truculent young people of Norwich and the sturdy free miners of Derbyshire.

These essays make a central contribution to the debates on order and rule, and on social and familial relations, in early modern England. All of them will be required reading. But only with Sharpe's study of possessed youths do we approach “the experience of authority” promised in the title and sounded as a refrain throughout: the rest of the volume bears more on such themes as the construction of authority and the deployment of power. It is probably no coincidence that Sharpe's essay alone draws heavily on what we might call “literary” sources, the narratives of possession (and even Sharpe, oblivious to scribal publication,

spoils the effect by according truth-telling power to manuscript sources). However concerned the contributors are to refute the thesis of authority as imposition, they overwhelmingly use legal sources; although these may yield evidence of popular participation in the law, it remains doubtful whether they can be made to disclose the nature of experience. For that, we might think instead of Lady Ann Clifford's chronicles of her struggles with her husband; of the difficult traffic of Andrew Marvell, that poet of liminalities, with father figures and patrons; or of the outpourings of Nehemiah Wallington, awkward in his dealings with potential apprentices, achieving closer access to God the moment his father died. This may seem hard counsel for those wanting to explore ordinary lives; but when authority is such a landscape of the imagination, and experience a map of subjectivity, interdisciplinary approaches are imperative. This book is a collection of the first importance, provided we remember that to understand the experience of authority we have to go beyond the techniques of social history.

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IAN GREEN. *The Christian's ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England c. 1530–1740*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 767. \$125.00.

Ian Green's massive study, well annotated and printed in relatively small type, is 570 pages long, with two appendixes. The first appendix of 175 pages is entitled “Catechisms and Catechetical Material Produced, Used or Recommended for Use in England c.1530–1740”; this aims at being comprehensive, but it will probably be added to since the definition of catechetical material is wide. The second appendix of six pages lists the samples of catechisms Green has used in chapters seven through twelve.

Part one—five chapters—is devoted to the medium and analyzes the nature of catechizing, reports the emergence of the English catechetical tradition, and contrasts catechizing in theory and practice in church, in school, and in the home. It also indicates changes in catechetical techniques.

Part two deals with the message by analyzing successively fifty-eight influential catechisms. It concentrates on major contents of catechisms, including the Apostles' Creed, predestination, assurance, justification, the covenant of grace, the ten commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion.

Among the most important contributions is the recognition of the major values that catechisms provided, which Green lists as five: the basis of religious knowledge essential for salvation, the providing of a deeper understanding of the Scriptures, an elucidation of what takes place during church services, the framing of a profession of faith, and meaningful participation in the Lord's Supper. They also enabled church mem-

bers to distinguish true doctrine from false, to promote Christian virtue, and to dissuade from evil.

Green has attacked a vast topic in this book, complicated by the existence of new catechisms and new translations published in England between 1530 and 1740. They varied in form and had doctrinal differences, although Green claims that the differences between Anglican and Puritan catechisms have been exaggerated (p. 168). Green also points out that many students catechized may not have passed much beyond "petty schools" or "charity schools" and that no girls were ever admitted to the universities. He demonstrates that a pyramid existed with a wide base for children aged from four to ten or eleven, a smaller group using the forms of Calvin and Nowell in the classical languages, and at the top an even smaller group of university students using the larger catechisms of Mayer or Ball and the works of Orsinus or Hammond (p. 203).

In dealing with the message, Green points out that catechisms differed in their interpretation of one statement in the Apostles' Creed, namely the assertion that Christ descended into Hell. Some affirmed this as literal fact and others as figurative and metaphorical (p. 316). There were also important differences between the predestinarians and the non-predestinarians (pp. 345–53). This issue is discussed fully in chapter eight. It divided those who believed that God had foreordained the non-elect to hell as contrasted with those who asserted that God would know in advance that they would damn themselves by their sins and permitted this to happen. Green points out that this issue raises the additional questions of the freedom of the human will and whether grace is resistible or not. A correlative issue was: if God has foreordained some to salvation, irrespective of faith foreseen, and reprobated or passed by the rest, how can an individual determine whether he is one of the elect or not? Thus the issues of assurance and perseverance become very important.

My single major disagreement with Green is that he underplays the dangers in the thought of Anglicans like Bishop Jeremy Taylor and Archbishop Thomas Tillotson. In their criticism of Orthodox Calvinism as leading to antinomianism, they tend to overstress good works as a factor in salvation.

Finally, however, one is bound to be impressed by the massive detail in Green's analyses of the great variety of Protestant catechisms and the immense number of them that he has included in his study. Furthermore, this is the fullest account that has appeared of English catechisms in two centuries of history. It is a remarkable achievement for one who is an admirable historian but not a theologian. Green has illuminated a very important religious subject.

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THOMAS M. McCOOG. *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England 1541–1588: "Our Way of Pro-*

ceeding?" (Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, number 60.) New York: E. J. Brill. 1996. Pp. xii, 316.

FRANCIS EDWARDS. *Robert Persons: The Biography of an Elizabethan Jesuit 1546–1610*. (Original Studies Composed in English, series 3, number 10.) Saint Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources. 1996. Pp. xviii, 411. Cloth \$42.95, paper \$32.95.

Nothing illuminates the cruel dilemmas of the English Counter Reformation more clearly than the life of Robert Persons. He died an exemplary death, in the odor of sanctity, deeply respected by those who knew him well, having spent almost the whole of his active career in political intrigue and in-fighting, which had made him one of the most controversial and detested figures of his generation. As Francis Edwards points out (with some regret), biographies have to be written from surviving evidence, and the vast majority of the letters, memoranda, and treatises that make up the evidence for Persons's life relate to his politics rather than to his spirituality. It is only at the very end that the balance can in some measure be corrected. Persons's problems lay partly in the nature of the institutions to which he devoted his life and partly in the ideological mindset of the period. In one rather important respect, consequently, this painstaking biography is misleading. Edwards uses the word "toleration" to describe the status of German Lutherans after 1555 and French Huguenots after 1598, claiming that a similar toleration was the real objective of the English Jesuits and the papacy. This is, however, an anachronistic view. What the German and French Protestants enjoyed was a recognized legal status. Within the empire, German princes could lawfully chose to be either Catholic or Lutheran; within France, the Huguenots enjoyed control in certain defined areas and carefully delimited privileges elsewhere. Neither of these churches, nor the Catholic Church, was bound to tolerate dissent within its area of control, and given the unity of the English state, it is hard to see how a comparable situation could have been created. What Persons sought (and in this was a true agent of successive popes) was the overthrow of a heretical government and its replacement with a Catholic one. The strengthening of the Catholic Church within England was a means to that end, not an end in itself. Only when it became apparent even to the most sanguine that the Anglican establishment was too strong to be either subverted or intimidated from abroad did Persons concentrate on the lesser objective of mitigating the persecution and giving the recusant community a long-term minority future.

In some respects, therefore, the sub-plot of this biography is as significant as the main story. The English government was extraordinarily effective in countermining its ideological enemies. Spies and double agents thrived like maggots in the steamy atmosphere of intrigue. Persons was both dedicated and astute, but time and again he was diverted and

thwarted by hatreds and rivalries stirred up within his own regiment, partly by agents of the English crown. Often he hardly knew who he could trust, except such Spaniards and Italians as were not amenable to English manipulation, but reliance on them (and their money) ran him headlong into the "treason trap" that all Catholics struggled in vain to avoid after the Papal Bull of 1570. Unlike some of his masters, Persons never countenanced political assassination, and his integrity in the service of his cause becomes clear as the story unfolds. Less clear, except by reading between the lines, is the integrity of the *regnum Cecilianum* that so constantly thwarted him. Edwards, in spite of his conscientious efforts to be objective, tends to represent the Cecils as concerned mainly to keep themselves in power. There is no suggestion that religious consciences were deeply committed on both sides, or that the persecution of Catholics by Protestants had been preceded by the persecution of Protestants by Catholics. That is the nature of the tragedy, however. Neither side could, or would, admit the genuineness of the other's convictions, and battles that were really about theology had to be fought in a political arena, using political weapons. Persons enjoyed considerable success in laying the foundations of the English Catholic community over the succeeding two hundred years, but on the political battlefield he was constrained to choose: his enemies were too numerous, too powerful, and too clever.

Thomas M. McCoog's work has a wider focus and a rather different objective, but it covers a good deal of the same ground. Ending effectively with the defeat of the Armada, McCoog looks only at the earlier part of Persons's career and makes him only one player among many. Both authors, however, are equally concerned with the central problem of the English mission. How could men whose instructions (and often whose own consciences) forbade them to meddle in secular politics serve a church that regarded heresy as political subversion and that aimed to restore the true faith to England by the forcible overthrow of its government? At first, the government of Elizabeth had been remarkably indulgent toward the old faith, and Catholics had confined themselves to religious polemic. Each hoped that the other would go away. When it appeared that that was not going to happen, the pope declared war on the queen, and her council began to persecute. The persecution increased in severity as the political threat was perceived to escalate. By the early 1580s, when it had become clear that Persons and William Allen were enthusiastically supporting a Spanish attack on England, William Cecil and Francis Walsingham had every justification for regarding Catholic activists as traitors. In fact, the Persons/Allen approach, although in accordance with papal policy, severely troubled Claudio Acquaviva, the Jesuit General, and created deep divisions among English Catholics themselves. As Reginald Pole had realized as early as 1554, too close an association between Spain and the *Ecclesia Anglicana* did the

latter no favors at all. When the crunch came in 1588, most English recusants were willing, indeed eager, to fight alongside their fellow countrymen. Whether different tactics would have produced a different result remains an open question. On the other hand, without the English mission, the old faith might well have withered away. Without the political dimension, a *modus vivendi* might have been reached much sooner and with far less suffering. On the other hand, it was precisely the toughness of the Catholic minority that eventually commanded respect. The equally political missions to Scotland and Ireland enjoyed contrasting fortunes. Attempts to secure the adherence of James VI, far more realistic than similar ambitions for Elizabeth, eventually failed, and the association of the old faith with rebellion undermined the former, as happened in England. In Ireland, by contrast, although the process had not made much progress by 1588, the increasingly oppressive nature of English government gave the Catholic Church precisely the political platform it needed, and over the following decades, the Irish population rallied to the church as it never had before.

McCoog balances his priorities carefully and produces a perceptive and scholarly study of the interactions between the Society of Jesus, the crown of Spain, the papacy, and the Catholics of the British Isles. As in the case of Edwards's biography, the government of Elizabethan England is little more than a backdrop. It is hard to see how this could have been avoided, given that one book is the biography of a prominent Jesuit and the other a study of a particular aspect of the Society's activity, but the result in each case is somewhat two-dimensional, rather like a boxer fighting a cardboard cutout. Each work is thoroughly researched and written with a conscious effort at objectivity, but each is primarily concerned with the inwardness of the Society of Jesus and does less than justice to its opponents. This can produce some odd results, as when a scholar who is familiar with every nook and cranny of the Archives of the British Province of the Society of Jesus (ABSI) describes the work of Garrett Mattingly on the Spanish Armada as "definitive" (McCoog, p. 251).

We are indebted to Edwards and McCoog for advancing our knowledge of the Catholic missions between 1570 and 1610, but perhaps we now need another study of the English Protestant strategy of containment.

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BLAIR WORDEN. *The Sound of Virtue: Philip Sidney's Arcadia and Elizabethan Politics*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1996. Pp. xxv, 406. \$50.00.

No one who has read much scholarship on Philip Sidney will be surprised to learn that the *Arcadia* is concerned with politics. But never has that concern been so thoroughly documented or so precisely defined

as it is in Blair Worden's new book. Focusing on the *Old Arcadia*, the version of his prose romance that Sidney wrote in 1579–1581, Worden argues that the book grew out of Sidney's fear that, by marrying the French Catholic prince, Francis, Duke of Anjou, Queen Elizabeth would undermine England's Protestant settlement and the Protestant cause throughout Europe. It was a fear Sidney shared with other "forward Protestants," as Worden calls them, both at home and abroad: such men as his uncle, the Earl of Leicester; his father, Sir Henry Sidney; his future father-in-law, Sir Francis Walsingham; his French humanist mentor, Hubert Languet; and his friends Fulke Greville, Edmund Spenser, and Philippe Duplessis-Mornay. And it was a fear that had already prompted Sidney to write, at considerable risk to himself and his political future, a letter to the queen arguing strongly against the marriage to which she seemed increasingly inclined. The political engagement of this letter is overt and unmistakable. With the *Arcadia*, things are not so clear. What could this pastoral romance, set in an imaginary ancient Greece and telling a story that features no difference of religion and no marriage of a reigning monarch, have to do with Elizabeth or Anjou?

Worden's answer stretches over nineteen chapters and more than 350 tightly printed pages and includes sections on Sidney's theory of poetry, the historical context, analogies between that context and the *Arcadia*, the political thought current among the forward Protestants, and the relation between love and politics. The result is a richly nuanced and largely convincing demonstration that the *Old Arcadia* is shot through with the ideas and, more particularly, with the language of the forward Protestants. Worden's attention to language, which may owe an unacknowledged debt to the example of J. G. A. Pocock and his many followers, is especially welcome. Among English writers of the late sixteenth century, Sidney is remarkable for the hard-edged precision of his vocabulary and for the extraordinary weight he put on a few, frequently repeated terms, among them the word *virtue* that gives Worden's book its title. Worden does an excellent job of identifying these terms and tracing their recurrence through Sidney's own writings and the writings of his fellow partisans. In this regard, Worden makes especially telling use of the Sidney-Languet correspondence, of John Stubb's sensational *Discovery of a Gaping Gulf* (1579), of Languet and Duplessis-Mornay's *Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos* (1579), of George Buchanan's *De Iure Regni* (1579), of Spenser's *Mother Hubbards Tale* (1591), and of Greville's so-called *Life of Sidney* (1612).

A few of the analogies Worden draws between the *Arcadia* and contemporary events are strained. I was quite unconvinced that the trial of Sidney's protagonists, the young princes Pyrocles and Musidorus, anticipates the much desired trial and conviction of Mary, Queen of Scots, or that the insufficient guard assigned the princesses Pamela and Philoclea is meant to chide Elizabeth for not guarding Mary more care-

fully. Analogies like these miss, as to some extent the book as a whole does, the distribution of interest and sympathy that defines the experience of Sidney's romance. Equally unpersuasive—and for much the same reason—is the notion that falling in love, as the young princes do, is a monitory example of the voluntary submission to tyranny. Though the language overlaps, the experience doesn't, at least not in the way Worden wants it to. But in recognizing Duke Basilius's cowardly withdrawal into pastoral retirement—the event that brings on the multiple catastrophes of Sidney's romance—as a type of Elizabeth's pusillanimous disinclination to support her co-religionists in the Netherlands, Germany, and France, Worden is on firmer ground, and he provides wholly convincing readings of the historical reverberations of Basilius's resistance to good counsel and of the turmoil that follows his apparent death. In addition, Worden's extended discussion of the beast fable that Sidney's fictional counterpart, Philisides, recites is the best yet on that important poem, especially on the teasing and much examined final couplet of its penultimate stanza: "And you, poor beasts, in patience bide your hell,/Or know your strengths, and then you shall do well," to which Worden devotes a whole chapter.

Here and elsewhere, Worden's book is as much about early modern political theory put to the test of urgent historical experience as it is about Sidney's pastoral fiction. As such, it speaks strongly to the interests of a wider range of readers than those who are professionally bound to know what's new on the *Old Arcadia*.

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DAVID DEAN. *Law-Making and Society in Late Elizabethan England: The Parliament of England, 1585–1601*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xv, 311. \$59.95.

As David Dean states, his book is a revisionist work. What is being revised is John Neale's *Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments, 1559–1601* (1953–1957). Neale's account featured the conjoint rise of an organized Puritan opposition, political party, the House of Commons' power in government, and the Commons as a bastion of English liberty. His was a vividly dramatic story. To counter that story, Geoffrey Elton posited a different interpretation—an interpretation that stressed cooperation between government and Parliament rather than opposition. According to Elton, the history of Elizabethan Parliaments was not a sentimentally engaging epic of battle over political principle. It was, instead, an analysis of what Parliament actually did. And what Parliament actually did was legislate. Accordingly, Dean's book is a presentation of the 597 bills presented to Elizabeth's Parliaments from 1584 to the end of her reign.

That Dean chooses to begin his analysis with the Parliament of 1584 reveals his book's relation to the historiography of its subject. Dean's book builds on Elton's *The Parliament of England, 1559–1581* (1986). As Elton devoted a considerable portion of his book to overt attack on Neale's depiction of Parliament, Dean need not repeat Elton's performance. Dean, instead, adjusts the Eltonian presentation to the later Elizabethan era. So, Dean adds to the Eltonian argument by presenting later Elizabethan disputes over parliamentary procedure not as controversies about constitutional structure or principle but instead as disagreements over how to get parliamentary business done. Similarly, Dean attributes the Commons' assumption of the role of initiator of the Continuance Act—the act passed near the close of every Parliament determining which of the acts scheduled by the previous Parliament to expire at the close of the present Parliament would instead be continued—to Parliament's adoption of a more efficient procedure. And yet, as Dean states—deviating here from Elton—parliamentary business was not innocent of politics. Nonetheless, this book—in contrast to Neale's—politics does not provide the integument of parliamentary activity.

Indeed, even the book's structure is an implicit criticism of Neale's interpretation. Following Elton, Dean uses the subject of legislation as the criterion for determining the organization of his book. There are chapters on supply, the crown, religion, economic and social matters, law reform, private legislation, and continuance acts, each subdivided into sections defined again by the subject of legislation. For example, the chapter on religion first analyzes all legislation proposing changes to the Book of Common Prayer in each of Elizabeth's later Parliaments and then similarly follows, through each Parliament, legislation proposing purification of the clergy. In contrast, the organization of Neale's book on the later Elizabethan Parliaments (Vol. II, *1584–1601* [1957]) demands that the bill on the Book of Common Prayer introduced to the Parliament of 1584–1585 be discussed in relation to proposals introduced at the same Parliament aimed at securing a more learned clergy, because the principle organizing Neale's book is chronology. Each of his chapters is devoted to a session of Parliament. Neale's presentation highlights the interaction that occurs at each meeting of Parliament: the interaction of MPs, government, and crown as each deals with legislative initiatives. As Dean's book indicates, however, legislative initiatives relevant to reform of the church, the crown and its powers, and, to a lesser extent, the grant of supply provoked much more interaction than other legislative initiatives. The structure of Dean's book enables him to examine, separately and discretely, each of these other legislative proposals, which comprised over four-fifths of the bills introduced to later Elizabethan Parliaments.

Dean's recovery of the legislative history of these bills is a triumphant display of venturesome research. The original journal for Elizabethan Parliaments

meeting after 1581 has been lost. Consequently, Dean had to explore archives rarely used in the analysis of central government, especially those of corporations, boroughs, and companies. His book presents the later Elizabethan Parliament as a major recipient of the era's proposals for establishing, defining, modifying, or replacing the realm's national and local institutions, customs, and practices. Its discussion of the legislative history of these proposals—other than that of the bills detailed by Neale—is extraordinarily thorough. Indeed, it is likely that this book will be used as the legislative equivalent of the History of Parliament Trust's volumes on the members of Elizabeth's House of Commons. Both provide fundamental information, information available only as a result of painstaking research in arcane sources.

The very success of Dean's book in demonstrating the range of legislative proposals and the variety of alterations that could befall them raises a question about the foundation of the revisionist history of Elizabeth's Parliaments. This book is a succession of tales of legislative proposals, some tales scarcely related to those they follow or precede. Clearly, the revisionists have ousted Neale's narrative. With what narrative will they replace it?

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PAUL CHRISTIANSON, *Discourse on History, Law, and Governance in the Public Career of John Selden, 1610–1635*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 451. \$65.00.

Paul Christianson is to be congratulated on providing us with a most thorough and readable life of John Selden, albeit his private life is almost totally left out, except where it is relevant to his public career. Selden was at the center of the constitutional debates raging in early and mid-seventeenth-century England. As Christianson puts it, “competing representations of the English constitution played a large role in the constitutional disputes of early Stuart England” (p. 4). This is about as far as Christianson is willing to go in declaring a cause for the mid-century revolution (or civil war).

The book divides Selden's career into three chronological units: 1610–1618, 1621–1629, and the 1630s. Each section (or chapter) is in turn devoted to a lengthy analysis of the major writings researched and published by Selden. In the end, the reader can see why Selden was a greater scholar than his contemporary, Sir Edward Coke, but one can also see why his influence on future generations has been less than Coke's. Selden has had a greater influence in the field of historical, legal, and constitutional scholarship, however. One of Selden's problems was that he was both broader and deeper in his learning and in his research than Coke. This resulted in a greater awareness of the continental European legal tradition, but it

also meant that he could see all sides of an issue, not just one, as Coke was inclined to do.

Selden's first major work was entitled *Jani Anglorum Facies Altera*, (1610) which argued that the English common law was a Janus figure: it had two sides or faces. For Selden, the Norman Conquest of 1066 was crucial. Scholars tend to see either continuity before and after 1066, or they see 1066 as a total break, but Selden saw both. He was convinced—in spite of his ability to see all sides to a problem, he was always convinced that whatever side he ultimately came down on was the right one—that the mixed monarchy that he advocated in the seventeenth century could be traced back to the Saxon kings. In spite of that continuity, however, he also was convinced that 1066 introduced feudalism into England and with it the contrast between lord and vassal that immediately (1070) led to the calling of the first “parliament.”

In this period of his work, Selden was, thus, able to assert the age-old precedents for the role of an active Parliament sharing power with the king. He also wrote his *History of Tithes* (1618), in which he concluded that all historical evidence, English and continental, proved that tithes were governmental, not divine, in practice. In this book, Selden clearly stated the importance of the government over the church and of the distinct nature of each national government. Because of his knowledge of the continent, he was convinced that England was unique.

Selden's parliamentary career was equally as important, at the time, as his writings. He was a major force behind the Petition of Right of 1628, although he lost the fight to make it a statute rather than a mere petition. All his learning was put to use as a politician and a legislator during these years. He was particularly influential in reviving the judicatory role of Parliament. The historic reality of a mixed monarchy made him aware that the weak link in the chain was Parliament, and he did his best to rectify the situation. All the while, he stressed precedent, not abstract theory or natural law. Selden was the quintessential English empiricist. In fighting to defend the accused in the Five Knights' case, he said that natural law theories “could not compel people to pay loans to the crown” (p. 113).

Christianson concludes with a long section on Selden's methodology and his views on law and the constitution in the 1630s. His *Titles of Honor* (1614) convinced him that monarchy had a firmer foundation than did a republic. By 1640, Selden was convinced that mixed monarchy now required the defense of the king, and his writings were the basis for Charles I's “Answer to the Nineteen Propositions” (1642). When the civil war broke out, however, Selden stayed with Parliament, but he also remained silent, his words being used by the king but not by his fellows in the Commons.

In the seventeenth-century struggle between the Taciteans and the Ciceronians, Selden was a Tacitean until the outbreak of the civil war. He then supported the king, from afar, on principle; Parliament now

became Tacitean and sought power for itself, regardless of historic principles. This is why, concludes Christianson, Selden was of no use to the Americans in 1776; Coke was.

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PHILIP HICKS. *Neoclassical History and English Culture: From Clarendon to Hume*. (Studies in Modern History.) New York: St. Martin's. 1996. Pp. viii, 289. \$59.95.

This is a learned, useful, yet also puzzling (and repetitive) book. Philip Hicks has evidently read every bit of historical writing about England composed or published between Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, and David Hume. The problem he poses, however, is a curious one: why was so much of it, Clarendon and Hume excepted, so bad? This is not exactly a straw man—mostly the work *was* bad—but what could induce someone to labor so hard on what must have seemed a pitiless task? It is like reading all the fiction appearing for ten years on the *New York Times* best-seller list and inquiring why so much of it is trash. Some might think it sufficient to answer that it just *is*: great novels do not happen every day because great novelists, like great historians, do not happen every day. An answer more congenial to Hicks's way of thinking, however, would be that, although the modern reading public demands the worst, great novels would come along if novelists would lift themselves out of the mire and, renouncing trash, write like Charles Dickens. To which some poor hack of a novelist might be excused for answering, well, I would if I could.

Hicks's answer to his question is that great history writing was impeded by party politics, the mass culture of the printing press, Christian controversy, and antiquarian erudition (p. 213). True, there were countless complaints in England and abroad about (the title of Hicks's first chapter) “the weakness in English historical writing.” But as Hicks himself points out, this “weakness” ran parallel to the failure of John Dryden and Alexander Pope to turn out an epic except in translation or in the harlequin dress of mock epic (and, he could have added, not only Dryden and Pope but everybody else, too, notwithstanding the epic pretensions of a poet like Sir Richard Blackmore). Poets did not write epics because they could not: theirs was no longer an epic world, just as it was no longer a world in which noble statesmen, retired from the political battleground, might serenely and dispassionately contemplate the story of their own times. That Clarendon in a measure succeeded was more an exception proving the rule than a model of what historians should have been able to do, given—well, given what? Their transcendent genius? Their standing in society? Their Thucydidean poise? All unlikely contradictions of social and cultural reality. Instead of lamenting “the weakness of English historiography,” Hicks might better have defined the almost-Thucydidean history of Clarendon,

the Livian history of Hume, and Edward Gibbon's great discovery that "decline and fall" was in its way an epic theme (just as Pope's *Dunciad* [1728] was in its way an epic mock epic) as victorious adaptations of the heroic (historiographical) past that managed to incorporate social-cultural-historical-historiographical realities of the present within the conventions of the past. After all, who has ever succeeded, really succeeded, in transcending his or her own time? How could anyone? Hicks's last sentence is about Clarendon: "He showed how classicism could triumph in the modern world" (p. 216). Here I think of Jorge Luis Borges's fable of "Pierre Menard, Author of the *Quixote*"; the same chapters of the same book, identical throughout but written and published centuries apart, are not the same at all. Borges's fable is the extreme, imaginative case. Less radically, but with equal truth, "classicism" in the modern world is something different from classicism in its own time. To be fair, Hicks usually calls the kind of history he likes neoclassical, as he does in his title, but he does not stop long to ponder what the "neo" may be doing to the classical. He notes that by addressing urban professionals and by gaining a readership of women, Hume diversified the traditional audience for history in the grand manner, and he is quite aware that "neoclassical history" was soon to become "firmly ensconced among the middling sort" (p. 215). But it is not clear that this pleases him much.

Impairing Hicks's project is more than a whiff of ideology. He does not just describe the state of English historiography, he takes on, as if by stealth, the mantle of (neo)classicism. His book, he concludes, provides "a social history of historiography that reveals both the high social credentials contemporaries expected, and, by contrast, the lowly status of many of those who actually did write history. Mere clergymen, journalists, and foreigners dared to desecrate the elite preserve of neoclassical historiography" (p. 214). Hicks edges his way into implicitly accepting this elite condescension toward "mere" clergymen, journalists, and foreigners ("mere" foreigners?) who "desecrated" the shrine of classical historiography. We can share his distaste for partisan excess without accepting the social implications that, in his account, seem to accompany great historical writing like a dark shadow.

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PETER WHITELEY. *Lord North: The Prime Minister Who Lost America*. Rio Grande, Ohio: Hambledon Press. 1996. Pp. xix, 275. £25.00.

Lord North had the misfortune to superintend British affairs when the War of American Independence erupted. His failure to craft a constitutional remedy that would answer the Americans' demand for self-rule while retaining some shadow of imperial governance has determined posterity's judgment of his prime ministry. Because this book takes its subtitle from that fact, it is useful to state immediately that the biography

is poorly named: to believe that Lord North was responsible for "losing" America is to credit one person with far more responsibility than any human being should fairly be asked to bear. Happily, the substance of the biography does not try to justify the subtitle.

In almost any role except that of wartime prime minister, Lord North might have been a political success. He was amiable and well regarded, speaking with clarity, forthrightness, and humor in the House of Commons. He loved his wife, he delighted in fatherhood, and he practiced piety. Only two considerations complicated this otherwise happy portrait. The first was financial: a poor caretaker of his own wealth, North found himself frequently obliged to seek cash from his father, who, unwilling to reward what he construed as profligacy in his son, was miserly in his responses. As a consequence, North struggled through his years in office with the burden of heavy debt. The second complication was temperamental: North disliked confrontation with men who disagreed with him and often lacked the moral courage to face them down. This failing, in turn, meant that he sometimes subordinated his judgment to his comfort, especially when the person whose views challenged his own was the king. But an eighteenth-century minister who dared not speak truth to his monarch was a man unsuited to his office.

On three of the major issues that all biographers of North explore, Whiteley has nothing new to say. The first concerns North's lengthy retention of an office that he often declared himself unfit for. Why, every biographer inquires, did not North just resign if he felt that the task was beyond him? Whiteley accepts the conventional explanation that North was so captive to duty that he submitted to moral blackmail from George III. The explanation is plausible, although Whiteley's effort to raise North's loyalty to the level of a high virtue is unconvincing. The second issue concerns North's decision to join forces with Charles James Fox in order to regain power in 1783. Why did a man who had spent years protesting his dislike of office ally with his great foe to reclaim ministerial rank? Whiteley again follows convention, seeing North as a man moved by a desire to restore stability to the kingdom. This explanation, too, is plausible, unless one is inclined to suspect that actions might be speaking louder than words. After all, there were two consistencies in North's public life: his professions that he was not suited for office, and his refusal to resign (or his eagerness to recover) office. Under these circumstances, it is fair to wonder why historians should consistently privilege his words over his behavior.

The third major issue on which Whiteley disappoints concerns North's thoughts about America. Did the prime minister have a practicable policy for the American colonies? On this matter, Whiteley is inconsistent. He states that it is to North's "credit" that he understood the principles of 1689 to be a protection for all

the king's subjects, "wherever they lived" (p. 92). He can thus commend North for refusing to "jettison a principle that was central to his political philosophy" (p. 153). But elsewhere, and variously, Whiteley calls this view a "flawed political philosophy" (p. 142); asserts that North's failure to try to induce the king to be moderate toward America is "irrelevant," because it could not have succeeded in any case (p. 175); and ascribes Britain's defeat in the war to "a strategic failure to identify clear objectives" (p. 162). Could Britain have retained America? From Whiteley's confused analysis, no clear answer emerges. The best that might be made of this array of statements is to say that North's heart tended toward a policy of conciliation while his mind recommended a policy of rigor.

Whiteley tells his story well, felicitously interweaving narrative line with interpretation and structure. But it is important to note that the political context for the tale is not up to date, deriving essentially from the work of Sir Lewis Namier. The bibliography reveals no acquaintance with crucial works by John Cannon and Frank O'Gorman, which leaves me to wonder: what is the purpose of a biography that can boast neither new sources, new interpretations, familiarity with current scholarship, nor recent inattention to its subject as its rationale?

REED BROWNING
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ALAN ARMSTRONG, editor. *The Economy of Kent 1640–1914*. (Kent History Project, number 3.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell, in association with the Kent County Council, U.K. 1995. Pp. xiv, 318. \$63.00.

This collection of essays edited by Alan Armstrong explores the evolution of the economy of Kent between the middle of the seventeenth century and World War I. The intention, as the introduction indicates, is to contribute toward a more balanced account of the British experience of industrialization. Traditional explanations, emphasizing heavy industry, have often overlooked the southern regions of the country. Like many other counties, Kent is a familiar and established administrative unit that contains a diversity of geographical forms, ranging from fertile agricultural land on the high Weald to unhealthy saltmarshes in some coastal areas. It has never been a self-contained unit, being impinged upon by London on its western fringes. Kent is also the main route to continental Europe, and, in consequence, transportation has played a major role in shaping the development of the county.

The book contains eight substantive chapters, each of which deals with a specific theme. The first chapter explores the demographic development of Kent, noting a diversity of economic activity and variations in the density of population in different parts of the county that were already established by the seventeenth century. Although the county was largely rural with many small communities, it did have three major

urban concentrations of population in Canterbury, Rochester, and Deptford. Population densities were also relatively high in the lowland agricultural districts around Maidstone or the Isle of Thanet. At the other extreme, the unhealthy Romney Marsh was frequented mostly by smugglers, seafarers, and others eking out a precarious and often illicit living. As in most other parts of Britain, population stagnation in Kent before 1700 gave way to substantial growth in the latter half of the eighteenth century; the population doubled between 1790 and 1830. Much of this growth was concentrated along the coastal ports of the Thames estuary. Both high birth rates and falling death rates contributed to the upward surge in population. Earlier marriage and the decline of infectious diseases were both prominent causes of this change.

In the course of the nineteenth century, Kent became more cosmopolitan, both gaining and losing inhabitants through migration. Mortality fell mainly in the later part of the nineteenth century as the threat of cholera declined and improved living conditions facilitated a reduction in infant mortality rates. These developments mirrored those experienced nationally. But in some respects, the experience of Kent was different, as in the absence of rural depopulation common in so many areas in the Victorian era. The population distribution did assume a new form, showing marked concentration into urban centers and a shift from the south and east to the north and west of the county that reflected the pull of London.

As a primarily agricultural county, Kent exhibited a wide variety of farming typologies and quality of land, ranging from the "garden of England" famous for its grain, fruit, and dairy cattle to heavily wooded landscapes that provided timber for shipbuilding and houses and marshlands devoted to sheep rearing. Hop gardens proliferated in the seventeenth century, principally around Canterbury and Sittingbourne, supplying one-third of the national output by the end of the century and taking advantage of proximity to the London breweries. Most hop gardens were small, under two acres, and often a part-time occupation for town dwellers. The growth of London in the eighteenth century provided a powerful stimulus for Kentish agriculture, while the Thames estuary provided an excellent and cheap mode of transportation for corn, hops, and fruit. Prosperity and expansion lasted until the close of the Napoleonic wars, followed by several decades of difficulty as inflated wartime prices fell without rents following and as imported wheat further depressed the market. Prices recovered in the middle of the nineteenth century, and the steady approach of the metropolis's suburbs brought rapid growth to market towns like Bromley. Potatoes for the urban population and oats for horse fodder introduced new demands, while the production of hops increased substantially. Relatively depressed conditions toward the close of the century brought some readjustments of production. Fruit for jam-making marked one growth sector. But Kent continued to suffer from falling prices

in the later decades of the century, although the decline in rents probably affected landlords more severely than their tenants.

Industry was well established in Kent in the mid-seventeenth century, most notably cloth manufacturing and iron production. As these industries fell into decline, those areas, such as the Medway towns, with greater proximity to the metropolitan market expanded. Light cloths introduced to Maidstone by migrants from the Low Countries brought new specializations, while commercial brewers exploited the local hop industry. Chatham also benefited from closeness to London as a suitable location for a naval base and dockyards. Chatham, Deptford, and Woolwich grew in the eighteenth century, as did the related munitions industry. These developments are consistent with interpretations that emphasize the importance of the state as an engine of economic growth through military expansion, especially in the eighteenth century. The prolonged Napoleonic wars provided a massive effective demand for the North Kent armaments industry. These specialist activities continued to flourish in the nineteenth century, industrialization being heavily concentrated along the ports of the northern coast. Explosives and gunmaking reinforced the military orientation of the manufacturing sector. The London housing market provided the other principal source of demand for industrial production in the form of bricks and cement. Outside the north and western fringes of the county, traditional industries linked to agriculture—such as brewing and flour milling—continued to dominate.

Kent's transportation links were long dominated by the three routes linking London with the coastal ports, especially Dover. The road links were already well established and heavily used by the seventeenth century. In 1830, the Canterbury to Whitstable railway introduced a new form of transportation, more extensive manifestations of which emerged from London later in the decade en route to the coast, following the usual major pathways to Dover, Folkestone, or Hastings. As elsewhere, the railway made its own impact on development. Ashford, hitherto a modest agricultural center, became an important railway workshop with repair facilities and later locomotive building. Railway competition provided the opportunity for the development of Folkestone's harbor facilities as a rival to Dover. Fierce and enduring competition between the South Eastern railway and the London, Chatham and Dover railway ensured an extensive network of lines and connections throughout the county.

The interlinked themes of manufacturing and transportation are further explored in a chapter on the sea, reflecting the long shipbuilding tradition of a county with an extensive seaboard. The growth of economic activity brought an increased volume of trade. A major beneficiary in the nineteenth century was Whitstable, prominent in both coastal and seaborne traffic. Legitimate trade was supplemented by smuggling, privateering in wartime, and fishing. Coastal locations offered a

further source of income in catering for holidaymakers, the attractions of Margate and other towns for sea bathing being known before 1750. Transportation and commercial facilities were expanded and diverted to encompass this new range of activities. By 1914, the seaside resort was established as a major part of Kent's economic structure. The growth of London created the dormitory suburb, transforming small towns and villages like Bromley and Bexleyheath. Further from the attraction of the metropolis, local centers established or reinforced their primacy. Dover, Canterbury, and Maidstone enjoyed such status, as reflected in the emergence of consumerism in growing shopping facilities and public amenities. Similarly, the labor force became more diversified, more skilled, and increasingly mobile as the process of industrialization and economic modernization advanced.

This is an interesting collection of essays linked by the theme of historical change that, together, provide a coherent exposition of the main developments shaping the Kent economy over two and a half centuries. The essays offer a timely reminder, as noted in the concluding summary, that the process of economic change does not conform to the clear and simplistic caricatures to which explanatory devices can often become reduced. In fact, all the forces of economic and social change that were manifest in the British economy in this period were effective in shaping Kent. They were, in turn, modified by the specific experience and unique characteristics of a diverse and ever-changing regional economy. This volume makes an important contribution to the literature of modern economic growth, not least as a corrective to sweeping generalizations and most certainly as a demonstration of the richness of the process of economic change.

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MATTHEW CRAGOE, *An Anglican Aristocracy: The Moral Economy of the Landed Estate in Carmarthenshire, 1832–1895*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 280. \$70.00.

In late nineteenth-century Wales, radical politicians engaged in a successful propaganda campaign to destroy the legitimacy of the ruling class. They portrayed the Anglican, English-speaking, Conservative aristocracy as a culturally alienated and oppressive oligarchy, heartlessly evicting tenants who voted contrary to their landlord's wishes. Much of the historiography of nineteenth-century Wales has accepted these stereotypes without question.

In his well-researched case study of Carmarthenshire, Matthew Cragoe rehabilitates the much-maligned Welsh aristocracy. In Carmarthenshire, he argues, landowners made a real and valuable contribution to Welsh society. As landowners, they encouraged agricultural improvement, with model farms, agricultural societies, demonstrations of ma-

chinery, pedigree rams and bulls for loaning out, drains, and rebuilt farmhouses and cottages. They willingly paid for education, church building, and charity for the poor, sat on numerous boards and committees, and promoted Welsh language and culture. As magistrates, their judgments were mostly fair. And as Members of Parliament (MPs), they represented local interests rather than national party goals.

This book focuses on the aristocracy's retention of political power until the 1870s, giving a detailed analysis of landownership, MPs, and election campaigns in Carmarthenshire. As elsewhere, elections before the 1860s retained much of eighteenth-century politics, with landowners building up their "interest" through paternalism, patronage, and pressure on tenants through face-to-face canvassing in a hierarchical and deferential community. Tenants on landed estates routinely voted Conservative and shunned anti-landlord agitation.

Cragoe argues that the reason they remained politically loyal was not fear of eviction but the moral economy of the Welsh landed estate. In a moral economy, other social values take precedence over profit. Here, both landlord and farmer saw land as a source of status and power, and their primary goal was to pass it on intact to the next generation. This identity of interest bound them together, embracing an alternative set of values and beliefs that superseded the demands of Nonconformist ministers. Accepting and empathizing with the farmers' priorities, landlords took on tenants with insufficient capital, refused to merge small farms into more profitable units, and gave rent rebates in hard times. Vacant farms were first offered to tenants' children or relatives. Their tenants were content to make a modest livelihood, inefficiently pursuing self-sufficiency and producing poor yields and inferior products that commanded low prices from middlemen. Lacking both the profit motive and capital, they refused to invest in any improvements that would increase rents. On most estates, concludes Cragoe, good feeling prevailed between landlord and tenants. Part of the social contract understood by both parties was the farmer's duty to vote as his landlord directed. Political evictions in Carmarthenshire were punishments expressing outrage at a betrayal of this contract, and efforts to counteract the considerable coercion of Nonconformist ministers.

The Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884, and the Secret Ballot Act, together with the rise of the Liberal Party, transformed politics into a party system with public meetings stressing national issues. Although the Liberals soon gained control of Carmarthenshire, forty percent of the electorate still voted Conservative. On the great estates, the tradition of deference continued.

But were great estates an exception to the rule? David Howell has argued that political loyalty in Wales was related to the family's rank, length of tenure, and possessions ("The Regions and Their Issues: Wales," in G. E. Mingay, ed., *The Victorian Countryside* [1981]). Although tenants were treated well on large estates,

lack of capital encouraged smaller landowners to exploit land hunger with higher rents. Men who bought estates under 1000 acres for profit and pleasure had little sense of *noblesse oblige*. Were their tenants the first to vote Liberal? Cragoe never investigates this issue. Nor does he explain why he breaks with the conventional minimum qualifications for gentry status—1000 acres and £1000 a year—to include any property over 500 acres and worth £500. A list of all those families he defines as gentry along with qualifying factors such as public office and inclusion in social directories would demonstrate the accuracy of this probably over-generous parameter.

By summarily rejecting social history as a matter of "social activities," "architecture," and "the cut of . . . clothes" (p. 1), Cragoe loses the opportunity not only to identify more accurately these lesser gentry but also to provide a full picture of the moral economy. The census returns, for instance, reveal the presence of home farms, tenants, and gamekeepers, and indicate whether farmers' children went into the landlord's service—one measure of a traditional relationship. Sport is significant, too: the hunt could bind farmer and landowner together, but poaching and complaints about crop destruction indicate alienation. Nor does Cragoe recognize the significance of gender. Women played a key role in cementing traditional ties of paternalism and deference. It was landowners' womenfolk who undertook the frequent face-to-face voluntary service of visiting the sick and needy, handing out blankets, coals, and soup, and supervising schools. Cragoe gives a few examples of ladies' good works but never explores their extent and impact.

In a broader context, Cragoe ignores historians' theories and debates on the nature and extent of paternalism, social control, and deference. How genuine was the tenant's political loyalty? Was it superficial, instrumental, and calculating, weighing up the benefits and risks of following the chapel or the landlord? Did other factors besides religion undermine traditional ties, such as improving education and transportation?

Cragoe's important study restores the aristocracy to their dominant place in nineteenth-century Welsh society, identifying the landed estate's own powerful system of values. He leaves it to social historians to complete the investigation of changing relationships on the Welsh landed estate and with its surrounding community.

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TRAVIS L. CROSBY. *The Two Mr. Gladstones: A Study in Psychology and History*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1997. Pp. x, 287. \$35.00.

Lives of the Grand Old Man abound, and insofar as it intends merely to be one more, this book is unfortunate in its timing. It appears simultaneously in this country with Roy Jenkins's *Gladstone* (1997), the

winner of the Whitbread Prize for biography and on every level a more compelling, more complete, and more compulsively readable book. But this is a brief life with a difference. Travis L. Crosby's purpose in writing it is to draw attention to a duality of disposition that other biographers have consistently noted but never fully explored. Borrowing his title from G. T. Garrat's life of 1936, he proposes, in short, that there were "two Mr. Gladstones," one a man of discipline, industry, and high seriousness of purpose, the other a man of impatience, vehemence, and near self-destructive distempers. None of this is news, exactly. Friends and relations were well aware of Gladstone's unbalanced nature, and recent biographers, Crosby concedes, have made no effort to conceal it. But nor have they (to his satisfaction) explained it or even fully described it. His is the first life to put Gladstone's dual temperament at the center of the story, the first fully to attempt "to see Gladstone as his contemporaries saw him and to penetrate the mysteries of his personality insofar as they affected his life and work" (p. 4).

It sounds like psychohistory, and indeed to know Gladstone psychologically, to attempt the first of psychological biographies is Crosby's stated purpose. Yet he wisely eschews the full-blown Freudian approach that has, he feels, plagued psychohistory in the past in favor of a less reductionist group of ideas called "stress and coping theory." This, as I understand it from Crosby, simply asserts that people experience stress in their lives, that they perceive it as impending harm, and that they manage it in various ways in order to restore a sense of coherence and balance to their lives. All very reasonable, theoretically modest, even obvious, one might say. Yet for Crosby, "such a flexible paradigm as stress and coping theory should make it possible to draw a connection between the private Gladstone and the public Gladstone." Only by resort to it, he asserts, "can the apparent inconsistencies in his life and work be explained" (p. 9).

Take, for instance, the famous case of the Maynooth grant in 1845. Conventional biographers have hardly known how to account for Gladstone's behavior here. His decision to resign from Peel's cabinet over the bill, only to support it in debate strikes Colin Matthew, for one, as perplexing, casuistic, idiosyncratic, and perverse. For Crosby, however, the episode is fully explicable in terms of stress management. Torn between his religious convictions and his political ambition, Gladstone "employed a coping mechanism that manifested both withdrawal (resigning from office) and engagement (supporting the bill)" (p. 44). Just how withdrawal and engagement work to relieve stress is not entirely clear; nor are the religious subtleties of Gladstone's own stated position. The emphasis throughout, rather, is on Gladstone's obsessive need for order and control. Thus his resignation from Palmerston's cabinet in 1855 had less to do with the Crimean War than his own psychological frustrations. The Midlothian Campaign was all about "personal dominance" (p. 156), Home Rule about "the need for a great cause"

(p. 212). Even in more mundane, budgetary matters—the attempted abolition of the paper duties in 1860, for instance—"Gladstone was impelled less by a moral force in pursuing his policy," Crosby argues, "than he was by his determination for psychological reasons to impose a sense of order on his immediate political environment" (p. 107). Never mind peace, retrenchment, and reform. Order, control, and psychic stability: these, for Crosby's Gladstone, were the ends in view, the controlling objectives of a rich and complex political and personal life.

In his final paragraph, worried that he may have emphasized the dysfunctional side of Gladstone to the exclusion of all else, Crosby reminds us that Gladstone was also a man of intellect and conviction, whose policies were grounded in sustained reading, reflection, and incomparable political experience" (p. 227). One wishes he had had that thought sooner, that Gladstone the neurotic had been juxtaposed throughout with Gladstone the high-minded liberal. Then we might really have had "the two Mr. Gladstones." In the end, we have but one, but a fuller version of that one than we have had before. Crosby proves conclusively and absolutely to anyone who may still doubt it that Gladstone was a man of great volatility and passion. Those who want to understand more of what he was passionate about may have to turn elsewhere.

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WILLIAM M. KUHN. *Democratic Royalism: The Transformation of the British Monarchy, 1861–1914*. (Studies in Modern History.) New York: St. Martin's. 1996. Pp. xii, 180. \$59.95.

As a central institution of British history for 1400 years, the monarchy has attracted scholarly attention in equal proportion to the fascination of the general population. Controversial royal marriages, for example, from Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine to Charles and Diana, have provided endless topics for research and speculation. The many transitions in the political, constitutional, and social circumstances of the royal family have only added to this enthusiasm. The monarchy's decline in political importance has not diminished interest in the royals, as any tabloid reader may attest.

William M. Kuhn has attempted to describe the transformation of the modern British monarchy by focusing on the period 1861–1914 and by proposing as an explanation what he calls democratic royalism. This phrase is defined as the conscious attempt to persuade an increasingly democratic polity that "monarchy was not opposed, but crucial to the success of an expanded democracy" (p. 12). The emphasis of the book is on the great public ceremonies such as thanksgivings, jubilees, and coronations that occurred at lengthy intervals in the period under consideration. These state occasions reinforced political unity in the guise of the monarch and emphasized particular values such as

duty and service. Individual chapters concentrate on the contribution to this process made by such disparate personalities as Walter Bagehot, William Gladstone, Lord Esher, Archbishop Davidson, and the fifteenth duke of Norfolk. The author has set himself a daunting task to accomplish his goals within this relatively slim volume.

In the final analysis, I believe that most scholars of modern British history will not find Kuhn's arguments persuasive. For example, he justifies the starting date of 1861 on the ground that the death of the Prince Consort marked a critical juncture in the evolution from a politically powerful monarchy to one that existed on the good will of public opinion. The transition from authority to influence in the role of the monarchy was hardly this neat, and thus the death of Albert is forced to carry more interpretive weight than it can bear.

In much the same fashion, Kuhn is forced to exaggerate the influence of republicanism in the early 1870s as a context for the importance of the public thanksgiving in which Queen Victoria took up her royal obligations anew after the long mourning for her husband. Precise estimates of the importance of the republican movement are impossible to achieve, but its demise depended on many factors, one of which is surely that it did not enjoy widespread support in the first place. Once again, Kuhn's argument seems sustained only by an emphasis on certain events at the expense of alternative explanations.

Kuhn devotes much of the introduction to a persistent attack on David Cannadine's "invented tradition" thesis about the modern monarchy. Despite his trenchant critique, however, I found that Kuhn's own description of mass public ceremonies tended to confirm Cannadine's thesis. A thin line, I believe, divides individuals who take ancient precedents and modernize them for political purposes from those who invent new traditions for political purposes. Both scholars may, in fact, have argued different sides of the same interpretation.

The worst blow to Kuhn may well be that this book has appeared immediately after the publication of Frank Prochaska's *Royal Bounty* (1995). The broader historical range, more complete examination of the monarchy's place in British society, and more discriminating arguments in Prochaska's volume make Kuhn's work suffer by comparison. By restricting the purview of his topic, Kuhn has also limited the value of his argument to other scholars.

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DIANNE SACHKO MACLEOD. *Art and the Victorian Middle Class: Money and the Making of Cultural Identity*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xx, 530. \$95.00.

In recent years, cultural history (not to be confused with that unhappy invention, cultural studies) has

ventured into fields previously slighted by our profession. Not that Dianne Sachko MacLeod's book has had no predecessors; David Robertson's fine study, *Sir Charles Eastlake and the Victorian Art World* (1978), and Janet Minihan's *The Nationalization of Culture* (1977) come quickly to mind. No one has studied British middle-class culture and the arts in the Victorian era so thoroughly and so comprehensively as MacLeod, however. Her research has been nothing less than massive, almost intimidating: in an invaluable appendix that takes up more than a hundred pages in this beautifully produced book, she offers a catalog of no fewer than 146 Victorian collectors, complete with capsule biography, nature of collection, taste and patterns of purchasing, and useful references. This labor will not have to be done again; it should become the standard source for reference in this field.

Although MacLeod's principal intention is to present, in perspicuous form, a mass of information about the nineteenth-century British art market, its makers, and its clients, her revisionist impulse gives her book much of its energy and much of its value. By quoting with full approval the Victorian essayist and art historian Anna Jameson, MacLeod has spelled out her own agenda. "Pictures are for use, for solace, for ornament, for parade," wrote Jameson in 1844, "as invested wealth, as an appendage of rank. Some people love pictures as they love friends; some, as they love music; some, as they love money" (p. 46).

This contemporary statement defies the usual line of attack on Victorian art-loving bourgeois, which has long been, first, that all major collectors were parvenus intent on impressing their acquaintances or, more venally, their clients, and, second, that whatever taste these nouveaux riches pretended to was borrowed from hired experts but bore no relation to their inner life. It turns out, as a few historians have been saying for some time but with far less authority than MacLeod has amassed, that this portrait is an ill-informed, often ill-intentioned caricature. The ghost of Lytton Strachey haunts us still. As Jameson already indicated in the early Victorian years and MacLeod documents to the hilt, complexity of motivation was the rule. Which predominated in this amalgam—genuinely good taste, social one-upmanship, the need to ingratiate oneself with one's betters—depended on when and where the middle-class collector was born and which were his family traditions (to be followed or rebelled against), to say nothing of individual qualities of character.

MacLeod also usefully demonstrates that some of the most unyielding among anti-Victorian prejudices that have informed—or, rather, misinformed—the educated public (including a good number of historians) in post-Victorian generations had their roots in the Victorian period. This is a salutary lesson in reading: it is all too tempting for the historian to take a cynical humorist like W. M. Thackeray at face value without exploring his points of view and limitations. According to Thackeray, MacLeod reminds us, middle-class art lovers fawned on artists, and, at the same time, were all

too fond of uttering inauthentic aesthetic maxims. Too critical a spirit to buy this lampoon as an authentic report from the front, MacLeod justly shows herself a little irritated at such a tainted source: "The tired cliché of the boorish Manchester patron crops up again and again in Victorian fiction" (p. 91). A partial, cautious, by no means intrusive Freudian approach to the collectors she discusses has aided MacLeod in getting beneath such glittering surfaces to the bedrock of inner conflicts.

MacLeod mixes a more positive suggestion with her penetrating critical interpretations: collecting art was, for many Victorian bourgeois, a way of establishing their identity in the British social structure, not so much for the sake of others as for their own mental well-being. It is a fruitful suggestion that she explores throughout this volume. In search of her definition of Victorian middle-class art lovers, however (and this is a small cavil), she takes refuge, especially in the introduction, in such modish locutions as "reconstruct" or "commodification," uses "critique" as a verb, and resorts to unreliable guides like Michel Foucault or Jean Baudrillard. And the definite article seems to have got lost ("Critic F. G. Stephens"). But these are flyspecks on an illuminating, highly attractive monograph that has importance beyond its immediate subject. It should continue to point the way toward a more just appraisal of the much-maligned Victorians.

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ROBERT FITZGERALD. *Rowntree and the Marketing Revolution, 1862-1969*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xix, 737. \$150.00.

Robert Fitzgerald's history of the international confectionery firm Rowntree is a conventional company history. It examines in great detail several areas of activity, such as managerial organization, entrepreneurship, and labor relations, in which industrial welfare played a key role. In addition, the book is presented as a major study in the history of marketing in economic development. To this end, Fitzgerald begins with a review of marketing principles and theory, identifying the market-orientated business as one where all departments and functions make consumer satisfaction their paramount consideration (p. 9).

Founded in the mid-nineteenth century, Rowntree remained a product-oriented organization until the 1930s. From its earliest years, the firm enjoyed a close understanding with its Quaker competitors, Cadbury and Fry (which merged in 1919), and, by the 1890s, collusive price agreements had become central to marketing strategy. Nonetheless, attitudes toward advertising differed sharply. Cadbury's aggressive stance was not matched by Joseph Rowntree and his son, Seebohm, who believed that advertising was not respectable for businessmen with Christian ideals of "fair trading"; quality alone should be sufficient to sell their

products. Rowntree's reliance on trial and error in product development also stood in stark contrast to Cadbury's adoption of new processes and its development of high-volume products, notably "Bourneville Cocoa" and "Dairy Milk Chocolate," which dominated industry sales after its introduction in 1905. A catalogue of failed initiatives and the inability to challenge Cadbury-Fry's leadership left Rowntree facing the threat of bankruptcy and loss of independence by 1931.

The subsequent dramatic recovery was largely master-minded by the innovative, if somewhat abrasive, George Harris. Attracted by the ability of Mars to penetrate the British market, Harris emulated its successful strategy of niche marketing. Aided by the new technique of market research and the flair of the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency, a stream of winning products such as Black Magic chocolates, Aero, KitKat, and Smarties were launched. By the outbreak of World War II—some twenty years ahead of other British firms—Rowntree had undergone a "marketing revolution" and recouped much of the ground lost to its old rivals. The postwar era brought further successes: Polo ("the Mint with the Hole") and After Eight Mints with their hint of luxury and sophistication. Despite determined efforts, however, the company was unable to diversify satisfactorily. The abolition of resale price maintenance in the 1960s intensified the increasingly fierce competition for market share and prompted, as in other sectors, a wave of mergers and rising levels of concentration. In May 1969 (hard on the heels of the Cadbury-Schweppes merger), Rowntree joined forces with Mackintosh, the Halifax toffee-maker. The events that marked the end of Rowntree as a British-owned company, although beyond the range of this study, are briefly told. The Swiss food giant, Nestlé, paid a high price to outflank the dawn raiders, Jacob-Suchard, and gain control of Rowntree's brands and global potential.

Fitzgerald expresses concern that many readers of company histories are "perplexed at their purpose beyond the telling of an interesting story" (p. 4). This well-researched and lucidly written volume (including an authoritative discussion of industrial welfare and labor policy), with a wealth of inter-firm comparisons, confirms their value. That most of us know a good deal more about Rowntree's powerful and enduring brands than about the company itself also demonstrates the central importance of marketing in business history. Fitzgerald's study provides a worthy insight into this much neglected topic. Given this focus, however, details about research and development and their role in product development and about investment in technical personnel are surprisingly sparse. Other aspects, notably the firm's financial history, receive little attention. Finally, having progressed very enjoyably (by p. 501) to the 1969 formation of Rowntree Mackintosh (unfortunately my Cambridge University Press binding was showing the strain), backtracking to multinational

developments between 1897 and 1969 (pp. 505–610) seemed a little daunting.

CHRISTINE CLARK
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DAVID ZIMMERMAN. *Top Secret Exchange: The Tizard Mission and the Scientific War*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press or Alan Sutton, Phoenix Mill, U.K. 1996. Pp. xii, 252. \$29.95.

The British Technical Mission was a group of scientists and officers with recent operational and technical experience sent to the United States in August 1940. It was headed by Sir Henry Tizard, a "second-rate experimental scientist" but a gifted scientific manager and administrator. The mission offered the still neutral but friendly United States invaluable combat-based information and, among other material things, a prototype cavity-magnetron. This device led to the rapid development and production of short-wave radar, which was to play a major role in the containment and defeat of the German submarine campaign against Allied shipping in the Atlantic. The great worth of the mission's various offerings impressed the American political, military, and scientific establishments, laying the foundations for broad and free transnational scientific exchanges that generated a host of new weapons.

The general significance of the British Technical Mission and the vital contributions of Tizard have long been recognized. Previous basic studies, however, are from thirty to fifty years old and are not based on a critical assessment of archival material. The present monograph by David Zimmerman is informed by comprehensive investigation of Canadian and British documents and substantial, although unfortunately and perhaps unavoidably less complete, consideration of the American record. In his acknowledgments, Zimmerman notes that "most of the individual army divisional and navy bureau records of the mission have been lost or destroyed" (p. xi) and deplores the poor conditions of the National Archives of the United States. Those conditions have since been greatly improved by the opening of large and modern facilities in College Park, Maryland. It should be noted, moreover, that the papers of the U.S. Navy's Bureau of Ordnance, which played a very important part in Anglo-American discussions about scientific cooperation and which were unavailable to Zimmerman, are now accessible (Record Group 74).

Zimmerman has nonetheless deployed original research and the conceptual techniques of several historical sub-specializations (military, diplomatic, and technology history) to good effect in order to produce an account that tells us a great deal that was not known about an intrinsically interesting and important subject. The first four chapters of his book deal with the long-term background of science and the military in the twentieth century and the specific short-term origins of the mission. The next four chapters describe the mission in operation in both the United States and

Canada. A final chapter and epilogue evaluate its immediate and further consequences.

Zimmerman's main analytical contributions are several. He provides a detailed examination of British attempts to obtain the American Norden bombsight, corrects inaccurate characterizations of Tizard (see especially p. 50), presents a revealing account of Winston Churchill's attitude and actions with respect to the mission, engages the difficult and complicated technical and legal issues that had to be addressed before Anglo-American scientific cooperation could begin in earnest, catalogues the technical benefits that resulted directly or—as in the case of nuclear bomb development—indirectly from the mission's work, argues plausibly (and apparently in opposition to others, for which see pp. 194, 230 n. 11) that the mission influenced American scientific mobilization in a number of positive ways, explains the reasons for the isolation of Canadian science with respect to the development of short-wave radar (a question raised by the author's previous monograph), and relates the mission and its work to the much larger question of the general relations between Britain and the United States.

Zimmerman's discussion of the contributions of important secondary and tertiary players such as Admiral John Godfrey, the Royal Navy's Director of Naval Intelligence, and Admiral H. G. Bowen, the director of the American Naval Research Laboratory, adds much to our knowledge of figures who have been the subject of well-known books—a biography by Patrick Beesley in the case of the former (*Very Special Admiral: The Life of Admiral J. H. Godfrey* [1980]) and an autobiography (*Ships, Machinery, and Mossbacks: The Autobiography of a Naval Engineer* [1954]) in the case of the latter. And Zimmerman includes an extract from Tizard's unpublished diary that establishes a remarkable link between the invention of sophisticated naval gunnery computers by the British inventor Arthur Hungerford Pollen just before World War I and the adamant opposition of the U.S. Navy's Bureau of Ordnance to cooperation with the British unless a well-founded lawsuit filed by Pollen's heirs and associates for patent infringements was dropped (Pollen's name seems to have been misspelled in the diary, which prevented Zimmerman from making the connection, but another name given in the text and material in the Bureau of Ordnance collection leave no doubt about the fact of its existence; see p. 114).

Zimmerman's sharply focused but nonetheless well-appointed monograph should thus serve specialists working on a number of different subjects as well as being the point-of-departure of choice for those interested in a state-of-the-art introduction to the question of Anglo-American scientific cooperation during World War II.

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JIM TOMLINSON. *Democratic Socialism and Economic Policy: The Attlee Years, 1945–1951*. (Cambridge Series in Modern Economic History, number 3.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xiv, 331. \$64.95.

Radical reconstruction of Britain's economic system did not spring forth from the Labour governments of 1945–1951, despite Labour's longstanding commitment to economic change. Jim Tomlinson's masterful work does not try to advocate alternative Labour policies. Rather, he examines the wide-ranging economic issues encountered by the Attlee governments, explores the various views of policy framers and policy makers, examines the interrelationship of different decisions, and assesses the impact of those policies on the British economy and the Labour governments. The work's great strength is its coherent investigation into almost all aspects of economic policy. Its basic weakness is its "interpretative overreach." Tomlinson intertwines his study of economic policy with two other issues: Britain's economic decline, in which he refutes Correlli Barnett's interpretation that Labour's welfare-state programs thwarted British economic development; and the correlation during the Attlee governments of Labour's traditional twin principles of ethics and efficiency, in which Tomlinson supports recent interpretations by Martin Francis, Steven Fielding, Nick Tiratsoo, and others that Labour in office seriously pursued social justice. Yet Tomlinson's work lacks an effective concluding chapter tying together these themes. Even so, this is a penetrating investigation into the Attlee governments' economic policy. Tomlinson is superbly equipped to undertake this study; he has authored or co-authored six other relevant books and numerous pertinent journal articles and essays in collaborative works. This book synthesizes his and other scholars' recent studies, although some chapters rely too heavily on his previous publications.

Tomlinson describes constraints on Labour's economic policy making within two broad categories. One grouping consists of four basic Labour assumptions concerning domestic politics: parliamentary sovereignty, consensual labor-capital-government tripartism, free collective bargaining, and the autonomous Morrisonian public corporation in the nationalized sector. The other grouping, briefly mentioned, consists of Labour's continuing emphasis on great-power status, which affected military expenditures, manpower policies, nuclear research, and other military-related research and development.

Tomlinson's topics range widely: international economic strategy, balance of payments, industrial modernization, nationalization, centralized planning, controls and Keynesianism, welfare-state economics, the financial system, employment policy (to include women workers), and the question of efficiency. Several themes permeate his coverage. Decisions were usually taken in response more to immediate issues than to long-term perspectives, although one critical

concept fundamentally colored most of Labour's decisions: that of preventing the return of high unemployment, which proved not to be a problem faced by these Labour governments. These Labour governments sought efficiency through development councils and other arrangements and within nationalized industries primarily through an economy of scale—yet immediate needs of expanded production and the private sector's hostility to governmental initiatives militated against efforts to rationalize factories and production procedures.

Labour's actions concerning Britain's role within the world economy and specifically its balance of payments problems are faulted by Tomlinson, who asserts that a social-democratic government should have gone beyond *short-term crisis management* to a fundamental reevaluation of the role of sterling in the postwar world. Nationalization is rated a general failure caused in part by Labour's confusion over diverse objectives mostly rooted in the 1930s concerns for full employment, improved labor-management relations, and improved efficiency based on an economy of scale and management by experts. "Planning" was to be Labour's panacea, but no agreement emerged as to what planning meant. James Meade and Robert Hall in the Economic Section of the Cabinet Office best articulated the position (termed "liberal-socialist") that in practice Labour generally pursued. This was a gradual move from physical controls into some Keynesian fiscal policies; Tomlinson painstakingly explains that those two approaches can be and were concurrent and complementary, and he warns that the shift to Keynesianism should not be overstressed. Despite the rhetoric of the early 1930s, the Labour governments did little in controlling capital or directing investment. Nationalizing the Bank of England was more symbolic than substantive, no national investment board was created, and private-sector firms mostly capitalized as before—internally by reinvesting profits. While fundamentally concerned about long-term full employment, one of Labour's immediate difficulties was a shortage of workers, for which governmental actions included formulating manpower budgets (primarily for controlled release of military personnel and civilian workers from military-related production), encouraging women to remain in the workplace (although the modest governmental actions had little impact), and through implementing some Development Areas ventures. Another approach was the wage policy, which Tomlinson concludes was abandoned not because of trade union opposition but due to Labour ministers' general reluctance to limit free collective bargaining.

While specialists in this field may find little new in this work, others will appreciate this fine, coherent, and concentrated exploration of Labour's democratic-socialistic pursuit, in thought and action, of economic policy during the Attlee years.

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JOSEPH BERGIN. *The Making of the French Episcopate, 1589–1661*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1996. Pp. ix, 761. \$50.00.

Wrapped in its sumptuous dust jacket reproducing a detail of Peter Paul Rubens's *Marie de Médicis* (1622–1625), this 761-page tome would seem, by its heft, to be the definitive account of the French episcopate from the accession of Henry IV through the regency of Anne of Austria. But Joseph Bergin has chosen his title with care. His subject is the *making* of the episcopate; that is, the social origins and formation of France's bishops and the institutional and political process by which they came to assume their positions. The first part of the book looks at the size and structure of France's 113 bishoprics, the administrative procedures governing episcopal appointments, episcopal revenues, and the pensions that were often established against these revenues for the benefit of individuals other than the incumbent bishop. Part two is a prosopographical investigation of the status, education, and pre-episcopal careers of the 351 men named to the episcopate between 1589 and 1661. Part three is a chronological account of the policies followed by successive rulers in appointing bishops. A 160-page biographical dictionary of the bishops concludes the volume.

Massive research in French and Vatican archives and the published memoirs and correspondence of churchmen and political leaders undergirds the book. Its chief findings are of fundamental importance for the history of both church and state in this critical period of Catholic reform and French state-building.

As Bergin shows, much of the initiative regarding episcopal appointments lay with those seeking the office. France's kings did not always know the names of all of their bishops and had a far hazier idea of the worth of the kingdom's bishoprics than did their counterparts in Spain or England. Their rights of appointment guaranteed them the final say in any episcopal nomination, but the importuning of potential bishops and their relatives, as well as the episcopal incumbents and their families, drove much of the process. The pope and his nuncio used their role in the approval process to urge that pastoral considerations not be forgotten.

Bishops came from a variety of backgrounds. If a majority were nobly born, fewer were of princely, high noble, or Italian origin than had been the case in the preceding century. Thirty percent were the sons of robe or financial officials; another thirty percent were the sons of royal governors, ambassadors, or military officers. One was a fisherman's son. Eighty-four percent had the university degree required by the Concordat of Bologna: after 1630, all but one did. The percentage of those whose degree was in theology rose from twenty-four percent at the beginning of the period to 41.5 percent at the end. Barely twelve percent of all bishops were members of religious

orders, a much smaller percentage than in Spain or the Austrian Habsburg lands.

As the virtual disappearance of non-degree holders and the increase in the numbers of those with theological training would suggest, pastoral considerations came with time to weigh increasingly heavily in determining episcopal nominations. From 1589 to 1594, a battle to control episcopal appointments accompanied Henry IV's political struggle with the Catholic League. The pope tried to reassert his power to appoint, and some cathedral chapters reasserted their rights and elected a few bishops, while Henry forbade his appointees from obtaining papal provisions, awakening fears in Rome that he might try to establish an independent national church. Once the League was defeated, Henry recognized papal rights of provision, but he did not appoint as edifying a selection of bishops as the pope sought. A minority of his appointees were teenagers or individuals who had not yet received holy orders. The extraction of pensions as a precondition of granting benefices reached unprecedented heights. Although Rome exhorted Marie de Médicis to do better following Henry's death, Marie was vulnerable to the political leverage of great noble families and so disappointed the Holy See. But as the pious Louis XIII came to exercise more authority from 1618 onward, and especially after Cardinal Richelieu began to advise him about episcopal appointments, the situation changed. Louis vowed not to grant pensions. Teenagers or those not yet in holy orders were no longer appointed. Fewer bishoprics were permitted to be passed on within the same high aristocratic family, while churchmen of noteworthy piety were now solicited for input about candidates they considered qualified. For the first time, some of those offered bishoprics turned them down on the grounds that they believed themselves unworthy. Following Richelieu's death, a *conseil de conscience* was established to institutionalize the influence that the *dévots* had gained under Richelieu. After the Fronde, however, political considerations recovered some of the importance they had lost, for Cardinal Mazarin felt obliged to use episcopal patronage to reward loyal supporters and cultivate the powerful. He also revived the granting of pensions. Even under Mazarin, however, the episcopate conformed more closely to Tridentine ideals than it had under Henry IV. Catholic reform had made its influence felt.

For all the evident importance of these findings—and my brief summation here omits others of scarcely less import—it must be said that reading this book is a chore. The exposition unfolds at the stately pace of an ecclesiastical procession, and Bergin is far more concerned to explain carefully every complexity and uncertainty of his subject than he is to highlight the book's major conclusions with the bold strokes they deserve. Researchers working on any of the many topics covered in this book will appreciate its detail, but the much larger universe of students of either the Catholic Reformation or early modern France who

seek to absorb its major findings will regret the amount of labor involved. Some may also regret, as I did, that Bergin did not set his findings in the context of contemporary discussions of the qualities desirable in a bishop. And it is jarring, in so authoritative a work, to find the little episcopal see of Couserans misspelled throughout the text. (It is correctly spelled in the maps, which instead misspell Valence and Lectoure.)

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ÉVELYNE LEVER. *Philippe Égalité*. Paris: Fayard. 1996. Pp. 573. 165.00 fr.

Louis Philippe Joseph, Duke of Chartres from 1752 until 1785 and then Duke of Orleans until he became Philippe *Égalité* in the French Revolution, is the subject of this biography by Évelyne Lever. It is the character of Louis Philippe Joseph that most interests Lever. Like so many prominent personalities in the eighteenth century, he was victimized by numerous libels. These were untrue, yet some have been accepted by historians as valid, particularly those historians who see the revolution as an "Orleanist conspiracy." Lever aims to "bring to Louis Philippe Joseph d'Orléans a new view, free of all passion and preconceived judgment, and place in his epoch this troubling and contradictory character" (p. 10).

The author describes in great detail the family relationships of the dynasty, the youth and education of Louis Philippe Joseph, and the persons most important in his life. As he came of age, he seemed to the French to be the very model of a prince. It was expected that all princes of the blood would receive a high command in one of the armed services. Louis Philippe Joseph was the first to choose the navy. He had three years of naval training before the war with Great Britain began. He liked seafaring and was popular with the officers and sailors of the navy. He was, until 1778, "the most popular man in France after the young king, Louis XVI" (p. 161).

But 1778 was the pivotal point in his career. In August of that year came the first important naval battle with Great Britain at Ouessant. The Duke of Chartres was given command of one of the three squadrons in the French fleet. As the British fleet began to withdraw from the battle, the French fleet commander ordered the duke to close in on the rear British squadron. He did not obey immediately, and this allowed the British to escape. What might have been a splendid French victory was only an exchange of cannon fire.

The fact that the British fleet withdrew gave the impression of a French victory. The duke returned to Paris from Brest that evening to report it to the king at Versailles. Then he went on to Paris to receive a tumultuous hero's welcome. But the next day, the official report of the battle was published. The duke's national reputation never recovered from that episode. Instead of remaining in the navy and redeeming

himself in the long war that followed, he left the naval service and asked for an equivalent command in the land army. When the secretary of the army could not provide it, the duke sought to bring about his removal by bribing people in the war department to send him damaging information about the secretary. This offended the king, who refused to appoint the duke to any further command, to his lasting resentment and bitterness.

Much of this biography is devoted to the role of the Duke of Orleans in the French Revolution. Lever firmly rejects the notion of an "Orleanist conspiracy." The facts that the duke stood next in succession to the throne after the Bourbons, and that he was in favor of the French Revolution while the Bourbons were opposed, made an Orleanist succession seem feasible. And this, according to the conspiracy theorists, is what the duke attempted to bring about by using his vast wealth to stir up popular uprisings. Lever shows that he did not have the character to carry out such an enterprise. The idea was that of his advisors, who sought to advance their own interests. But whenever an opportunity seemed to come, as in the July Days of 1789, or the October Days, the duke let them down. He really did not have much ambition. His private life and the pursuit of pleasure came first. Moreover, the revolution, with its popular uprisings, had more complex causes than conspiracy theorists admit.

The most dramatic event in this "troubling life" was the duke's vote in favor of the death of Louis XVI. This illustrates his indecisiveness. Before the vote was taken, he promised close friends that he would vote against the death penalty. But in the intense atmosphere of the National Convention, surrounded by Jacobins whom he had supported, he advanced to the rostrum and called for "death." Even the Jacobins were surprised.

Lever brings to this study a tremendous amount of research. She has made much use of the Orleans family archives. The bibliography lists all the well-known memoirs of the period, and the forty-four pages of endnotes indicates that she has used them. The biography is written in a lucid style and is a pleasure to read. It is the best work written so far on this subject.

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HERVÉ LEUWERS. *Un juriste en politique: Merlin de Douai, 1754-1838*. (Collection Histoire.) Arras: Artois Presses Université. 1996. Pp. 378. 170 fr.

As Minister of Justice during the Directory, Philippe Merlin de Douai was known as "Merlin the Magician" because of his seemingly uncanny ability to find legal justification for a course of action on which he had already embarked. But in addition to describing his renowned cleverness as a practitioner of jurisprudence, that same sobriquet might also be used to call attention to the survival skills of this French revolutionary veteran who, after serving in a position of

major responsibility in every regime from 1789 to 1814, managed to die in his bed at the age of eighty-four. Whereas previous historians have generally seen Merlin's political versatility as resulting from little more than the relentless pursuit of his own personal interests, Hervé Leuwers asserts in this comprehensive and balanced new biography that the "guiding thread" of Merlin's long career was actually "the overriding desire to preserve two values (order and liberty) which were taken to be the basis of social peace" (p. 334).

Leuwers's contention that Merlin was something other than a simple opportunist prepares the way for the author to argue that, in persistently seeking to navigate compromises between "the heritage of the Old Regime and that of the Revolution," his protagonist was, in fact, one of a group of revolutionary jurists who helped lay the groundwork for nineteenth-century French *juste milieu* liberalism (p. 142). In presenting Merlin as part of a "generation" of *juristes en politique* whose predilection for moderation and order was reinforced by years of tumultuous revolutionary experience, Leuwers fulfills his promise to provide a biography that is of more than mere "individual" interest and that addresses contemporary historiographical concerns. In particular, Leuwers's detailed analysis of how Merlin defended the traditional social order throughout his career, even when taking a central role in what is often described as the dismantling of feudalism in the Constituent Assembly or when collaborating with Maximilien Robespierre during the Year II, lends weight to recently elaborated themes of continuity between the world of prerevolutionary social elites and the emerging world of nineteenth-century *grands notables*.

However, though Leuwers's efforts to wring general significance out of Merlin's particular case generate substantial food for thought, the palpable straining toward generalization that characterizes this study helps deprive it of the flavor and aroma that ordinarily attract interest in a biography. The Merlin whom we meet here is a strikingly wooden and lifeless figure, which is not surprising as Leuwers explicitly disavows any serious pursuit of psychological or emotional truth with respect to his subject. Yet, without delving into the epistemological issues raised by the author's appeal to Pierre Bourdieu's reflections on "l'illusion biographique" (p. 335), it would seem that a deeper exploration of Merlin's inner life might have helped Leuwers to make his own case. In particular, the assertion that Merlin's behavior was rooted in certain "values" or "convictions" rather in the simple pursuit of self-interest would be more persuasive if we were given a better sense of how he wrestled with some of the agonizing choices that he must have faced, especially during the tortuous years of 1793 and 1794.

Moreover, even if we accept Leuwers's idea that Merlin was sincerely attached to liberal values, we are left with long-standing questions concerning the nature of French liberalism. For Leuwers, Merlin's liberalism essentially consisted of a deep respect for

order, property rights, and the rule of law; an accompanying distrust of popular mobilization; and a tendency to favor the rationalization and centralization of governmental structures. Little is said to indicate any kind of recognition on Merlin's part of the virtues of political pluralism or the right to engage in organized political opposition, elements that, in an Anglo-American context at least, are ordinarily thought of as central to liberalism. As Christine Le Bozec's *Boissy d'Anglas, un grand notable libéral* (1995) shows us, such pluralistic notions were not without influence on Merlin's generation of liberals. They appear to have had little impact on Merlin himself, however, whose authoritarian and repressive impulses seem to have been unrelenting throughout his life. Thus, the question posed by Leuwers as to whether or not Merlin was typical of his generation emerges as a compelling one after all—and one eminently worthy of further consideration.

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DAVID KLINCK, *The French Counterrevolutionary Theorist Louis de Bonald (1754–1840)*. (Studies in Modern European History, number 18.) New York: Peter Lang, 1996. Pp. viii, 301.

David Klinck gives a full and informative account of the life and writings of Louis de Bonald, the most "social-scientific" and least romantic of French traditionalist reactionary or conservative theorists. Based solidly in over sixteen volumes of Bonald's works, speeches, letters, and archival sources, Klinck's intellectual biography reveals less an unchanging foe of the French Revolution and Napoleon, who wanted to "restore" the *ancien régime* of Bourbon monarchy, privileged nobility, and established church, than a supple and determined tactical opportunist, whose twists and turns in each stage of his political life produced substantial modifications in his ideas, ambitions, and principles that often resulted in impractical new constructions.

Scion of provincial nobility of modest wealth and favored by a good Oratorian education, Bonald started out by putting society above state and church. The mounting crisis of the 1780s drew him into pamphleteering and politics, first as one of the mixed elites of notables active in municipal-local affairs and a proponent of reform to shift political power and fiscal control in "restored" provincial and national estates to the nobility, viewed as the "natural" leaders of society against monarchic "despotism." He was for the "nation" and a reformed national (state-controlled) church during the *révolt nobiliaire* and 1789.

From first to last, Bonald was much influenced by the ideas of the greater philosophes, especially Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Rousseau—social collectivism, "unity of power," "civic religion"—and Étienne Bonnot de Condillac—sensible psychology. During the "bourgeois revolution" he emigrated and published

Théorie de pouvoir politique (1796), the first work countering the "science of ideas" of liberal ideologues such as Pierre Jean Georges Cabanis with an antiphilosophic ideology of "scientific" and rational conservatism. Bonald's triune system (in successive forms) was traditionalist but scarcely romantic, except for his social organicism, for he did not root his "utopia" in history but in physiocratic social economy. Hence, his influence was limited, even with fellow counter-revolutionaries. Bonald collaborated with but opposed Joseph de Maistre and René de Chateaubriand. Leading clerics sensed his implicit materialism, Gallicanism, and Jansenism and opposed his schemes as pantheistic or worse.

After 1800, Bonald came to admire, praise, and serve Napoleon by pen and in the university and to uphold state authority over society, religion, culture, press, and nobility. In the Bourbon Restoration, he shifted principles and program again, out of personal and class interest, first as deputy and leader of the Ultras in the Chambre Introuvable and then as peer and the minister of state who urged Charles X to adopt the extreme measures that provoked the July Revolution: indemnity for emigré nobility, dominance by the state church, and absolute (dictatorial) state power. An embittered old man who never got *his* kind of "Restoration," Bonald died cursing both the Bourbons and the middle class. Perhaps he was happier with Napoleon's enlightened despotism, which better fitted his ideas.

Granting some of the inconsistencies, Klinck sees Bonald as forerunner of Saint-Simon and Auguste Comte, the later French right, and Charles Maurras, Vichy, and fascism, pointing to his collectivist and corporative "sociology" and authoritarian nationalism and statism. In other ways, Bonald seemed to prefigure such ideas (of Claude Lévi-Strauss, Michel Foucault, and Furetian historians of the French Revolution) as "civil society," autonomous "discourse," and analysis of "power." (Two other Spanish right-left influences (not cited) were Donoso Cortés's Spanish traditionalism and José Ortega y Gasset's "system" in sociology and linguistics.) Over all, this fine, thoughtful study shows both a greater modernity and "postmodernity" in Bonald than previously known.

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JAMES R. HOFMANN. *André-Marie Ampère: Enlightenment and Electrodynamics*. (Cambridge Science Biographies.) Reprint. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 406. \$49.95.

Invoked countless times a day in the eponymous unit for electrical current, André-Marie Ampère navigated revolutionary, Napoleonic, and restoration France by dint of talent, good fortune, adroit manipulation of patrons and protectors, and remarkable strength of purpose. He experienced the death of his father at the

hands of the Lyons Terrorists. He watched his first wife expire after a long illness and suffered public humiliation at the hands of his second wife, who despised him. His daughter married a profligate, abusive, mentally unbalanced soldier; he supported his son, a failed dramatist who ran off with the entourage of writer Juliette Récamier. Ampère suffered from chronic illnesses, possibly including heart disease. In the face of this substantial adversity, he shone as one of France's finest savants in a community of unusual scientific fecundity. He ranged over physics, pure mathematics, chemistry, and philosophy as a brilliant theoretician capable of designing and executing subtle experiments.

In James R. Hofmann's engaging biography, we are struck by contrasts. Ampère, the eminent interpreter of rational mechanics and Kantian philosophy, submitted to medical bloodletting and mesmerism. A lover of beautiful speech, he suffered from rotten teeth. At a time of rationalist and schismatic questioning of religious dogma, Ampère was a resolute Catholic in the spirit of the Lyons church community. During a period of profligate sexual promiscuity, Ampère remained faithful and chaste. When formal education was becoming the norm and as specialization increasingly limited a researcher to one domain of study, Ampère rose to the heights of the Académie des sciences and the Collège de France as a polymath autodidact.

The biography's electrodynamical focus—the genesis and elaboration of Ampère's belief that microscopic circulation of electrical particles produced the effects attributed to electromagnetism—results from a new analysis of Ampère's ingenious experimental designs in the 1820s. It should not detract from the qualities of the study to observe that less attention goes to the cost and the construction of the apparatus, which featured delicate balances and swings, finely turned wire helices, and precisely ruled scales. Ampère's unpublished writings—letters, manuscript drafts, and drawings—have survived in large number, but the biography makes no reference to correspondence or traffic with instrument makers or suppliers. Experimental protocol is reviewed in great detail, but the reader remains unsure where Ampère performed his experiments, whether at home or in one of his institutional settings.

Hofmann lays bare the social counterpoint of academic life in early nineteenth-century France. Teaching salaries were low, and for a professor to maintain a bourgeois household he generally had to hold a number of teaching posts simultaneously. Advancement required an academic patron and depended on astute reading of clubs and cliques. These constraints, significant as they may have been for pecuniary gain, seem hardly to have intruded into the serious business of generating and diffusing ideas. There were apparently few restrictions, if any at all, on publishing new work; if a scientific manuscript were refused or ignored by a learned corporation, it could always be printed privately. New work in mathematics, physics, and chemistry was not sabotaged or lampooned, as it was

during the mid-eighteenth-century debates on the nature of electricity. An author's religious faith and libidinous expressions had little impact on the reception accorded his writings.

Ampère tried to ignore politics, and Hofmann shows that politics barely intruded into his life. The narrative leads us to conclude, more generally, that political change had little effect on the scientific community between 1804, when Ampère moved to Paris as tutor of analysis in the École polytechnique, and 1836, the year of Ampère's death. French savants suffered the afflictions of cupidity, avarice, pride, and jealousy, much as women and men did generally, but the Académie des sciences in this period seems to have been as apolitical as the Royal Society of London had been in its founding years. Ideas here transcend the circumstances of their generation. Readers will find this biography a strong antidote to the claim by some social theorists that all natural knowledge is nothing other than social relations. When postmodernist historians of science have been shamed into silence, this book, careful in its appeal to evidence and generous in its acknowledgment of precedent, will be seen as a harbinger of a return to historical reason and clarity.

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HUGH CLOUT. *After the Ruins: Restoring the Countryside of Northern France after the Great War*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press. 1996. Pp. xviii, 332. \$69.95.

The reconstruction of France following the Great War offers a tantalizing opportunity to study the Third Republic in action. Before the war, the ten northeastern departments of the devastated region had produced seventy-four percent of the coal, eighty-one percent of the iron, sixty-three percent of the steel, and eighty percent of the textile products of France. In spite of this concentration of industry, nearly ninety-six percent of the land in the war zone was dedicated to farming and to forestry, and the region was a primary producer of wheat, sugar beets, and livestock. Additionally, the war made refugees of more than 2.7 million of the region's 4.8 million inhabitants. Rapid restoration of the economic and social fabric of the region was not only a moral and political necessity but also a tremendous opportunity for modernization, innovation, and reform.

How did the French state approach the challenge? What were the goals and objectives of reconstruction? And how was the process of reconstruction organized to achieve them? Was there a plan? If so, who developed it, and what issues shaped its development? What was the relationship between public and private initiative? What were the results? And what is the legacy of 1918 to 1945?

Unfortunately, any attempt to bring some order to the story of the complex activities and achievements of French reconstruction, whether rural or industrial, can only be incomplete. Many questions must remain

unanswered due to the absence of ministerial records, the lack of any comprehensive reports or any photographic documentaries, and the ambiguities and inconsistencies of available statistical data. Departmental archives are not an alternative, because floor-to-ceiling documents remain uncatalogued or because privacy laws make them confidential without the permission of living family members. Consequently, a tantalizing topic becomes a frustratingly elusive one, and Hugh Clout must be content with offering "a reasoned introduction" based on the works of contemporary observers.

Clout, who is a geographer, begins his study by defining the war zone and the magnitude of the devastation. He then divides the process of reconstruction into two phases. The first, which he labels the emergency phase, began soon after the war started in 1914 and concluded in October 1921. Characterized by direct state intervention through the Office of Agricultural Reconstitution, this phase focused on clearing the land of shells and debris, rebuilding communication and transportation systems, and replacing and repairing equipment. Hindered by the absence of a unifying plan, by bureaucratic red tape, and by shortages of labor, credit, and materials, this phase aroused considerable criticism among the *sinistrés* whose property had been damaged or destroyed.

Direct state intervention gave way to private initiative in October 1921, marking the beginning of rural reconstruction proper and of the second phase, which concluded in 1931. The work of this phase was led by communal cooperatives, of which there were 2,160 representing 2,602 communes by October of 1922. "Although tantalizingly little is known" about how these cooperatives worked, they provided the small property owner with much-needed expertise, influence, and coordination. Ultimately, they were responsible for the reconstruction of nearly two-thirds of the war-torn settlements.

The dominant theme of rural reconstruction was to "restore the familiar." The *sinistrés'* haste to rebuild their homes, reestablish their farms, and restore their land subverted most good intentions for amelioration and modernization. The shortage of labor, credit, and materials also favored rebuilding with cautious practicality, so that village improvements were often limited to widening a road and providing the school with a proper playground. But the fact is that most villagers preferred that their commune retain its prewar character and picturesque qualities. The touted benefits of consolidation were more than offset by sentimental attachments to ancestral lands, by suspicions that large landowners or one's neighbors might receive greater benefit, and by fears that one would end up with reallocated land riddled with shells and other war debris.

Although Clout's conclusions only reaffirm those of contemporary observers such as William MacDonald (*Reconstruction in France* [1922]) and Edmond Michel (*Les dommages de guerre en France et leur réparation*

[1932]) his work provides valuable information about the process of restoring rural France and is distinguished by excellent maps and solid data. It also offers an interesting complement to Richard Kuisel's *Capitalism and the State in Modern France* (1981); Thomas Grabau's *Industrial Reconstruction in France after World War I* (1991); and J. Favier's *Reconstructions et modernizations: La France après les ruines, 1918-1945* (1991).

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SANJAY SUBRAHMANYAM. *The Career and Legend of Vasco da Gama*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xxiii, 400. \$59.95.

Sanjay Subrahmanyam has become a leading historian of Portuguese activities in the East, especially India, during the early modern period. In the course of less than a decade he has written five books and has edited five others. His most recent contribution is a reexamination of the career of Vasco da Gama (1469-1524) and of the myths that have arisen, from the sixteenth century to the present, demonstrating that he was, as one well-known historian asserted in 1970, "one of the greatest argonauts of Modern Times" (p. 363). Indeed, as recently as a decade ago, a poll revealed that 58.8 percent of the Portuguese consulted considered him to be the most admired figure in their history.

One of the virtues of this impressively researched book, which is based on archival sources in Portugal, Spain, and Italy, and on the extant literature in nine languages, is that it makes use not only of the older, often myth-creating literature of the last quarter of the nineteenth century but especially of the abundant recent scholarship, particularly in French and Portuguese, concerning the court of Portugal, its major factions, and its most conspicuous agents overseas between the 1490s and the 1520s. Another is the author's analysis of the evolution of competing myths concerning the characters and achievements of the two arch rivals, Vasco da Gama and Afonso de Albuquerque, whose descendants and admirers, including major chroniclers and nationalist writers, perpetuated the exploits of their heroes. The elaborately textured chapters are complemented by four maps and thirty illustrations, but the book lacks a glossary or an adequately analytical index.

Subrahmanyam's Vasco da Gama is far from a heroic figure. He began life as a minor noble who may (or may not) have been born in the southern coastal town of Sines. It is not at all clear why this landsman was selected by Manuel the Fortunate (1495-1521) to lead a modest expedition of four ships to the pepper emporium of Calicut (1497-1499), nor is it apparent why he was not also appointed to command the next expedition to the East, one headed by an even more obscure figure, Pedro Álvares Cabral, best known for his surprise discovery of a portion of the Brazilian littoral (1500). Vasco da Gama did return to India in

1502-1503, when he bore the exalted, Columbus-inspired title of Admiral of the Seas of Arabia, Persia, and India, and again in 1524, when, as the Count of Vidigueira, he became Portuguese India's second viceroy, the first to die on Indian soil. The figure that emerges—when we actually glimpse him—from these pages is that of an irascible, arrogant, uncompromising leader who was preoccupied with enhancing his own estate and that of his clientele, a merciless killer of unfortunates who seemingly opposed his ambitions on land and sea in the East, a spendthrift who practiced petty economies at the expense of subordinates, and, in general, a figure hardly deserving of admiration.

Given the relative paucity of uncontaminated sources, Subrahmanyam's portrait of Vasco da Gama may be as reliable as that of any other scholar who preceded him. (For the most part, he successfully mutes his criticism of others whose views he does not always share, save for his unnecessary and unfortunate attack on the octogenarian Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, a leading and often inspirational Portuguese scholar since the 1940s.) I do have several concerns with this outstanding volume, however. The first is that it contains numerous digressions that will interest specialists but will weary all but the most intrepid general readers. There are long sections of chapters where Vasco da Gama is wholly or largely absent. Second, the author occasionally reaches beyond his evidence to assert as fact what is really only inference (as, for example, his assertion that Vasco da Gama lost the court's favor during the years 1505-1518 because of his uncles' misdeeds in the Indian Ocean. Here is a classic instance of the sort of *post hoc propter hoc* reasoning we were all taught to avoid.) Third, while Subrahmanyam successfully strips away many mythological encumbrances from the famous Argonaut, he fails to provide his reader with a distillation of his own view of the real Vasco da Gama. Nevertheless, this is an outstanding, provocative biography, and this reviewer eagerly awaits Subrahmanyam's promised studies of Dom Francisco da Gama, Vasco's descendant and an equally controversial viceroy of Portuguese India.

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BRENDAN SIMMS. *The Impact of Napoleon: Prussian High Politics, Foreign Policy and the Crisis of the Executive, 1797-1806*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 390. \$69.95.

At Jena and Auerstedt in 1806, Napoleon's armies vanquished Prussia, setting the stage for the so-called Prussian reform era, the meaning of which historians have debated for two centuries. Brendan Simms has at least two major purposes in his book about Prussia in the Napoleonic era. The first is to depict Prussian diplomacy in the years immediately preceding the infamous defeat. His other goal is to refute the work of scholars who find explanatory connections between

Prussia's social fabric and its politics. Simms advocates instead the "primacy of foreign policy" and "high politics" (p. 2) as the appropriate analytical tools. He presents this case with intensity, communicating a high priority for his historiographical argument. I shall discuss each of these two aspects of the book in turn.

Many historians should be interested in Simms's skillful reconstruction of the day-to-day maneuvers within the top levels of the Prussian government. They provide an explanation for a series of abrupt diplomatic reversals in the years 1804 to 1806. In November 1805, Prussia renounced its decade-old policy of neutrality and signed the Treaty of Potsdam, joining with the Russian tsar and the Holy Roman emperor in an anti-Napoleonic coalition. Within weeks, Prussia's negotiator, Christian August von Haugwitz, committed his government to changing sides completely through a Franco-Prussian agreement. France would gain some Prussian territories, and Prussia would annex Hanover. Thus allied with France and essentially at war with Britain, Prussia nevertheless pursued a parallel "secret" diplomacy in cooperation with Russia. This clandestine course gradually replaced the official policy. Again reversing its strategy, Prussia joined the coalition and met France at Jena.

Simms argues that a combination of "geopolitics" and "high politics" explains these confusing turns. He employs the former expression to mean strengths and vulnerabilities due to geographical position and military resources, so-called "objective" conditions. "High politics" constitute, in Simms's usage, "subjective" factors, especially struggles among high officials to maintain royal favor, hence to retain their offices. In order to be effective, policy makers had to pursue the state's "geopolitical" needs while pleasing Frederick William III, who had his own agendas and could dismiss advisors at will. This helps to explain the fluctuating positions of Karl August von Hardenberg and Haugwitz, rivals for the top foreign policy post. They were constantly adapting to Prussia's frequently changed situation due to Napoleon's maneuvers, while they simultaneously tried to outguess the king's disposition. Simms thus interprets a significant aspect of the complex diplomacy of the Napoleonic era.

Pursuing his second goal, Simms encases his diplomatic history in a self-constructed controversy. "[T]he primacy of foreign policy," he asserts, "remained the dominant theoretical model until the 1960s; thereafter, it came under increasing attack from a younger generation of German historians" (p. 7). Simms believes that history as "'high politics' has suffered from the strong German historiographical tradition which favors the study of the collective over the individual" (p. 14). He strives to return to a methodology of earlier generations: "[T]he historian of the pre-industrial age has more to learn from Ranke and Otto Hintze than from Marx" (p. 18).

Simms thus places himself in debate with an array of historians represented primarily by Eckart Kehr, Hans Rosenberg, and Hans-Ulrich Wehler. His text and

footnotes are garnished with frequent references to scholarship that he characterizes as "liberal and other teleological pieties" (p. 13). He disputes interpretations that identify ideological motives or societal tensions as shapers of politics. Focusing on the period immediately preceding Jena, Simms argues that statesmen's quests for "personal political gain" (p. 311) largely determined Prussian policies. Although he disagrees with Rosenberg, Wehler, and others, he acknowledges that they "have enriched our perspective of pre-Reform Prussia, at least in the methodological sense" (p. 311).

If this is the case, why does Simms conduct a shrill debate with them, frequently characterizing the work of "critical" historians as "socio-economic reductionism" (p. 25)? In his mission to rebut his opponents, he sometimes implies an identity between scholarly researchers and popular writers. Refuting an interpretation by historian Reinhart Koselleck, Simms slides into a discussion of an argument advanced by the Munich revolutionary, Kurt Eisner (whom he mistakenly calls Fritz Eisner; p. 269). As a journalist, Eisner did, in 1907, publish an interesting book about the Napoleonic era, but it is irresponsible to infer a connection between it and recent academic research such as Koselleck's. This is but one example of Simms's failure to distinguish between divergent writers whose interpretations he dislikes because they are "weighted down with concessions to the *Zeitgeist*" (p. 91, n. 106).

Simms would have done well to confine himself to diplomatic history. His polemics detract from his otherwise helpful interpretations of Prussian policies on the eve of Jena. "High politics" and "geopolitics" are effective analytical implements for diplomatic history. Contrary to Simms's arguments, they do not discredit the use of social, economic, and cultural contexts as interpretative tools.

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DAVID F. LINDENFELD. *The Practical Imagination: The German Sciences of State in the Nineteenth Century*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1997. Pp. x, 382. \$57.00.

This is a fine analysis of the development of the sciences of state (*Staatswissenschaften*) in Germany between the eighteenth century and World War I. David F. Lindenfeld's main purpose is to trace "a discourse of thinking about politics, economy, and society in Germany that came to be known as the sciences of state" (p. 1). These originated from the cameral sciences (*Kameralwissenschaften*), a German version of mercantilism that concentrated on public finance but also constituted an attempt to systematize the maxims of administration in order to use them as an educational curriculum for officials. Like the sciences of state in the nineteenth century, cameralism was concerned with techniques of implementation and constituted an effort to organize and utilize practical

knowledge for the training of officials at the university level. At the end of the nineteenth century, the *Staatswissenschaften* were partially replaced by the emerging social sciences, although the term itself continued to be used until the 1950s.

Lindenfeld pays close attention to the training of officials, especially during the Napoleonic era, when bureaucracies in the German states were bent on furthering social and political reform. The sciences of state thus became closely associated with the need for reform from above as an alternative to revolution. With their emphasis on order and fixed classification, they contrasted sharply with Wilhelm von Humboldt's concept of *Bildung*, which stressed self-cultivation and spontaneity. In the two chapters covering the years between 1789 and 1840, Lindenfeld also examines the importance of bureaucratic rule in Bavaria and Prussia; the spread of the ideas of Adam Smith, which first took root at Göttingen and Königsberg; and the growing importance of the sciences of state in the post-Napoleonic period that resulted from the centralizing efforts of a number of states in the German Confederation, such as Baden and Württemberg. The author pays close attention to the development of academic subjects associated with the sciences of state, such as finance and monetary policy, statistics, agriculture, and history. Here Lindenfeld's detailed knowledge of university development in the nineteenth century stands him in fine stead. A plethora of university catalogues is subjected to minute scrutiny, and the author is generally well-informed about strengths and weaknesses of the different *Landesuniversitäten*, which are analyzed by region (the Prussian universities of Berlin, Bonn, Breslau, Greifswald, Halle, and Königsberg, to which Göttingen, Kiel, and Marburg were added in 1866, and the South German universities). Since Lindenfeld also provides detailed breakdowns of lecture enrollments in the *Staatswissenschaften*, insight into the interdependence of political events and changes in educational requirements for officials, the interplay of the Prussian administration and university appointments, and the expansion of universities and student enrollment during the 1890s, his book can also be read as a study in *Bildungsgeschichte*.

The chapters dealing with the years between 1866 and 1914 are the most cogent and complex of the whole book, since the author clearly feels most at home in this period. Discussions of social policy are interwoven with other pivotal issues of the time, such as the debates on methodology and industrialization; insight is offered into the public involvement of the *Kathedersozialisten*; generational changes at the universities; interdisciplinary efforts in sociology, history, and anthropology; the revival of economic theory; and the intellectual activities of founding fathers of the emerging social sciences, such as Ferdinand Tönnies, Georg Simmel, Max Weber, and Werner Sombart. The reader also gets a sense of the enormous political influence that German professors wielded through organizations such as the Verein für Sozialpolitik.

Apart from university catalogues, Lindenfeld's study is based almost exclusively on printed primary sources. Contrary to what one might expect, Lindenfeld characterizes the writings on the sciences of state as "refreshingly un-Teutonic" (p. 3), which quality facilitated his perusing carefully the works of Karl Heinrich Rau, Johann Hoffmann, Robert von Mohl, Lorenz vom Stein, Otto von Gierke, Gustav Schmoller, Georg Friedrich Knapp, Lujo Brentano, Adolph Wagner, and Werner Sombart. In the course of his study, he deals with a vast amount of often disparate materials and a host of characters, many of whom are only touched on briefly. The thoroughness with which every major and minor writer is treated is admirable, though one occasionally feels that it would have been better to omit some of the lesser figures and place more emphasis on the broader themes. But all in all, this study is to be recommended not only as a good survey of its subject matter but also as a starting point for anyone interested in the *Bildungsgeschichte* of a particular period.

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DIETRICH HEITHER *et al.*, editors. *Blut und Paukboden: Eine Geschichte der Burschenschaften*. Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch. 1997. Pp. 412. DM 24.90.

Two things intrigued me on my first stay in Germany: that it was illegal to own weapons, and that dueling was permitted. I was writing my dissertation on the historical German duel, and when asked by a Burschenschaft fraternity member if I would care to see a "modern" German duel, I seized the opportunity. It is given few historians to witness their archival study come to full-blooded life, and I was not disappointed. There was blood galore and, without going into it, I will only say that those who revile such sports as bullfighting and boxing might someday view a German university duel.

The title of this collection edited by Dietrich Heither *et al.* translates as "Blood and Dueling Ground," but the contributors are not here concerned with the Burschenschaften's insensate rite. Their concern is politics, and the title plays on the words of the Nazi racial slogan, *Blut und Boden* (Blood and Soil). The Burschenschaft movement began as a backlash against French domination under Napoleon, the historical German *Volk* being set against universal Enlightenment values and natural law (the Code Napoleon was committed to the flames at the 1817 Wartburgfest). During the *Vormärz* period, Jews took their place beside the French as "negative antagonist[s] to Germanness" (p. 46), and this kind of chauvinism made the Burschenschaften ideal subjects of the nationalistic German Empire. Obversely, they were archenemies of the Weimar Republic, participating in the conservative Kapp Putsch and in Adolf Hitler's 1923 attempt to overthrow the Bavarian government. It is not surprising, then, that the author of the book's chapter on the

Nazi period, Alexandra Kurth (dutifully quoting Heinrich Heine), should perceive a continuity between the Wartenburg book-burning of 1817 and that of May 1933, in which Burschenschaften also took part. As a result of the late-1960s student movement, hitherto obligatory dueling became an option in more liberal clubs, but this was accompanied by a programmatic fixing of the *völkisch* ideology in the Burschenschaften statutes, the radical Austrian Burschenschaften now merging with the German Burschenschaften (DB). German reunification encouraged the DB in its *grossdeutsch* ambitions, which were no longer tempered by the presence of more moderate clubs that, in 1996, founded their own organization.

The book corrects two misconceptions and helps settle a debate. The first misconception is that the Burschenschaften, at least in their early years, were largely a liberal-democratic organization. The falsity of this premise is well documented by Gerhard Schäfer, who proves that the Burschenschaften propagated an aggressive "Teutomania" (p. 30) underpinned by an ethnography of the blood. The second misconception is that because their organization was dissolved by the Nazis, the Burschenschaften were opponents of the regime. In fact, the DB acquiesced in its own dissolution and actively supported the Nazis from the start, as shown by Heither in his examination of the Weimar period. The debate alluded to is one acrimoniously contested by German historian Ute Frevert and myself as to whether the duel among the upper middle classes in the empire was a symptom of the embourgeoisement of the aristocratic duel (Frevert) or rather the social and political aristocratization of the German bourgeoisie. Alongside the army, the great dueling socializer of the *Bürgertum* were the Burschenschaften, which, according to the contributors, inculcated in their members "a neo-aristocratic code of behavior creating a community of interest with a pre-industrial noble elite" (p. 273).

However accurate many of the book's conclusions may be, they are hardly new, and the authors know it. In order to lay some claim to originality, they mire themselves in structural and organizational non-issues, and the reader's head swims in the alphabet soup of club abbreviations. The text is laden with quotes, and its eighty-eight pages of endnotes and a thirty-page bibliography give some idea of its reliance on secondary literature. In essence, this is an assembly-line job, history moved by conveyor belt, each of the authors putting the screws to the Burschenschaften while tightening the nuts and bolts of their automatic thesis as it rolls through their assigned time frame. There is no room for historical ambiguity here. The "book" is a contraption.

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KONRAD CANIS. *Von Bismarck zur Weltpolitik: Deutsche Außenpolitik 1890 bis 1902*. (Studien zur Internation-

alen Geschichte, number 3.) Berlin: Akademie. 1997. Pp. 430. DM 124.

This study of German foreign policy from 1890–1902 is a model of thoroughness, both in research in archival and other primary and secondary sources and in its account of German policy making in European and world context. Every aspect of the latter is carefully explored, every question and decision explained, even those which proved of little consequence. The policies, actions, and reactions of other states also receive ample and fair attention. Although the story that Konrad Canis tells is naturally familiar, he makes some new points (for example, that Emperor Wilhelm II gave Austria the same promise of unconditional support in 1895 as was given in 1914, and that later restrictions by the Foreign Office never quite cancelled it) and confirms important findings of others (such as Paul Kennedy's verdict that economic rivalry lay at the root of Anglo-German antagonism). Canis's positions on many controversial issues are consistently moderate and always based on careful marshalling of evidence. Although the reasons for stopping in 1902 are not entirely apparent, his conclusion that by then Germany's bid for world power was fully launched and its ultimate failure already predictable is convincing.

In short, this is the latest, best-informed, fullest, and most balanced treatment of German policy in this crucial era. Why, then, did I end up somewhat frustrated with it? Partly because of the author's style, sometimes convoluted even by German scholarly standards; partly also because his praiseworthy effort to be thorough and careful leads to considerable repetition and exhaustive discussions of familiar material—for example, on the various motive forces behind German *Weltpolitik* (pp. 223–56)—while elaborate analyses of causal factors often end in an inconclusive, "all of the above" explanation. A certain ambiguity, furthermore, attaches to the book's conclusion and overall interpretation. Germany's many failures and defeats are regularly explained in terms of miscalculations, illusions, blunders, wrong attitudes, and even (in the emperor's case) mental aberrations. Yet, at the end, one learns that the spirit and circumstances of the time were responsible. Moreover, while Canis's criticisms of German policies of a free hand, positions of strength, and the promotion and exploitation of rivalries are sound, he is less persuasive in portraying the policies of other states as reactions to these, and he sometimes shows that they were not. Nor does he indicate what alternative policy might have worked, or why actual alternative policies also failed. The Kruger telegram in 1896 was an instant loud failure, whereas Germany's change of course and appeasement of Britain in South Africa in 1899–1902 was a slow, quiet failure. Why?

These may sound like captious criticisms, but they have a central core: although Canis explains his evidence in one way, it really points in another, hinted at but not avowed in the book. The implicit thesis, stated baldly, is that Germany had little choice. It was bound

to make a bid for world position, and equally bound to lose: not because of its many miscalculations and blunders or the dangerous attitudes and ambitions behind them, but because those who were calling the shots in the game of world politics, especially Britain and Russia, had their own reasons, capacities, and strategies for seeing to it that Germany would lose no matter what it did. Thus, describing and analyzing the spirit, aims, and intentions of German policy and how these were connected with the structure and character of Wilhelmine Germany is one thing; explaining what Germany really did in foreign policy and what its actions led to is another thing, largely determined by the international system. This distinction between independent and dependent variables mainly accounts for the striking difference between the spirit and aims of German policy, consistently proactive, offensive, and even aggressive, and the actual character of its actions, usually defensive and reactive, designed to overcome weaknesses, meet current challenges, and prepare for a successful future offensive, as well as explaining the glaring contrast between intentions and results.

Canis seems to know this. He recognizes, for example, that Britain and Russia refused to concede Germany any legitimate status in world politics and always preferred to reconcile their own differences rather than let Germany exploit them. But this line of explanation, often hinted at, is not explicitly pursued. Perhaps this is because it would locate the outcome of German policy outside of his theme, mainly in the general system; perhaps it is also because, coming from a German historian, it would sound like a revival of the war-guilt controversy and war-innocence lies of post-World War I. Yet this has nothing to do with that old blame game. It rather involves taking the same critical look at Germany's supposed *Sonderweg* in foreign policy before 1914 that scholars have taken regarding its domestic politics. It means recognizing that all the characteristics of German foreign policy—the quest for a free hand, peaceful supremacy, positions of strength, exclusive markets, unchallenged paramountcy in particular spheres, and the ability to promote and exploit rivalries among others to gain world leadership—not only were standard, universal aspects of the imperialist game in this era (this much Canis makes clear) but had also been general hallmarks of European politics, and especially of British and Russian policy, for centuries. Wherever one ends, this is the point at which any analysis of prewar international politics, including Germany's, must start.

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LAWRENCE SONDHAUS. *Preparing for Weltpolitik: German Sea Power before the Tirpitz Era*. Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press. 1997. Pp. x, 326.

The accomplishment of Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz in amassing a great battle fleet seems the more remarkable, though no less pointlessly tragic, when one becomes aware of the feeble ebb at which German navalism languished in 1897, when he became chief of the Imperial Naval Office. Lawrence Sondhaus describes this sodden legacy very soundly in a clear narrative bolstered by a profuse selection of maps, tables, and illustrations. It is a tale of tepid command (often by Prussian generals), acerbic rivalries, muddled objectives, and confused organization at the top, while in the ranks the service had to deal with rampant syphilis, desertion, and disastrous collisions with other German ships proceeding fatally off course. It is hard to glimpse the disciplined crews, intrepid commanders, and mighty leviathans of the Tirpitz era in the paltry fleet presided over successively by the Kingdom of Prussia, the North German Confederation, and, finally, by the German Empire under Otto von Bismarck, himself no naval enthusiast for much of his long career.

The history of German navalism is, like so much of the history of the German people, a Prussian affair. One of the navy's early leaders was Prince Adalbert von Hohenzollern. His successors were, until Tirpitz, Prussian army officers who aspired to imbue the navy with the spirit of Junker militarism; crewmen came from the north, as did most of the officer corps; ships were built there, and armor was supplied by Krupp and other Rhenish manufacturers. This prevented the navy from having much following below the Main, and the choice of generals to command the fleet effectively created a cleft between officers and men. This might have been avoided had these military figures been more tactful or talented. Instead, for years the service was ruled by the arrogant and bigoted Albrecht von Stosch, who at least had a residue of ability that later figures (such as Admiral Friedrich Hollmann, known as Hollmannikin, or the often obnoxious Admiral Baron Gustav van Senden und Bibran) entirely lacked. The chain of command was tangled with petty acrimony, and there was little agreement as to whether, if money could be pried from the Reichstag, it should be spent on battleships, cruisers, or torpedo craft. The navy's presentations before the legislative budget committee consequently were embarrassing episodes of confusion and contradiction.

The history of the gradual and difficult growth of the German navy, especially because it was so plagued with problems of its own manufacture, requires a knowing hand and a capacious familiarity with a variety of issues. The design and deployment of ships, their staffing with officers and men of diverse background, the acquisition of funds, the management of public opinion and the interaction of diplomatic and political developments with marine affairs are only a sampling of the lines of investigation that a German naval historian must attempt. Sondhaus, coming to the German navy with a deservedly sound reputation as a historian of the Habsburg fleet, has successfully met

this taxing assignment. His account is orderly, his command of the relevant literature is thorough, and there is little that he misses in charting the course of the German navy before Tirpitz. Sondhaus's conclusions are sensible, and reading his description of the melange of incompetence, indirection, and indecision of many of Germany's early naval elites makes one more acutely aware of how magisterial, by comparison, was Tirpitz's masterful management and ultimate domination of the service. Without his malignant genius, imperial Germany might never have launched a menacing fleet. As the author correctly points out, it was the admiral's insistence on building battleships directed against Great Britain that was the telling factor in putting Wilhelm II's empire "on the road to its demise in 1918" (p. 229).

This is a short book, and the treatment of many matters is necessarily only suggestive. One might wish for more on the exigencies that technology imposed on the recruitment of officers and men, or on the navy's sense of how to enhance its public image, something at which Tirpitz proved a master. This account is often a narrative of personalities, and Sondhaus, while laboring in the Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv in Freiburg, might with profit have delved into the Nachlässe of admirals such as Senden and Tirpitz, for it is in letters or diaries that their temperament is often best revealed. Sondhaus has written a very creditable book, so useful and informing that one is left wanting to know more than he has told us here. Perhaps later in his career he will be inclined to venture a welcome return to the subject.

LAMAR CECIL
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KATHLEEN CANNING, *Languages of Labor and Gender: Female Factory Work in Germany, 1850–1914*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 343. \$42.50.

Kathleen Canning's study has a worthy target: traditional German labor historians who promote what Canning dubs a "teleological" (p. 5) model of class formation. This model assumes that class consciousness and political activism arose out of a specific (implicitly masculine) career pattern, which included skilled work, higher wages, and uninterrupted work histories. Labor historians have concluded that women did not conform to this pattern and thus developed little political consciousness; as a result, women workers appear only on the margins of German labor historiography. Canning's book, a revised version of her doctoral dissertation, challenges this marginalization by showing how gender shaped textile production in Germany: how it structured the division of factory labor, and how it influenced shop floor politics and workers' own identities.

Canning's book is based on a local study of the transition from domestic to factory production in the textile mills of the Rhineland and Westphalia. She

situates her case studies against the national debates between bourgeois liberal, Catholic, socialist, and feminist reformers over women's factory work. Canning argues that the textile industry exemplified the link between the processes of "industrial transformation, welfare-state formation, [and] the emergence of class cultures or conflicts" (p. 4). Using a broad array of sources from individual workplaces, along with the texts of discussions between social reformers, politicians, industrialists, and factory inspectors, Canning hopes to resolve the opposition between discourse and workers' own experiences.

Canning's book divides into three sections. She first examines the transition from handicraft production to mechanized factories, using partial case studies from four localities that demonstrate how gender shaped specific divisions of labor. Contemporaries associated mechanization with the "feminization" (p. 24) of the labor force, linked in national discourses to forcing out (*Verdrängung*) of male workers, deskilling of textile work, disruption of the sexual order, and destruction of working-class families. Canning challenges these rhetorical constructions, stressing women's role in handicraft textile manufacturing before mechanization. Her book demonstrates that male workers themselves varied in their response to the feminization of textile work. In areas that offered men other employment opportunities, women weavers caused little controversy; where mechanization caused high levels of male unemployment, however, men responded with the creation of a newly masculinized handicraft identity and pressed for women's exclusion from factories.

The middle section of this book uses poststructuralist theory to analyze the discursive domains created by social reformers in their debates over the meaning of women's factory work and protective legislation for women workers. Here Canning echoes the findings of a growing body of historical work on protective labor legislation in Germany and elsewhere (which she surprisingly does not cite). Most reformers saw female factory work as a threat to the working-class family and to morality, defined in the broadest terms. In factories, male and female workers supposedly mingled promiscuously; married wives who worked in factories were said to have insufficient time and training to run their households properly. As a result, reformers argued, working-class families lived in filthy dwellings, with poor diets and clothing, while working-class children ran wild. With the rise of the eugenics movement after 1900, reformers increasingly focused on women's bodies and poor reproductive health. Factory work was blamed for lower birthrates and high rates of infant mortality, viewed as biological threats to the nation. Specific visions of women's bodies and an ideology of domesticity were thus central to discussions about the social question and protective legislation. Unlike male workers, women workers were allegedly unable to organize to protect their interests, and thus state intervention was required. Canning's study concurs with the work of other historians, who have described

a two-tiered, gendered welfare state, which included social insurance programs designed largely for men and protective labor legislation for women.

The third section examines women's careers and work cultures. Here Canning offers a sophisticated statistical analysis of the work histories of nearly 3,500 textile workers. Contradicting previous depictions of women workers, Canning finds that female textile workers had careers that often rivaled those of male textile workers in terms of longevity, especially where men and women performed similar jobs. Many women interrupted work for childbearing, but Canning shows that they often returned to work later. Overall, she finds examples of "comparable job commitment and stability of male and female textile workers" (p. 245) and offers evidence that the dichotomy between "skilled" men's jobs and "unskilled" women's work was often fictitious (p. 292), used largely to justify higher wages for men. Finally, she argues that women developed their own political consciousness, manifested in separate work cultures, wildcat strikes, and demands that male-dominated unions "usually disdained as peripheral" (p. 286).

Canning's third section mounts a strong challenge to the class formation model dominant in German labor historiography. She also persuasively links the discursive domain to the factories' "institutions of tutelage" (p. 298), showing how the textile factories' work rules, company dormitories, child-care centers, and domestic science courses reflected social reformers' fears about working-class domesticity. Canning overestimates the impact of protective labor legislation on women workers, however; other recent research has concluded that such legislation was easily circumvented.

Canning's book is a substantial addition to a growing body of literature that details how gender shaped industrialization and class formation. Perhaps her targets—thus far largely impervious to work on gender—will finally be influenced by Canning's valuable study.

NANCY R. REAGIN
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BARBARA McCLOSKEY. *George Grosz and the Communist Party: Art and Radicalism in Crisis, 1918 to 1936*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1997. Pp. xiv, 258. \$39.50.

In the wake of World War I, George Grosz (1893–1959) emerged as the most notable Communist artist in Germany. Despite the renown gained from his position in the vanguard of modernist artistic movements and his effectiveness as a politically engaged satirist and propagandist, Grosz's relationship with the increasingly dogmatic Communist Party was "tense and uncertain." In this sober but fascinating monograph, art historian Barbara McCloskey explores this nexus between modern art and radical left-wing politics.

McCloskey conducted impressive research in a host of German and American archives and consulted an

extensive array of newspapers, journals, and secondary sources, all of which contributed to this truly interdisciplinary synthesis. Although Grosz has been the subject of two important earlier studies by Beth Irwin Lewis and M. Kay Flavell, McCloskey's careful research and her focus on the political dimensions of the artist's career have yielded a significant contribution that transcends Grosz himself. This book speaks to the general issue of art and politics in the twentieth century.

While the chronological parameters of the study begin with the founding of the German Communist Party (KPD) in 1918, McCloskey provides useful background information on Grosz during World War I, when he was discharged from military service due to psychological instability. She refrains from judgment about whether this condition was partially feigned and deftly shows how Grosz's neurotic mindset was linked to his own creative process and how it reflected his "antipathy toward the dominant cultural order" (p. 18). Additionally, McCloskey explains how Grosz's psychological problems became manifested in sexual fantasies that were often violent and misogynist. As Communist politicians were later to discover, Grosz was psychologically complex and fiercely independent. McCloskey enables us to appreciate these qualities without succumbing to the pitfalls of psychohistory.

In the wake of his discharge from the army in May 1915, Grosz experienced the most artistically productive years of his life as he played a leading role among German modernists: he made contributions not only to Expressionism, but also to Dadaism and New Objectivity. At the same time, he became the most prominent artist working on behalf of the KPD, producing graphic art for a number of Communist publications (especially in connection with the Malik-Verlag) and participating in a range of leftist cultural initiatives, including Erwin Piscator's Proletarian Theater. His brilliant and controversial satirical depictions of politicians, industrialists, clergy, and the military, among others, resulted in three trials during the Weimar Republic (all of which featured judgments against him). It is evident from the art he produced that Grosz was not prepared to accept constraints on his thinking: this was clearly manifested in the early Dada work, which represented a "thorough going attack on the institution of art and the bourgeois cultural order that sustained it" (p. 70). It was not in his nature to abide by conventions or respect authority.

That Grosz was both rebellious and politically committed makes his relationship with the Communist Party especially fascinating. Here was an individual completely dedicated to socialism, someone who passionately believed in social justice and who abhorred militarism. And while the Communist leadership initially welcomed his contributions, Joseph Stalin and his cohorts proved increasingly domineering: they did not appreciate satire nor believe that Grosz "document[ed] the real strength of the revolutionary proletariat" (p. 125). The 1928 Comintern Congress passed

a resolution establishing (in typically euphemistic phrasing) "closer ties between German and Soviet artists" (p. 130), but Grosz was not one to accept subordination to any authority, and he drifted off on a more independent course. There continued to be ample opportunity for him to use his art for political purposes, but by the late 1920s, Grosz was being attacked not just by the nationalist right but also by many on the Communist left who were more responsive to Moscow. Grosz's increasingly strained relationship with the KPD in the mid-to-late 1920s, McCloskey shows, is crucial to understanding his decision to create more commercially salable portraits and landscape paintings, and ultimately, his decision to emigrate to the United States in 1932.

In detailing this fascinating but complicated history of Grosz's relationship with the Communist Party, McCloskey has written an extraordinary book. Her thoughtful and meticulous scholarship is precisely what is needed with a subject as complex and unstable as Grosz. She has an excellent understanding of German history and the history of Communism (both in theory and practice). She is creative and authoritative in explicating the visual images. And she relates Grosz to other contemporaries; such as Wieland Herzfelde, Hannah Höch, Raoul Hausmann, Otto Dix, and Bertolt Brecht. McCloskey makes it abundantly clear that Grosz was at the center of many extraordinary cultural activities during the Weimar Republic, and she also provides diachronic context, placing him in a longer tradition of politically engaged artists (for example, comparing him to Thomas Theodor Heine who earlier produced radical illustrations for *Simplicissimus*).

There is very little in this book to criticize. The discussion of Grosz's career in the United States, which featured interactions with Diego Rivera and John Dos Passos, among others, is so captivating that one wishes the chronological scope extended beyond 1936. Her decision to end the book here—when Grosz "the revolutionary iconoclast had withdrawn into the artistic process" (p. 193)—is defensible. But one still would have liked more. Also, it is unfortunate that this handsome volume does not include color plates. But these observations should not detract from this important and engaging study.

JONATHAN PETROPOULOS
Loyola College in Maryland

DIRK H. MÜLLER. *Arbeiter, Katholizismus, Staat: Der Volksverein für das katholische Deutschland und die katholischen Arbeiterorganisationen in der Weimarer Republik*. (Politik- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte, number 43.) Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz. 1996. Pp. 352. DM 49.80.

Dirk H. Müller's study of the People's Association for Catholic Germany and the Catholic Worker Clubs in the Weimar Republic can be seen as a companion volume to other German publications that have appeared in the last two decades. It is closest ideologi-

cally and historiographically to Michael Schneider's *Die Christlichen Gewerkschaften 1894–1933* (1976), for both works were produced under the auspices of the Research Institute of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation in Bonn. Experts in the field of German Catholic studies will also be eager to place Müller's book next to Rudolf Brack's *Deutscher Episkopat und Gewerkschaftsstreit 1900–1914* (1976), Horstwalter Heitzer's *Der Volksverein für das katholische Deutschland 1890–1918* (1979), and Jürgen Aretz's *Katholische Arbeiterbewegung und Nationalsozialismus 1923–1945* (1982).

Like these earlier works, Müller's contribution is meticulously researched and exhaustingly thorough. In addition to the publications of the movements themselves and the familiar archival sources in Bonn and Mönchen-Gladbach, he draws on the archive of the People's Association in Potsdam, whose existence was only rumored in West Germany before 1989. Perhaps because of the significance of this latter material, Müller does not really limit himself to the Weimar period; rather he provides the reader with background chapters that add new insights to the studies of Schneider, Brack, and Heitzer. One unfortunate aspect of this is the author's irritating habit of citing archive, collection, and portfolio but omitting from many footnotes the specific document he has used. There is also a handbook or reference-work quality to most of the book. Many of the chapters read like lists of names, organizations, and budgets mixed together with seemingly endless indirect quotes from *Volksverein* and *Arbeiterverein* literature swamping and obscuring the brief analytic passages. In short, there should have been more analysis of this valuable archival material from Potsdam.

Those patient enough to wade through the mass of details will find the book's arguments unobjectionable. Both the *Volksverein* and the Catholic *Arbeitervereine* experienced their heydays before 1914. The former was an impressive empire of educational and journalistic ventures that offered laymen a vast array of political and intellectual opportunities outside of the church. The workers' clubs were always more closely watched over by clerics, but they became increasingly meaningful to workers as feeder organizations to the Christian trade unions and as a political training ground for the left wing of the Center Party. Neither organization was able to adjust, however, to changed conditions after 1918. The *Volksverein* lost many of its functions to specialized interest groups that emerged around the Center Party, languished at the grass roots, and eventually went into financial receivership. The rank and file of the *Arbeitervereine* grew tired of being almost independent, protested this adolescent status, and, except for a core of aging true believers, drifted away. Threatening both organizations was the unwillingness of the Catholic hierarchy to tolerate the independent or autonomous activities of laymen. The tendency toward greater controls that set in with the "Catholic Action" movement after 1922 stifled the remaining potential of the two organizations under

scrutiny. This trend culminated with the church's controversial negotiation and partial accommodation with Adolf Hitler. Müller places the clericalization of Catholic Germany leading to 1933 in the wider context of developments that began in the late imperial years and continued well into the post-1945 period.

While certainly not a "good read," this monograph is nevertheless a valuable "must read" for all specialists in the field of German Catholic studies.

ERIC DORN BROSE
Drexel University

UTE DEICHMANN. *Biologists under Hitler*. Translated by THOMAS DUNLAP. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1996. Pp. xviii, 468. \$45.00.

Although the 1980s and early 1990s saw an explosion of literature on science in National Socialist Germany, many disciplines, institutions, and other important topics still have not been covered in scholarly monographs. One of these areas is the subject of biology and biologists under National Socialism. Ute Deichmann's book thus fills a gap in the literature. Deichmann, who was a biology teacher before she set out to write a dissertation under the tutelage of Benno Müller-Hill (author of *Murderous Science* [1988] and a respected molecular biologist) in Cologne, Germany, worked in close collaboration with Müller-Hill "in the manner of experimental science—by a process of constant dialogue. Ute Deichmann deserves credit for writing this book, stimulated by this method" (Müller-Hill's forward, p. xi). Müller-Hill admits that neither of the authors has "any academic background in history" (p. xi). The scientific approach, lack of historical training, and its origins as a dissertation have all shaped the structure and content of Deichmann's book.

This is a comprehensive and detailed study of biologists and biology in social, political, and financial context. It is based on archival research in the traditional files mined by historians of National Socialist German science but focuses much more intensively on the grant files of the German Research Society (DFG), Germany's equivalent to the U. S. National Science Foundation. In fact, the DFG files permeate the footnotes. Although in some ways they are unreliable sources of information, one of the strengths and contributions of the book is Deichmann's systematic reading and analysis of the files; at times, the reader has the sense of reading over the author's shoulder in the archives. Deichmann's decision also to use the postwar Science Citation Index (something a scientist would do) is problematic as it was not created until after the war and is used to assess the quality of scientific work done in Nazi Germany.

The book does not have a single sustained argument but rather presents findings about the relationship between politics and science and presents valuable results of the author's archival research. Deichmann states at the outset that the question she was interested in was how "National Socialist politics and ideology

influenced the development of biological research" (p. 1). She concludes, following recent interpretations about science in Nazi Germany, that the greatest impact of National Socialist policy on biology was the forced exodus of Jewish scientists; she rightly points out (as others have also noted) that biology did not disappear. Here Deichmann finds that thirteen percent of all biologists she examined—primarily zoologists and botanists at the universities and Kaiser Wilhelm Institutes (but not other biological research institutions), a total of 445 people—emigrated. She also addresses the usual topic of Nazi Party membership. Here she found that sixty percent—a fairly high figure—of non-Jewish biologists were party members.

Deichmann considers her findings surprising, in part because the early postwar literature, especially with regard to physics, seemed to point to the decline of science under National Socialist policies. More recent literature from the late 1980s and early 1990s, however, has already called attention to the fact that science not only survived but often thrived in National Socialist Germany (especially with regard to the Kaiser Wilhelm Institutes). The point that should be made is that the dismissals had unintended repercussions for science; they were a part of social and racial policies and not a policy for science.

Another question that motivated both Deichmann and Müller-Hill was why German science lagged behind the international scene in the postwar period. Deichmann concludes that it was not the result of National Socialist policy but rather the "moral failure of German scientists after 1933 and the later international isolation that ensued" (p. 319). Surely one also has to consider the legacy of National Socialist Germany on the postwar world: without that legacy, Germany would not have been divided into opposing political camps and thus weakened; without the legacy of Nazi Germany, scientists would not have emigrated to the United States or the Soviet Union; without National Socialist policies, important personnel would not have been thinned out. Another factor to consider is that the United States was already emerging as a scientific world power after the war.

What differentiates Deichmann's study from many others is the strong quantitative character of several chapters. Not only has data been amassed on emigration and party membership patterns, but most of the data involves the DFG grants.

This is not an easy book to read. The material presented seems endless; there are too many quotations, and quotations often span multiple pages (e.g. pp. 85–87, 237, 200–05). The book has hardly been pruned from the dissertation. In addition to the highlights I mention, there are chapters on scientific research by the SS and on biological warfare; Deichmann has put everything into the book instead of formulating a strong thesis and presenting the essential material to support it. With skillful editing, the text could have been pruned by one third and it would have been more readable and cogent. The author should also have paid

closer attention to accurate citation of quoted and paraphrased material and proofread to avoid typographical errors (e.g. pp. 85, 90). There are countless passages with no page numbers attached to quoted material (e.g. pp. 147, 148, 179, 181, 183–84). In general, the translation from the German is good, although there are a number of syntactical inversions, grammatical errors, and mistranslations. Finally, although Deichmann refers to some of the recent literature on the topic, she is less than generous in dealing with previous accounts that overlap with her own research.

KRISTIE MACRAKIS
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THEODORE S. HAMEROW. *On the Road to the Wolf's Lair: German Resistance to Hitler*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1997. Pp. x, 442. \$29.95.

Theodore S. Hamerow has added to his highly regarded works on nineteenth-century German history an examination of the motivations of the German Resistance to Adolf Hitler. In 442 pages he acknowledges the phenomenon's existential challenge. The most important issues addressed are the resisters' views on democracy and on the "Jewish Question."

Hamerow finds that many of the resisters were filled with as much aversion to democracy as to totalitarianism (p. 10). He reports Ulrich von Hassell as having advocated in 1918, "general suffrage . . . in an organic form," based on "the various forms of self-government," at a time when neither the House of Commons, the *Chambre des Députés*, nor the Congress were elected by general suffrage. This leads Hamerow to the conclusion that "Hassell remained to the end a bitter opponent of popular sovereignty" (p. 24). General Ludwig Beck's commitment to the restoration of the Weimar Constitution and to an expansion of the franchise beyond pre-1933 laws by including soldiers is omitted. It is certainly true that some resisters were not enthusiastic democrats. But most resisters were wary of a parliamentary system that could not prevent a gang of murderers from gaining power through back-room intrigues. Their misgivings concerned not the principle of popular sovereignty but the methods of its exercise. The resisters, including socialists such as Carlo Mierendorff, Adolf Reichwein, Hermann Maass, Wilhelm Leuschner, Jakob Kaiser, and Max Habermann, as well as Claus and Berthold von Stauffenberg, deprecated any restoration of the Weimar multiparty system.

Regarding the resisters' views on the "Jewish Question," Hamerow warns the reader that "there is little conclusive evidence" on whether the regime's "virulent racism" motivated the members of the Resistance. He nevertheless concludes that "most members of the resistance" were not motivated by a fundamental opposition to Hitler's racist policies but only by a

rejection of their implementation (p. 14). But Hamerow's condemnations are too sweeping.

Hassell stands accused of "flirtation with anti-Semitism" for his part in preparing the German National People's Party platform in 1919 (pp. 68, 77, 189, 252), when in fact, as Hamerow's source states, Hassell had sought, unsuccessfully, to tone down its anti-Jewish plank. One of the earliest and most active members of the Resistance, Hans von Dohnanyi, who was publicly honored in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum for his contribution to the rescue of Jews, is not in the index, nor is Alexis von Roenne, who stated during his interrogation by the Gestapo that he had "rejected all measures in the Jewish Question." Carl Goerdeler is represented as having "advised Hitler on how to practice bigotry unobtrusively, how to be an anti-Semite without appearing to be one" (pp. 68, 328). In fact, Goerdeler had advocated strict adherence to legal norms (pp. 67, 128) to protect the Jews. He risked his life by urging the British government to refuse to discuss the vital issues Germany was interested in if the practices against the Jews continued, thus committing treason under German statute law. Hamerow fails to cite this extraordinary *démarche*.

Although some of the resisters' references to possible solutions of the "Jewish Question" are shocking today, when contrasted with the murder of six million Jews, Hamerow gives prominence to such biases as though they had existed in the face of the mass murders and discredits evidence to the contrary. For example, he refers to Berthold von Stauffenberg's testimony that he and his brother Claus had initially approved of the greater part of National Socialist internal policies, including "the racial principle" (p. 63), but suppresses von Stauffenberg's verdict that "the fundamental ideas of National Socialism had in practice all been perverted into their opposites." Claus von Stauffenberg is treated with respect but is ultimately discredited by slight of hand in a phrase following a reference to Henning von Tresckow's statement that it had not been "primarily the war" that had "led him and the others to attempt the overthrow of the Hitler dictatorship . . . but the extermination of 'tens of thousands of Jews':" "Claus von Stauffenberg did not go quite so far" (p. 316). Hamerow disregards von Stauffenberg's first recorded statement, in April 1942, that Hitler must be killed because of the systematic murder of the Jews and the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Soviet prisoners of war, although he cites the work in which the statement is published. Hamerow also suppresses (p. 317) the Gestapo summary of the interrogations of the conspirators of July 1944: "The entire inner alienation from the ideas of National Socialism which characterized the men of the reactionary conspiratorial circle expresses itself above all in their position on the Jewish Question. [. . .] they stubbornly take the liberal position of granting to the Jews in principle the same status as to every German."

Hamerow singles out "a handful of the righteous"—Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Helmuth von Moltke, Julius

Leber, Leuschner, Mierendorff, Haubach, Albrecht Haushofer, Andreas Hermes, Peter Yorck von Wartenburg—and leaves it to “God” whether or not “Beck, Goerdeler, Hassell, the Stauffenbergs, Schulenburg, Canaris, Stieff, Popitz and Tresckow” ought to be included (p. 387). This transcends the realm of historical inquiry.

Two final observations must be made. Hamerow concentrates on a minority of resisters involved in the July 1944 insurrection, and a few clergymen. Of some 700 who were arrested for their involvement, including 200 who were slowly strangled on meathooks, twenty-two receive more than a passing reference, and another thirty-four are named. Statements such as “most resisters” or “the officer corps” (pp. 66, 67, 90, 97, 102, 105, 114, 116, 125, 175, 261, 282, 286) are based on this small sample.

Moreover, in his preface (p. ix) Hamerow reveals a remarkable method of evaluating evidence and its interpretation: when three (named) colleagues who read his typescript, none of whom are experts on the subject, suggested a change he “complied without hesitation”; when two recommended a change, he complied in almost all instances; but “where it was one on one, my opinion against that of a single reviewer,” he “became more obdurate.” Perhaps obscurely aware of the logical weakness of this method (one colleague could be right and two could be wrong), he adds that he is uncertain whether this was wise, stubborn, or vain.

In spite of ellipses of key evidence and occasional ridicule of the resisters and although he constantly discredits the resisters’ intentions, in doing so, (pp. 125, 193, 295, 384), Hamerow records their main motivations. He has produced a work of erudition that will no doubt stimulate further consideration of its important subject.

PETER HOFFMANN
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BRIAN LADD. *The Ghosts of Berlin: Confronting German History in the Urban Landscape*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1997. Pp. ix, 271. \$29.95.

In a now-famous *aperçu*, the critic Karl Scheffler proposed in 1910 that Berlin “was damned to perpetual becoming, never to being” (*Berlin—Ein Stadtschicksal* [1989]). The proposition holds true today, perhaps more than ever. And yet, for a city in perpetual transition, forever clearing away the old to make way for the new, Berlin possesses (and is possessed by) an amazingly wide assortment of historical ghosts. Like an enormous haunted house, the urban topography of Germany’s once and future capital is dotted at practically every turn by architectural specters, some of them relatively benign, many of them decidedly not. The current task of rebuilding and reuniting the city is partly an act of exorcism, partly an effort at historical reclamation.

Brian Ladd’s book is a brilliant study of Berlin’s

confrontation with the historical legacy residing in its physical landscape: in buildings and monuments that still stand as well as in empty lots and cleared spaces that often speak more eloquently of the past than the extant structures. Ladd is ever mindful that his account is only a part, albeit a crucial one, of the larger story of Germany’s ongoing effort to come to terms with its troubling history. He also realizes, as do most Germans, that the ways in which this nation grapples with the ghosts of its collective past will help determine how it handles the challenges of the present and future.

Because Ladd chooses to focus on “buildings and sites that have attracted recent attention and controversy” (p. 4), he does not claim to offer a comprehensive architectural history of the German capital. Nonetheless, since many of Berlin’s contested sites date back to early phases in the city’s development, he takes us through a goodly stretch of urban (and national) history. The Nazi era may have left the most contentious remains, but not all Berlin’s ghosts wear brown sheets.

Appropriately enough, Ladd opens his story with a prologue about a structure that no longer exists: the Berlin Wall. Its destruction is simply the most recent example of something Berlin had been doing with a vengeance since it became the German capital in 1871. When the wall still stood, of course, it symbolized more than any other structure the ideological divisions of the Cold War. Yet Berlin has always been a city of sharp spatial rifts, particularly between the wealthy West and the proletarian East and North. During the revolution of 1919, Harry Kessler noted in his diary that there was “seething hatred” of western Berlin in the northern and eastern parts of the city (*In the Twenties: The Diaries of Harry Kessler* [1971]). He might have said the same thing seventy-five years later, when early euphoria over reunification had given way to bitter resentments on both sides of the dismantled Cold War barrier.

The most prominent building in old Berlin, the Imperial Palace, is also gone, razed by the East German Communists in 1950. There is, however, a plan to rebuild the structure on its original site, which is now occupied by the Palace of the Republic. Obviously, this former East German parliament building would have to go to make way for the new-old palace, which for many in the West would hardly constitute much of a loss. Yet Erich Honecker’s “Palazzo del Prozzo” also has its defenders, who see it as a symbol of the socialist system that has been so rudely shoved aside since reunification. Thus, as Ladd nicely puts it, “we can see rival nostalgias at work in the efforts of [the buildings’] respective advocates” (p. 59). This is a very Berlin story, as is the reality that, at least for the moment, money is lacking either to tear down the Palace of the People or to rebuild the Palace of the Kings.

Surviving buildings and sites from the Nazi era also have their advocates, not (one hopes) because people are nostalgic for what they represented but because

many Germans (not to mention foreigners) see them as stone-and-mortar admonitions against the evils of the past and as memorials to those who suffered under the Third Reich. Practical considerations also speak for their retention, for the government of reunited Germany, which is scheduled to move to Berlin in 1999, requires enormous amounts of space. It makes good financial sense to house some of the ministries and agencies in renovated Nazi-era buildings rather than to build exclusively from scratch. But along with the extensive renovation, it might be necessary to call in some historical Ghost Busters before the new tenants take possession of their quarters.

Space, being a problem for book reviewers as well as for architects and city planners, does not permit anything close to a thorough accounting of the masterful manner in which Ladd deploys his array of examples and sub-stories, from the Alte Wache and the Brandenburg Gate through the Reichstag and Potsdamer Platz, to buttress his contention that the collective identity of Berlin, and of Germany itself, has been shaped by battles over urban design and its political meaning. But it needs to be said that this book will be invaluable to anyone who wants to understand the complex interplay between Berlin's haunted topography, political evolution, and present aspirations in a newly united nation and vastly transformed Europe.

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BEATRIX BOUVIER, *Ausgeschaltet! Sozialdemokraten in der Sowjetischen Besatzungszone und in der DDR 1945–1953*. (Forschungsinstitut der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Reihe Politik- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte, number 45.) Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz, 1996. Pp. 367. DM 49.80.

Why did the Social Democratic Party (SPD) fare so badly in the eastern states in the first all-German elections in 1990 despite the fact that Saxony and Thuringia had been among the traditional strongholds of social democracy? Beatrix Bouvier answers this question in her study of the systematic elimination of social democracy in East Germany after World War II. The survey covers the period from the end of the Hitler dictatorship until the 1953 uprising. The emphasis is on the years 1946 to 1951; that is, from the forced unification (*Zwangsvereinigung*) of the SPD and the Communist Party (KPD) into the Socialist Unity Party (SED) until the end of the first screenings and purges of the new unified party (*Einheitspartei*). Based on interviews with the Social Democrats affected and on East German (GDR) archives, open since reunification, Bouvier draws a very clear and detailed picture of suppression and persecution of former Social Democrats in East Germany.

In her introduction, she takes up the path to the unified party, which she properly characterizes as one of forced unification. She then surveys the Social Democrats in the leadership institutions of the SED

and the consequences for them of the Stalinization of the SED, which pretended to be a "new model party" (*Partei des neuen Typs*). Although her essay gives attention to the so-called *Spitzenfunktionäre*, even more is paid to the *mittlere Funktionärsebene*, to the fate of the numerous nameless party workers who were ignored by historical research until now.

Social democratic life and behavior during the dictatorship is presented vividly and the mechanism of terror is displayed through numerous examples. Bouvier succeeds in showing that there were still areas of action, even after the forced unification, where social democratic life existed, above all in the cooperative movement, the *Konsum*, the domain of the former Social Democrats. Even these last social democratic bastions were destroyed by systematic arrests, however. The biographies clarify how fast former Social Democrats were persecuted by East German procurators. One example is Emma Baumann, who represents a typical development from workers' daughter to Social Democrat. She rejected the party unification but was admitted to the SED after April 1946 and found her niche in the local *Konsum* until she was arrested one night in May 1948. Her further fate included condemnation by a Soviet military tribunal to ten years in prison for anti-Soviet activities, followed by early release in 1954. She stayed in the GDR but withdrew from social life completely.

Although Bouvier presents selected examples of the life of Social Democrats in the Soviet occupation zone and the early years of the GDR, they reflect beyond the individual to mirror general problems and states of being. In her estimation, about 5,000 to 6,000 Social Democrats were condemned because of alleged espionage and underground activity. The East German government used show trials, the first of which took place in Dessau in April 1950, as means of propaganda and deterrence. The condemned men and women were not set free until the middle of the 1950s. With the mass arrests, which mostly took place on order of the occupying power, and with the flight of former Social Democrats to the West as a result, the last social democratic groups in East Germany disappeared.

This book distinguishes the elimination of the former leadership, which occurred mainly by means of increasing integration, from the elimination of the middle level, which occurred in several stages: first by the usual means of cadre policy, then by means of ideological defamation, and finally by means of open and massive repression. The grassroots, which are dealt with here only as a minor matter, were isolated and without orientation because of the integration of the leadership personalities and the elimination of the middle level. Bouvier describes this process in a very detailed way and explains thereby why the election results for the SPD were so unexpectedly bad after reunification: there was no social democratic life anymore to rise again. The West German SPD had developed further; it was, for the former Social Dem-

ocrats who had stayed in the GDR, no longer the party that had ceased to exist on their side in 1946.

This excellent book should serve as a guide for further regional and local historical surveys of the social democratic grassroots, which are difficult to locate.

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CHARLES S. MAIER. *Dissolution: The Crisis of Communism and the End of East Germany*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1997. Pp. xx, 440. \$29.95.

Readers of Charles S. Maier's previous work will already have surmised that this book is not just one more history of the collapse of East Germany (GDR) and reunification. It does tell that story, based in large part on East German archival records, with particularly impressive analyses of the economic collapse and the transformations of political culture under communism and afterwards. But true to his reputation as comparative historian *par excellence*, Maier weaves his reflections on the East German experience into the historical tapestry of nineteenth and twentieth-century European political thought and revolution, German national traditions, and the contemporary context and heritage of Milan Kundera's and György Konrad's Central Europe of Habsburgs, Poles, Czechs, and Hungarians.

What is most remarkable about this beautifully written book is that it shows the author to be a virtuoso on many different registers—from political philosophy to economic analysis, sociological structures to post-modern linguistic reflections, and contemporary politics—always spiced with a skepticism that leads to creative interpretations and alternative historical possibilities. The very first chapter, which piquantly starts with an excerpt from Christoph Hein's *The Knights of the Round Table* (1989), carries the reader from an incisive summary of the Stalinist genesis of the GDR's "real existing socialism" to a fascinating analysis of the spaces of autonomous collective action that developed in East German society in response to communist oppression. This concept of an autonomous *Eigen-Sinn*, drawn from Alf Lüdtke, becomes notably clearer here than in the belabored style of the original. More important for the book's overall argument are the remarkably Arendtian concepts of a gradual transformation of the notion of "public to that of privileged and civic to complicit" (p. 42)—recalling Andrei Amalrik's *Will the Soviet Union Survive until 1984?* (1970)—and the "tethered consciousness," which let intellectuals internalize "a set of apparently permanent and irremovable constraints" (p. 55).

The splendid second chapter on the sources of the GDR's economic failure is skillfully built around the dilemmas of the Soviet-East German trading interdependence, the fateful role of the abortive 1970s re-

forms, and the remarkable, if ultimately futile economic policy debate of the 1970s and 1980s. Characteristically, Maier questions several accepted notions, including the persistence of Soviet exploitation and the inevitability that communist economic reforms would fail. Instead he points throughout the book to significant parallel patterns in industrial societies, both communist and capitalist, in economic and well as social and political crises of productivity/social services, alienation, legitimacy, and, most notably, "the decade of accumulation of wealth and privilege" (p. 201) in the 1980s. These similarities he suggests, might be more important than the differences and provide a more powerful analytical tool than the communism-capitalism or totalitarianism-democracy dichotomies.

In the third and fourth chapters, which tell the familiar story of the autumn 1989 upheaval and transition with verve and thoughtful insights, I found the comparison with earlier German revolutions, especially 1848, less convincing. The assertion that post-Stalinist East-Central Europe most resembled the old Central European "*Polizeystaat*, whose bureaucrats maintained that they must discipline their subjects for their own collective good" (p. 328)—a notion that frames the book from the summary historical background at the beginning of chapter three to its reassertion at the end of chapter six—is an interesting one. Yet would early nineteenth-century *Biedermeier* subjects really recognize as their own the communist world of collectives, ideological slogans, mass organizations, and the Stasi apparatus—let alone the banishment of religion? The book soars to vintage Maier with the highly original discussions on two languages of revolution (regime vs. demonstrators), on the East Germans' "special gift" of a "founding moment of popular mobilization" (p. 167) to the reunited nation, and on the concept of civil society.

On the extraordinary international negotiations that led to the reunification Maier follows the standard monographs and memoirs, the best of which are Stephen Szabo, *The Diplomacy of German Unification* (1992); Timothy Garton Ash, *In Europe's Name: Germany and the Divided Continent* (1993); Elizabeth Pond, *Beyond the Wall: Germany's Road to Unification* (1993); and the source Maier used most extensively, Philip Zelikov and Condoleezza Rice, *Germany Unified and Europe Transformed* (1995). But the sections on the currency exchange and *Treuhand*, based on extensive German sources, are most rewarding. The portrayal of the hotly controversial *Abwicklung*, the post-communist "purge and renewal" of academic institutions, shows Maier's masterful touch with contentious issues, previously demonstrated in his sophisticated and balanced assessments of the David Abraham dispute and the *Historikerstreit*.

I could have done without the epilogue's musings around the wrapped *Reichstag*. Like Cristo's wrap, they focus more on packaging than substance. But that is a

matter of taste. By any measure, this is an extraordinarily insightful, imaginative, and stimulating book.

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PETER E. QUINT. *The Imperfect Union: Constitutional Structures of German Unification*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1997. Pp. xi, 482. \$75.00.

Written by a law professor, this is a thorough and perceptive account of a strange episode in modern legal history: the absorption of the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) into the Federal Republic of Germany. This German event took place in a characteristically German way, amid legal debate of daunting complexity. Competing legal theories sounded throughout the process of unification. German lawyers thrashed out issues that the uninitiated could only find bizarre, including notably the disconcerting question of whether the German Reich remained in legal existence or not. The validity of legal provisions running back into the 1920s and 1930s was on the table. The legal profession of Germany showed, in general, an astonishing ability to offer narrowly "legal" interpretations of a national history that has known far more political disruption than any other in Europe over the past century.

Peter E. Quint offers a trustworthy English-language guide to this remarkable record of German commitment to "legality" in the face of momentous geopolitical change. His book, based principally on admirably wide reading in the legal literature, supplemented by memoirs, newspaper articles, and interviews with leading participants, covers all of what Quint calls the "constitutional" issues. Thus, the book guides readers through a variety of debates, all of them about how to translate charged political issues into questions of law. Reunification raised touchy questions about the *Grundgesetz*, a cold war document that advertised itself as provisional and that always looked forward to some future restoration of a true Germany. Quint's account of the use of Article 23, the provision that permitted the reincorporation of unredeemed German territories, is surefooted. So is his account of the untidy demise of Article 146, the faintly millennialist provision drafted in the expectation that Germans, once reunited, would reconsider the form their polity should take. These were the two provisions that spoke most directly to those who wanted a restored Germany (expellees from the lands east of the Oder-Neisse line) and those who wanted a transformed one (various politicians of the left). Quint nicely traces the fate of both articles as the dull reality of the Federal Republic definitively displaced a number of radiant dreams. He works through a long list of other politico-legal questions as well. There is a chapter on the artful legal compromise on abortion, for example, by which the Federal Constitutional Court found a lawyerly way effectively to lessen the status of abortion as an offense while insisting that it remained an offense neverthe-

less. The Constitutional Court is also the focus of Quint's chapter on the treatment of formerly socialist property. As others have done, Quint asks pointedly, in a chapter on rehabilitation and compensation, why expropriated property owners should have been the legal darlings of reunification when other victims of the GDR regime faced much more pressing woes. Other chapters include discussions of the Stasi files, the prosecution of GDR officials and the treatment of civil servants. The final section of the book runs through the immense difficulties that attended German reunification in the complex setting of international treaties and organizations.

The result is a book that should be very welcome, especially to anybody who lacks the skill or the patience to work through the law of German reunification. No matter how uneasy readers may feel when faced with law, they should come away from this clear and exceptionally well-grounded book with a good sense of the host of legal questions that surrounded the reunification.

Inevitably, though, sophisticated readers will wish for a bit more. Quint's main purpose is to open what for most readers is the closed book of German law, not to engage directly in creative legal debate. Only in a few spots does he really chew over the legal arguments he summarizes. In discussing the prosecution of former GDR officials, for example, Quint attacks the question of retroactivity in an authentically stimulating way; this is an exception, however. Quint is also misleadingly silent, on occasion, about many of the peculiarities of German law. The methodological presuppositions and traditions of German law are more different from those of American law than many readers can be expected to know or to learn from this book. Most of all, Quint allows the most remarkable aspect of the debate to pass too little remarked: the very fact that so much of the battle was framed in legal terms of such complexity. In most parts of the world, lawyers know how to accept great political *faits accomplis* without troubling themselves too much over the hopeless task of explaining the world "legally." Yet so strong is the German *Rechtsstaat* tradition that reunification could transpire formally in a black-letter world, many of whose arguments would have taken exactly the same form regardless of whether the Soviet Union had collapsed or not. *Merkwürdig*.

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BENJAMIN ARBEL. *Trading Nations: Jews and Venetians in the Early Modern Eastern Mediterranean*. (Brill's Series in Jewish Studies, number 14.) New York: E. J. Brill. 1995. Pp. xi, 237.

This is a fascinating and important contribution by Benjamin Arbel to our knowledge of the Jewish role, both economic and political, in the Venetian-Ottoman confrontation that overshadowed the whole of the Near East in the sixteenth century. It will be an

indispensable tool for any scholar working on the eastern Mediterranean in early modern times. Based on articles and essays, most of which have been published before in earlier versions, the collection nevertheless has sufficient cohesion, and enough new material and insights, to constitute a major new contribution to this field of study.

Substantial numbers of Jews exiled from Spain in 1492 settled in the Ottoman Empire, forming communities that were subsequently enlarged by the thousands of Jews who had been more or less forcibly converted to Christianity in Spain and Portugal but who sought to return to normative Judaism in the eastern Mediterranean. One consequence of this migration was that Spanish and Portuguese-speaking Jews had ousted the Venetians and Florentines from their previous dominance over the long-distance trade of the Balkans and Istanbul by the opening decades of the sixteenth century. After their war with the Ottomans in the 1530s, the Venetians—in contrast to what had happened after previous such wars—were unable to resume the commercial operations they had traditionally plied. By 1541, the Venetian Senate was compelled to acknowledge that the republic's international trade was in grave crisis and that, in effect, Sephardic Jews now dominated the overland commerce of the Balkans.

One immediate consequence of this new situation was that Venice's traditional policy of excluding Jewish merchants from the city was abandoned, and Jewish merchants who were Ottoman subjects were given permission to settle in the Ghetto Vecchio (or "Old Ghetto") of Venice. The new status of the Jews in Venice was resented by many Christian Venetians, however, and the mounting friction between Venetians and Jewish merchants and customs officials (a handful of whom—including the legendary Joseph Nassi—stood in high favor with authorities in the ports of the Ottoman Empire), generated a remarkably complex and fraught Venetian-Jewish relationship that was a strange mixture of hostility and collaboration. This relationship was one of the key elements in the history of the Venetian Republic over the next century or so and has long been known to historians, but no one has yet explored its subtleties with as much good sense, erudition, judicious judgment, and fairness to scholars with whom he disagrees as Arbel. My only complaint is that the book is not longer. We are told rather less about the Jewish communities and their trade in such Venetian colonies as Corfu, Zante, and Crete than perhaps we ought to have been, and several crucial episodes, such as the important Jewish role in the Venetian-Ottoman struggle over Cyprus in 1570–1571, might well have been explored more fully.

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CARL IPSSEN. *Dictating Demography: The Problem of Population in Fascist Italy*. (Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time, num-

ber 28.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xvii, 281. \$54.95.

The last decade has produced a steady and previously unexampled stream of major monographs about fascist Italy. Deserving of an important place among them is Carl Ipsen's new study of the regime's population policy. Ipsen demonstrates that exhortations about demographic growth, given special prominence in the "battle for births," were an essential part of the formation of the "totalitarian" state after 1926. Moreover, the ramifications of government control over population size were vast and intruded into fascist definitions of the state and of welfare as well as into deliberations about gender, class, and, of course, "race." In this sense, Ipsen is right to reiterate that demography was the "problem of problems" in fascist Italy (p. 2), central to Mussolini's "vision of a new Fascist civilization" (p. 68).

Ipsen writes with span; he is praiseworthy aware of the context of his subject. He realizes, for example, that fascist Italy was not the only society seeking to harness its demographics, and he tells his readers of the possible parallels with such different states as Nazi Germany and democratic Sweden. He knows, too, that a fascist comprehension of the Italian family was not born fully grown from the head of the *Duce*. One avenue that Ipsen briefly and fruitfully explores is the history of statistics in post-Risorgimento Italy; it is difficult for a state to have a population policy until its agents can count accurately and consistently.

Migration is another matter at the heart of any demographic concern, and so Ipsen is driven to survey issues as various as the Liberal reaction to pre-1914 emigration to the Americas, the motivation of fascist land reclamation schemes, and the fascist view of the relationship between city and countryside. Another aspect of the problem was "race," especially as, from 1937 onward, the regime hardened its legislation and propaganda against "non-Italians." Here again, statisticians played a role. Ironically, one of Italy's best practitioners in the field was Giorgio Mortara, a Jew. He emigrated, to watch sadly as his erstwhile colleague, Corrado Gini, accepted the demographic ideas of the Nazi new order and hoped for the military victory of the "most vigorous races" (p. 250). In other words, while pursuing what might seem a somewhat narrow theme, Ipsen casts light on a host of major problems in the history of fascist Italy.

What, then, is his conclusion, especially with regard to what remains the most disputed point about fascist Italy: was it really a "totalitarian state?" Emilio Gentile and the new generation of (especially American) cultural historians usually assure us that, despite some idiosyncracies, it was. Victoria De Grazia and other social historians imply that it was not, or at least they argue that the structures of the *longue durée* of Italian life were too powerful for so superficial a thinker and so short-term a political manipulator as Mussolini to overcome. Where does Ipsen stand in this debate?

The answer seems to be somewhere in the middle. "The example of demographic policy," he tells us, "confirms that Mussolini did aspire to create a totalitarian regime" and that, despite its relative benignity compared with Nazi Germany or Stalin's Soviet Union, it was "part of a larger plan to control Italian industry, labor, culture, society, and politics" (p. 253). Nonetheless, Ipsen concludes in the last sentence of his book, fascist attempts to intrude as master into national bedrooms failed: "The Italian Fascist regime proved unable to manipulate demographic phenomena to the degree and in the direction desired" (p. 255). After all, as he had remarked earlier, "Fascist pronatalism seems to have done little to stave off declining Italian birth rates" (p. 184).

The old conundrum is not resolved. Fascism continues to look totalitarian from above and much less than totalitarian from below. What a follow-up study to that of Ipsen might attempt is to go where, for example, De Grazia and Luisa Passerini have already led and to examine not so much what the fascist regime thought was its demographic practice as what constituted the reaction of the peoples of all the Italies to birth and other family questions under the dictatorship. Then we might know more about how and in what sense the family is indeed a durable structure of Italian life.

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SYLVIE ANNE GOLDBERG. *Crossing the Jabbok: Illness and Death in Ashkenazi Judaism in Sixteenth- through Nineteenth-Century Prague*. Translated by CAROL COSMAN. (Contraversions: Critical Studies in Jewish Literature, Culture, and Society, number 3.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1996. Pp. xvii, 303. \$45.00.

Sylvie-Anne Goldberg's book is the first serious attempt to deal with the Jewish concept of death within the study of mentalities. While Philippe Ariès is the godfather of this study, it is clear that his magisterial study of death and dying in Europe dealt with Christian tradition(s) and reactions to it.

Let me begin by noting that this book, which was first a dissertation and then a French monograph (1989), is a major addition to the literature on representations and experiences of death in Europe as well as to Jewish Studies, a relatively new academic field with a long prehistory. This is not unimportant, given the complex and contested history of the *Annales* school of historiography and the role that overt and repressed anti-Semitism as well as Jewish self-hatred played in its formation.

With the work of Goldberg and her French Jewish contemporaries, a vital and missing link in the writing of the history of mentalities has been forged. As with the writing on the Shoah over the past decade, however, it is striking that the site for this reparation is not France (or Paris) but Prague. Just as it was possible for French intellectuals of all schools to write critically

(and insightfully) about the Shoah as long as they saw it as a "German Problem," so, too, it is possible to imagine an alternative narrative of death and dying among the Jews projected into the still vaguely frightening world of Prague Jewry: the world of the Maharal and the Golem, of the *Altneusynagog*, and of Franz Kafka, coughing his way through the streets, dying in life.

That being said, this is a brilliant and insightful book. It begins by providing a solid summary of traditional rabbinic views of dying, death, and the meaning ascribed to the dead body. Goldberg, in the opening chapter, sets the stage for the *Sonderweg* of Prague-Jewish history. Her study is both a broader study of the ways that Jews deal/dealt with death and dying as well as a detailed and often compelling history of the working out of these ways in one, rather unique Jewish community: that of Prague. Prague is unique (as all communities are unique one from the other) because of its peculiar history, its multicultural and competitive communities, its relationship to the various forms of Christianity before and after the Reformation, and its odd place in Habsburg culture and thought. Prague Jewry was more unique (never thought you would find that tautology used self-consciously and correctly) than other cities in the Habsburg empire because of its need to orient itself to the strong German and Czech communities and the role that Jewish intellectual culture played in a trans-regional way in Bohemia. Goldberg shows this in great detail, using unpublished records from the Jewish community as well as published documents as the basis for her work.

Central to Goldberg's tale is the history of the Prague burial society. The famous series of paintings of its activities from ca. 1780 are reproduced in this volume. These images, and the Prague burial society, are by far the best known representations of death within the history of European Jewry. They were often borrowed and even graced the opening room of the 1911 Jewish pavilion at the Dresden International Hygiene exhibition, where they served as visual documentation of the "advanced scientific" nature of Jewish dealing with corpses. Goldberg shows that Jewish burial rites had been highly contested in the nineteenth century with the rise of anxiety about premature burial and the Jewish practice of quick burial. Suddenly, the meaning attached to these representations in the early twentieth century shifted. They became proof of the correctness of Jewish "scientific" rituals of burial in an age no longer haunted by the specter of premature burial.

But Goldberg's narrative covers many more areas. She has a remarkable discussion of the role of Jewish physicians in Prague culture. Her concern is not only their medical practice but also the question of the role of the physician in the determining of death and the influence this had in shaping a "scientific" rereading of dying and death within Jewish ritual. Goldberg's documentation here is rich, and her discussion of Prague

Jewry shows that there are spaces in Europe in which anti-Semitism takes on a different face. The general absence of pogroms against the Jews as well-poisoners and the source of plague in Prague in the early modern period was answered in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by the spread of an "international" and "neutral" medicine that used the science of race as a way of speaking about the infirmities, mortality, and morbidity of the Jewish body. This is not discussed in Goldberg's work but has been examined in the Prague context in my *Franz Kafka, the Jewish Patient* (1995).

Goldberg has written a useful and readable book. The translation by Carol Crossman is smooth, and Thomas Laqueur's introduction helps frame the volume for the North American reader. It is a "must buy" for any one in Jewish Studies today.

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ANIKÓ KOVÁCS-BERTRAND. *Der ungarische Revisionismus nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg: Der publizistische Kampf gegen den Friedensvertrag von Trianon (1918–1931)*. (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg, for the Südost-Institut, Munich. 1997. Pp. 318.

If the word "trauma" can be applied to nations, then the impact on Hungary of the peace settlement of 1919–1920 can certainly be called traumatic. The basic facts are familiar: by the terms of the Treaty of Trianon, the "thousand year kingdom" of Hungary lost more than two-thirds of its territory and half of its population. Of the ten million Magyars who had formed only a bare majority in prewar Hungary, more than three million were transferred to the new multinational successor states, half of them in territory contiguous to the central mass of Magyars. The Treaty of Trianon was greeted in Hungary with a mixture of bewilderment, indignation, and profound humiliation. It gave rise to a propaganda campaign that in longevity and intensity was perhaps unprecedented in modern European history. This quest for territorial revision, which consumed a whole generation of Hungarians, is the subject of Anikó Kovács-Bertrand's study.

Although the Treaty of Trianon has been studied by historians from a number of perspectives, Kovács-Bertrand's book represents the first scholarly study of the subsequent propaganda campaign for territorial revision. Focusing on the period from 1918 to 1931, she provides much new information about the ways in which Hungary's political and intellectual elite attempted to shape public opinion at home and abroad. After an introductory chapter in which she traces the declining image of Hungary in the prewar era, Kovács-Bertrand proceeds to a careful examination of the way that first the short-lived Hungarian republic and then the counterrevolutionary government of Admiral Miklós Horthy responded to the draconian peace terms. An important shift in strategy occurred in 1923 when the government, now firmly guided by the con-

servative Count István Bethlen, decided to curtail the activities of the patriotic societies that had previously played a major role in formulating and disseminating propaganda. From 1923 on, the emphasis was on what was termed "economic propaganda." This was an attempt to depict Hungary as an integral part of Europe, a *Rechtsstaat* that was once again assuming its traditional role as a stabilizing factor in the Danubian region. In 1927, the revisionist campaign had its first international success in the form of Lord Rothermere's championing of limited territorial revision that would rearrange Danubian frontiers to conform more closely to the ethnic character of the area. Ironically, as Kovács-Bertrand demonstrates, this caused a good deal of confusion and even consternation among Hungarian nationalists, most of whom believed that "justice for Hungary" meant a full restoration of Hungary in its historic frontiers.

Kovács-Bertrand's work provides some fascinating insights into interwar Hungarian history. She makes it clear that although the Hungarian government funded and directed the revisionist propaganda campaign in the 1920s, national indignation over the Treaty of Trianon had developed spontaneously in late 1918 and 1919. The famous slogan of Hungarian revisionism, "no, no, never," was coined at the time of the democratic republic in 1918. The campaign was from the start supported by Hungarian scholars from many disciplines, including geographers like Pál Teleki who devised the famous "red map" that was used by the Hungarian delegation at the peace conference and was reproduced in great quantities in the interwar period. Kovács-Bertrand's meticulous examination of the vast literature of the revisionist campaign draws attention to the peculiar vocabulary and mythology of the Hungarian propagandists. Trianon Hungary was variously described as mutilated, bloodied, shackled, truncated, and sentenced to death. In the words of the slogan recited daily by Hungarian school children, "Dismembered Hungary is not a country, Greater Hungary is a paradise." The image of historic Hungary projected to Western elites was quite different. Hungary, it was argued, had for centuries been the bulwark of Christian Europe. The ethnic minorities in Hungary had in fact not been mistreated. Such arguments, however, proved unpersuasive, and the successes that Hungary would ultimately have in regaining some of its lost territories were not a result of the previous propaganda campaign but a reward for joining forces with Adolf Hitler's Germany.

Kovács-Bertrand's book is based on a thorough study of Hungarian archival materials and a large number of propaganda brochures, tracts, and articles. She has consulted most of the relevant secondary literature, although some key English-language works (notably the important collection *Essays on World War I: War and Peacemaking: A Case Study on Trianon*, edited by Bela Kiraly, Peter Pastor, and Ivan Sanders [1982]) are cited but not fully used. The organization of the book is somewhat mechanical: chapters are

broken down into too many numbered sections and subsections. This makes the book a bit disjointed, but the prose is quite readable and the material that is presented is important and fascinating. Overall, this is a valuable contribution to the study of interwar Hungary.

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ERIC ROMAN. *Hungary and the Victor Powers 1945–1950*. New York: St. Martin's. 1996. Pp. x, 342. \$49.95.

Although it contains no astounding revelations, Eric Roman's latest work is the first coherent account of Hungary's foreign relations during the transition period (all periods are periods of transition, my professor used to say) from the last stages of World War II to the consolidation of the Stalinist regime. It continues the story past 1945, where the work of Gyula Juhász on diplomatic relations, and my own, leave off. By 1950, Hungary had practically no foreign relations.

The story could not have been told on the basis of authentic documents before the pertinent archives were opened in the aftermath of the "lawful revolution" of 1990 in Hungary and, for that matter, in the United States and elsewhere in the West. The account remains incomplete, however, since Roman's book contains no reference to records from the Soviet period in Russia nor, as far as I could detect, to records in Prague (even though the issue of population exchange between Hungary and Slovakia receives ample treatment), Bratislava, Bucharest, or Belgrade.

Roman's book is diplomatic history, insofar as diplomacy can be abstracted from other aspects of history. The term "victor powers" was meant to designate not only the Allies of World War II but all of Hungary's neighbors, except for Austria. By this definition, Romania (spelled as Rumania) as well as the Soviet Union, the United States as well as Czechoslovakia, are "powers."

Although the study does not yield no major surprises, it comes close to being astounding in at least two respects. First, there is the underlying assumption that Hungary, although neither a victor nor a power, had options in 1945 or thereafter. Consequently, there are frequent references to "mistakes" made by Smallholder (*Kisgazdapárti*), Socialist, or Communist leaders that, presumably, account for some of the twists and turns in Hungary's fate.

Second, generally speaking, Mátyás Rákosi, the Hungarian Stalinist leader, and even Joseph Stalin himself (described as "ever the pragmatist"; p. 15) come off rather well, as reasonable, sometimes even moderate leaders, at least before 1948. Indeed, the record presented here does show that Rákosi was not just an "agent" or "puppet" and Hungary was not a "satellite" before the takeover of 1948.

The first of these assumptions would be difficult to sustain, and not just as a matter of hindsight or because of some kind of Marxist determinism; the

newspaper-reading public (and that includes the majority of adult Hungarians) must have been aware, from the moment the Red Army liberated the country, that Hungary had few, if any, options. Of course, people were free to entertain hopes. But in 1945 and 1946 the population was absorbed by existential problems: how to feed parents and children on meager rations; how to avoid long queues and still find the merchandise; how to make the home livable again, if it was not destroyed altogether. It is not clear what Roman has in mind when he cites "the general feeling in the country" (p. 141), or how he knows that "large segments of the public" were hoping and "ardently" expecting that the nation would receive justice (p. 45) and that "a deep gloom descended over the nation" (p. 127). Apparently, that gloom was not caused by shortages and existential problems; it was caused, Roman insists, by the lack of prospects for justice as regards the country's future borders.

Roman must be young, or at least younger than I. If not, he would realize that few people were concerned with the Paris Peace Treaty and even fewer had any expectation of "justice for Hungary," the return of territories lost under the Treaty of Trianon, or even of some border rectification. Sociographic surveys have been published to demonstrate these points (at least retroactively). Those who bothered to think about the matter in 1945 knew that Hungary had found itself once again on the losing side, compounding its former sins; that Hungary had been the last of the Axis allies to bail out; and that it could expect no mercy from any side and perhaps did not even deserve any.

The assessment of the role of Rákosi and other Communist leaders goes against the grain, which may well be one of the many positive aspects of Roman's work. Rákosi impressed the American ambassador—perhaps because he spoke English—as "being highly intelligent" and "one of the more enlightened Hungarian public men" (p. 92), and Roman generally concurs with that assessment. To be sure, the author does note that Rákosi restrained himself only until the Rajk trial, in 1948, at which time he turned into a "full-fledged Stalinist" (p. 254). In other words, Roman's assessment is absolutely correct. Nowadays the undifferentiated bashing of the state-socialist ("socialistic" according to Roman) regime by the established intelligentsia, including most historians, has become the norm. The Stalinist period between 1948 and 1955 has no apologists, and it is given credit for nothing except its crimes.

Roman may be exaggerating, however, in asserting that "there is no shred of evidence that the Soviets had a program [of Sovietization]" in 1947 (p. 167), or that the Soviets made no "overt attempt to steer, let alone dictate, Hungarian domestic and foreign policy" (p. 166). He goes a bit far also in insisting that the party that won an absolute majority in the elections of 1945, the Smallholders, "unmistakably spoke with the voice of reaction" (p. 152).

The credibility gap is further widened by a few

mistakes that I was able to detect in the background information. In 1947, the author asserts, "the border to the west was open" (p. 189); I know from personal experience that it was not. The elder son of the Regent was not a member of the team that travelled to Moscow to negotiate an armistice in October 1944 (p. 12); indeed, as a pilot who had volunteered for service on the Eastern Front, he had been shot down and killed, under mysterious circumstances, two years earlier. The infamous "percentage deal" entered into by Winston Churchill and Stalin had been negotiated in October 1944 rather than in 1943 (p. 26). Incidentally, this deal goes a long way toward explaining what Roman finds so inexplicable; namely, that Stalin was so "bewilderingly lenient" (p. 22) and exercised so much restraint with regard to Hungary.

Nevertheless, I found Roman's book most interesting, albeit perhaps for subjective reasons. To quote one of the Communist leaders, József Révai: "We are inclined to believe that the world turns around us" (p. 51). Of course, that generalization may apply to almost any nation, but seldom is the belief less justified than in the case of Hungary. At least Roman's book makes it clear that Hungary interacts with, and remains part of, the larger region of East-Central Europe.

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MARTHA LAMPLAND. *The Object of Labor: Commodification in Socialist Hungary*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1995. Pp. xv, 394. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$17.95.

Shortly before his death in 1983, Zoltán Vas, a prominent Hungarian ex-Communist who in 1949 was president of the National Planning Office in charge of the nationalization of industry and the collectivization of agriculture, visited the United States. Here he defined socialism not as the road to communism but as the tortuous way back to capitalism. Martha Lampland's significant study describes this process for Hungarian agriculture. Her thesis is that collectivization of agriculture in Hungary did not represent a break in capitalist development, as had been argued by some. Rather, following the initial resistance to collectivization, the state adopted policies that were reminiscent of capitalist economic incentives. In the process, agrarian labor became a commodity much like in the West. Moreover, Lampland argues that socialism evoked aspects of capitalist culture by glorifying hard work and other attitudes that the peasantry had embraced during the interwar years. Government policies, therefore, prepared the way to the collapse of socialism in 1989. To rephrase Marx and Lenin, Hungarian Communists became their own grave diggers.

Lampland, a historical sociologist, puts one locality under the microscope: the village of Sárosd, in transdanubian Fejér County. She identifies the various social strata of its interwar population and describes their relationship with the capitalist world, which was

"not characterized by a strongly utilitarian individualist logic of rationality" (p. 108). Her social categories are somewhat strange for the historian used to reading about dwarfholders, smallholders, and middle peasants. Here they are landowners, harvesters, day laborers, migrant laborers, and manorial workers. In the traditional approach taken by Lampland, classification is related to landownership, which she correctly attributes as being most important for identity (p. 43).

Postwar land reform reinforced work on the land, and not inheritance, as the meaning of true ownership. By 1948, however, following the consolidation of Communist power, the party-state strove to break the ties between private property and labor identity.

Collectivization started in 1950 in Sárosd. The collective farm, however, is called by the author the cooperative, which is the literary translation of the Hungarian, but it has a different connotation in English. The initial membership in Sárosd, reflecting national trends, consisted of seventy percent landless agrarian workers, with the rest being poor peasants (p. 147). Opposition within the collectives to exacting state demands and refusal of the more affluent peasants to join brought the various strata together. During the short-lived revolution of 1956, villagers "sought to regain control of their land and of their labor" (p. 162). Following the defeat of the revolution, the party-state followed a cautious collectivization, which relied more on the carrot than the stick. During this period, the well-to-do peasants of the prewar period seem to take leadership in the collective, but as mechanization increased, a technocratic elite developed.

The introduction of the New Economic Mechanism (NEM), which for some reason Lampland calls Reform of Economic Mechanism (p. 207), had an important impact, as the members of the cooperatives were allowed to produce for private gain. This successful second economy in agriculture originated with household farming, which included not only staples but also animal husbandry. The newfound wealth contributed to the blurring of social distinctions that still existed in the sixties. The losers, however, were the women, who came to play a secondary role.

Although Lampland notes the strenuous effort the peasants put into this secondary economy where profits were to be made, she fails to explain to what extent the Sárosd collective was successful during this period when the collectives branched into industrial production. We only learn that its members did shirk hard work, and absenteeism was high. Yet, she observes that in 1990, during the first free electioneering since 1947, "the Smallholders' Party [should be Smallholder] which advocated decollectivization . . . were laughed out of town" (p. 351).

Through the study of Sárosd, the author of this monograph succeeds in showing the pre-1989 socioeconomic changes that made the postcommunist transition more facile than elsewhere in Eastern Europe. It is regrettable, however, that she did not make the narrative more readable. The book is replete with

indented quotations, often from secondary sources, which could have been paraphrased. In some instances, Lampland is repetitive. Accuracy is also elusive at times. For example, the landowner Bartha's first name appears as Pál in one quote (p. 96), András in another (p. 98), and Andor in the index. Another weakness is the author's failure at times to understand the political background of twentieth-century Hungarian history, leading her to ascribe terms erroneously.

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JOHN R. LAMPE, *Yugoslavia as History: Twice There Was a Country*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996. Pp. xx, 421. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$19.95.

The dramatic failure of communism in Europe, including the subsequent collapse of the Soviet Union and its empire and the disintegration of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, constitutes one of the major events of the twentieth century and one that undoubtedly will send reverberations well into the next millennium. Consequently, the significance of this historical moment has for more than a decade been underscored by the appearance of numerous scholarly and other works relative to its sources, duration, linkages, and aftereffects. What emerges from this continuing output is a delineation of immense complexity both with regard to the overall occurrence and to its aggregate elements, such as the break-up of post-World War II Yugoslavia. What also emerges is a rather general agreement that seeing its broader historical context is absolutely essential to comprehending the event in its full complexity. The accurate reconstruction and interpretation of the past is therefore fundamental to achieving a more comprehensive understanding of this contemporary episode and its possible outcomes in the future.

John R. Lampe offers us just such a careful interpretive reconstruction of the South Slav past. Lampe is the author of several books on Yugoslav-American relations and Bulgarian and Balkan economic history. In the acknowledgments, Lampe intimates that this new work is a successor to Fred Singleton's *A Short History of the Yugoslav People* (1985) and Stephen Clissold's *A Short History of Yugoslavia* (1968). Yet it is also very different from and much more than these books.

As the subtitle of this volume hints, Lampe seeks to examine the disintegration of Titoist Yugoslavia (1945–1991) and the ongoing succession struggles in the contexts of its history and multinationalism and those of the royalist Yugoslavia (1918–1941) that preceded it: the two Yugoslavias and Yugoslavism. In so doing, he also must consider a current third Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro since 1991). But while the first three chapters treat the historical background to the two major Yugoslavias and the myths and realities of Yugoslavism from the Middle Ages to World War I, no chapter deals specifically with the

former Yugoslav lands since 1991. This recounting is very skillfully interwoven throughout the entire text. For example, in the second chapter Lampe correctly points out that the Ottoman Porte employed Bosnian Muslims to suppress brutally the first Serbian uprising under Karajordje.

In telling his story of the two Yugoslavias (despite the above cited example), Lampe also vigorously attempts to dispel some widely held misconceptions about the current crisis in this part of the Balkans. At the outset, he states that the “notion of ‘age-old’ antagonisms” being a root cause is “historically false” (p. xvi). Shortly thereafter, he perceptively offers notes it is largely the European and American media that have encouraged many of the popularly held attitudes about Yugoslavia, especially concerning “imagined adversaries” (e.g. Muslims and Serbs) and historic alliances (e.g. Russian-Serb-Greek) (p. 2). Throughout the book, while questioning all inevitabilities impacting from the past into the present, Lampe tries to point out that the historical foundations for such views are insubstantial at best. He concludes that the current situation stems more from relatively recent and real economic problems of inflation, unemployment, and underdevelopment and from politically stimulated ethnic disputes.

In this clearly and concisely written volume, the author has admirably succeeded in the tasks he set for himself. Although there are too few maps and other illustrations, the book offers a realistic interpretation of the history of twentieth-century Yugoslavia and Yugoslavism that is well-documented with extensive notes and a selected bibliography and supported by personal experiences. But this is not a book for the first-time wanderer into Yugoslav or Balkan affairs. Given the breadth and complexity of the topic as well as publication restrictions, Lampe understandably had to be discriminating in his presentation. He has nevertheless produced a necessary, important, and even occasionally refreshing book that will be of significant interest to any knowledgeable reader on the modern Balkans.

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ANTHONY CROSS, *By the Banks of the Neva: Chapters from the Lives and Careers of the British in Eighteenth-Century Russia*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997. Pp. xv, 474. \$80.00.

Anthony Cross's book is more than a long-awaited complement to his earlier monograph, “*By the Banks of the Thames*”: *Russians in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (1980). More ambitious and varied, it reflects the greater number and social diversity of Britons in eighteenth-century Russia. It is also a more masterly work, weaving together a lifetime of indefatigable bibliographic research and a profusion of careful scholarly articles, books, and edited works on special-

ized aspects of eighteenth-century contact between Britons and Russians.

In analyzing the various roles played by the British in Russia and the community they formed within this distant, developing country, Cross achieves his stated purpose of providing a case study of a significant and powerful expatriate community, one that may serve as a comparison with "other outposts of empire" in other countries and time periods (p. 8). Through topical chapters on British merchants and manufacturers, shipbuilders and officers in the Russian navy, physicians and scientists, artisans, architects and landscape gardeners, chaplains to the Anglican community, and memoir-producing tourists and visitors, the author reconstructs the British community layer by layer, charting its growth from a small colony in Peter the Great's emerging St. Petersburg, through its apogee under Catherine the Great, to its shifting status during the Napoleonic wars.

Cross's archival and bibliographic expertise is stunning, as is his knowledge of eighteenth-century craftsmanship and technology. Whether discussing British achievements in wallpaper manufacturing and horology or problems in casting cannons and fitting and arming the Russian fleet, Cross's style is that of the biographer, demonstrating the transmission of ideas and technological know-how through the people who embodied these ideas and skills. The strength of this approach is to bring a sense of liveliness to many long-forgotten merchants, artisans, and specialists and, indeed, there are times when Cross's portrait of the British community in Russia is as vivid as that of Thomas Mann's merchant community of Lübeck in *Buddenbrooks* (1900). The liability of this approach is, however, a reticence in discussing larger and more conceptual problems of technology transfer, including receptivity and reciprocity, British "brain drain" vs. commercial expansion, and eighteenth-century understandings of patriotism, mercenaries, and the selling and sharing of military competencies.

This book is a rich source for the history of court culture and patronage, particularly during the reign of Catherine the Great. It shows Catherine very aware of the relation between architectural styles and political dreams, ordering the architect Charles Cameron, at the height of her "Greek project" and Turkish aspirations, "to produce a plan and facade of the cathedral church for the new town near Tsarskoe Selo and tell him to imitate Constantinople's Sophia" (p. 292).

The illustrations for this book are themselves works of art. Cameron's Sofia cathedral, for example, is illustrated with a late eighteenth-century sketch by Giacomo Quarenghi. The illustrations—rare etchings, architectural plans, portraits, and frontispieces of books—are fresh and appropriately placed to illustrate excellently a point in the text. The publishers are to be congratulated for arranging them this way rather than lumping them together in the middle of the book, as is so often the practice.

Specialists in Russian history will find this book an

invaluable reference source; non-Russianists will be able to make fruitful comparisons for their own work on subjects such as material culture, expatriate communities, military history, cultural production, government-sponsored modernization, and competing "enlightenments." In fact, this book, with its emphasis on British practicality and Scottish Enlightenment, would make a compelling counterpoint to Larry Wolff's influential *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (1994). One would welcome a more substantive conclusion and a developed discussion of possible fissures among the British in Russia. (How, for example, did they negotiate the issues of high church and low church within their St. Petersburg congregation?) Nonetheless, this is a work of prodigious scholarship and unquestioned accomplishment that gives us the first comprehensive study of the lives, careers, and interconnections of a group uniquely important in Russia's development.

BRENDA MEEHAN
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BRUCE F. ADAMS. *The Politics of Punishment: Prison Reform in Russia, 1863–1917*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 1996. Pp. viii, 237. \$32.00.

This is a useful and solidly researched survey of imperial Russia's efforts to improve its prisons in the half-century before the revolution. On the basis of largely unexplored archival documents, Bruce F. Adams follows the struggle of state officials to create penal institutions that met the standards established in Western Europe and the United States. Russia's poverty and backwardness made this a difficult task; but, Adams maintains, by 1917 the empire had achieved prison parity with the West.

The "Great Reforms" of the 1860s set in motion a process that dramatically altered the Russian penal system. The law of 17 April 1863 abolished the use of corporal punishment by the regular courts. But if a "civilized" country was no longer permitted to beat criminals, could it in good conscience consign them to its few existing prisons, where conditions were deplorable and little effort made to rehabilitate offenders? Obviously not; and so, guided by the ideas of Western penology, Russian reformers tried to devise better prisons and more modern ways to administer them.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs undertook the initial efforts, gathering information on prison conditions, administrative problems, and the latest theories of penology. In 1872, reform passed into the hands of a series of commissions, composed of representatives of the Ministries of Internal Affairs, Justice, and Finance, and named, respectively, for their chairmen: V. A. Sollogub, E. V. Frish, P. A. Zubov, and K. K. Grot. For almost a decade, these bodies considered the typology of prisons, their organization, management, and methods of punishment. Central to the commissioners' debates was the question of control. Should they vest it in the Ministry of Internal Affairs

or Justice? And over all the discussions hovered the Ministry of Finance, constantly fretting about the cost of any reform.

Adams reconstructs these debates and shows how the commissions redesigned the ladder of punishments and proposed a new instrument for overseeing the empire's places of incarceration: the Main Prison Administration, established in 1879. This institution, first under the Ministry of Internal Affairs and, after 1895, under the Ministry of Justice, modernized the prisons and forged them into a coherent structure, governed by increasingly well-trained and competent personnel. Yet the swift change of intellectual fashion soon overtook the reformers' achievements. Ironically, just as Russia's prisons came to equal if not exceed the quality of those in the "advanced" countries, leading foreign theorists began to see incarceration as harmful to those it was supposed to rehabilitate and restore to society. By the century's end, Russian penologists had to grapple with other approaches: parole and probation. And it became obvious that efforts to improve the empire's prisons had been insufficient to check the rising rates of crime and recidivism. Adams concludes that a half-century of prison reform succeeded only in this: "that it permitted the Russian government to hold its head up while failing in a modern and professional way" (p. 199). But Russia was not alone. None of the European governments achieved substantially better results in their battle with crime.

Adams makes a significant contribution to our understanding of the Russian imperial bureaucracy in the last decades of its existence, and his findings remind us that, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Russians were better governed than they thought they were. Sadly, this important book is marred by a number of easily avoidable weaknesses. It is dry; commission reports, inter-office correspondence, and legislative projects seldom make exciting reading, especially when a paucity of memoirs and other personal sources prevents us from understanding the motives that lay behind the official documents. Adams cannot be faulted here, but he should be criticized for his writing style. Instead of trying in every way to humanize his tale, Adams delights in doing the opposite. He seems to prefer letters to names, reducing institutions to sets of initials and dotting his pages with MVDs, MIUs, DPIs, GTUs, and POoTs. Adams identifies agencies and their chief officers by the same letters, and poor M. Kh. Reutern, Minister of Finance from 1862 to 1878, appears only as "the MF." The man deserves better.

Adams could have greatly increased the value of his book if he had tried to locate prison reform more firmly in the social and intellectual currents of the time. Questions of crime and punishment were matters of intense public scrutiny and debate, but, unfortunately, Adams lets little of this intrude into his narrative. Had he chosen to expand his focus, Adams could have used to advantage Nancy Mandelker Frieden's *Russian Physicians in an Era of Reform and Revolution,*

1856–1905 (1981), Adele Lindenmeyr's *Poverty is not a Vice: Charity, Society and the State in Imperial Russia* (1996), and Joan Neuberger's *Hooliganism: Crime, Culture and Power in St. Petersburg, 1900–1914* (1993), works whose insights might have considerably enriched this already worthwhile study.

RICHARD G. ROBBINS, JR.
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MELISSA KIRSCHKE STOCKDALE, *Paul Miliukov and the Quest for a Liberal Russia, 1880–1918*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996. Pp. xix, 379. \$45.00.

Recent scholarship by Richard Pipes, Terence Emons, and Andrzej Walicki has illuminated the ideological origins of twentieth-century Russian liberalism and the mobilization of Russian liberal parties from 1905 to 1917. In this admirable new book, based on wide reading in published and archival sources, Melissa Kirschke Stockdale analyzes the life of the period's most prominent liberal, the historian and Constitutional Democrat Paul Miliukov. To be sure, Miliukov has been the subject of previous books, among them Thomas Riha's *A Russian European: Paul Miliukov in Russian Politics* (1969) and N. G. Dumova's *Liberal v Rossii: Tragediia nesovmestimosti: Istoricheskii portret P. N. Miliukova* (1993); however, these earlier works do not rival Stockdale's in comprehensiveness or intellectual authority.

Stockdale portrays Miliukov as a "self-proclaimed positivist and radical empiricist" who believed in the "inexorable march of human progress," in the spread of enlightened consciousness from the few to the many (p. 274). He accepted the view, widespread in *fin-de-siècle* Russia, that his country's political system would soon give way to a Western European-style political arrangement; unlike many of his contemporaries, he expected the new order to take the shape of a constitutional monarchy. He insisted that such a transformation would occur in Russia because no indigenous organic tradition could hinder the operation of history's "universal laws"; besides, he contended, Russians had always been "borrowers" and hence were disposed by the very plasticity of their political culture to accept a rapid alteration of the political regime. On these assumptions, Miliukov elaborated an ideology that Stockdale calls "sociological liberalism": that is, he classified liberty as a contingent by-product of social change, not an inherent right of individuals. This conviction allowed him to share with moderate leftists a general commitment to Russia's rapid social transformation. Indeed, in his view, Russian liberalism and socialism were entirely compatible, the chief difference between them being that liberalism concentrated on the achievement of "realistic" goals in the present whereas socialism purportedly sought a less practical, more distant agenda. Stockdale shows that, by positioning himself as a mediator between more conservative or "classical" liberals and the moderate left, Miliukov managed to play a conspicuous role in Rus-

sian politics from April 1905 to March 1917, when he was named foreign minister in the Provisional Government. In the polarized atmosphere from May 1917 to late 1918, of course, mediation between the political extremes proved impossible, and Miliukov necessarily fell from power.

Stockdale demonstrates that neither Miliukov's early political success nor his ultimate failure was accidental. His initial prominence owed much to his encyclopedic knowledge of Russian political and cultural history, and, in particular, to his shrewd assessment of Russia's malleable national character. His self-conscious alliance with the left had emotional roots in his own mistreatment by the old regime and intellectual roots in his admiration for French and English "new liberals." After 1905, Miliukov's visceral hatred of the tsarist government and his enthusiasm for social change caused him to turn an indulgent eye to political terrorism. Stockdale notes that his signal refusal to condemn terrorism alienated potential political allies on the right and may also have contributed to his systematic underestimation of the dangers posed by Bolshevism. In 1917, Miliukov's foreign policy (support for Russia's continued involvement in the Great War) made him and the Provisional Government vulnerable to attack from the antiwar left. In May, after only eight weeks in office, Miliukov was swept out of government. Within two years, the Bolshevik Revolution and the Russian civil war had driven Miliukov into permanent emigration, where, like other liberals, he rehearsed past mistakes and waited for a return to Russia that never came.

Stockdale's book is by no means perfect. The author manages simultaneously to describe Miliukov as a liberal of the "younger Moscow professorate" (p. 20) and as a member of an organization that "despised liberals" (pp. 39–42). At another point, Stockdale bafflingly credits Miliukov with writing an essay that anticipated the semiotic approach to historical writing (p. 68). In defining liberalism before Miliukov, the author underlines liberals' rejection of political violence, but she apparently forgets about the 1878–1879 attempt by certain liberals to forge an alliance with terrorists. Perhaps inevitably in such a long book, there is a major error of omission: apparently Stockdale did not consult V. I. Startsev's important study of liberalism, *Russkaia burzhuaia i samoderzhavie v 1905–1917 gg.* (1977), a book that provides crucial details on Miliukov's political maneuvers. Finally, Stockdale's chapter on 1917 is too short: we have only three pages on Miliukov's controversial role in the Kornilov affair and only a paragraph on the October Revolution itself.

On balance, however, Stockdale's book is excellent. It is splendidly written, handsomely produced, erudite, and subtle. Its judgments of Miliukov and old regime Russia are carefully considered and sound. In short, this book is a *tour de force* by a terrific historian.

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JONATHAN D. SMELE. *Civil War in Siberia: The Anti-Bolshevik Government of Admiral Kolchak, 1918–1920*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xix, 759. \$69.95.

The sporadic street fighting in Petrograd and Moscow that brought the Bolsheviks to power in the fall of 1917 marked the beginning of a bloody conflict that would push Russia over the brink of catastrophe. At various times during the three years that followed, no fewer than twenty-eight governments ruled the lands that once had formed the Russian Empire, and twenty-seven of them were anti-Bolshevik. Outnumbered and isolated, the Bolsheviks faced attacks from every side by White forces armed and supported by troops and weapons sent by fourteen countries. Yet, against all odds, V. I. Lenin and his lieutenants triumphed. In less than a decade, their Union of Soviet Socialist Republics embraced all the territories once ruled by the Romanovs except for Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, parts of Poland and Ukraine, Bessarabia, and some scattered areas of the Transcaucasus.

Although a number of important new studies about how the Bolsheviks seized and consolidated power have appeared during the past two decades, much of the Whites' story has gone untold by modern historians. Thanks to the magisterial volumes that Peter Kenz produced in the 1970s, the struggles of the White armies in Russia's south are now widely known and well understood, but the equally complex story about how the Bolsheviks took command of the five and a quarter million square miles of land that stretched from the Urals to Asia's Pacific shore has long awaited its historian. Now, by drawing together sources scattered all around the globe, Jonathan D. Smele has completed the task. As the definitive treatment of one of the most important episodes in Russia's turbulent history, this book does much to clarify our understanding of the forces and events that brought the Soviet Union into being.

Smele paints a canvas of great breadth and fascinating perspective. His account begins with the political maneuverings among Czechs, Kadets, and Socialist Revolutionaries immediately after the Bolsheviks' seizure of power, and then goes on to study the creation of Admiral Aleksandr Kolchak's government in the fall of 1918. From that point, he examines the early victories that the Siberian Whites won against the Bolsheviks before the tide of battle shifted and the Reds began to drive Kolchak's forces back in defeat. Drawing heavily on a complex array of accounts produced by Kolchak and his minions and tempering them with letters and reports from French, Japanese, British, and American observers, Smele explores the inner workings of the Whites' stumbling efforts to seize control of events that none of them even vaguely understood, and he produces in the process an engrossing portrait of the incompetence, greed, and vicious self-interest that crippled Kolchak's government at every turn. Smele shows all too clearly that the

Whites' defeat in Siberia was far more the result of their failure as strategists, tacticians, and politicians than a consequence of great and stunning Red triumphs. In the end, Kolchak proved to be his own worst enemy. When his government fell in the early days of 1920, there was no one left anywhere in Siberia to support it.

Critics will no doubt remark that Smele's account includes few materials drawn from archives within Russia itself, and they will of course be correct in noting that these materials have been available for some time. But it is difficult to imagine that such sources could change substantially the picture he presents, for his is the story of White defeat, not Red victory, and he has mined the many White archives scattered throughout Europe and the United States thoroughly and well. Beyond that, he has consulted a truly formidable array of published materials to produce what seems to this reviewer to be a truly definitive work. Others may at some point find more to say about the Civil War in Siberia, but it will be a long time indeed before Smele's book is superseded.

Given the thoroughness of Smele's account and the importance of the questions he has addressed, I wish that his publisher had provided him with better editorial guidance than is evident here. An attentive editor could have reduced parts of this sprawling text substantially and clarified sentences that are so lengthy and complex that they sometimes require a second reading before their meaning becomes entirely clear. Still, such shortcomings should not detract from the value of Smele's account nor deter readers from it. Exhaustive and far-ranging research makes this book all but certain to become a classic in its field, and all historians of the Russian Civil War and Siberia must stand greatly in its author's debt for that reason.

W. BRUCE LINCOLN
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MICHAEL DAVID-FOX. *Revolution of the Mind: Higher Learning among the Bolsheviks, 1918-1929*. (Studies of the Harriman Institute.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1997. Pp. xvii, 298. \$45.00.

Historians have interpreted the period of the New Economic Policy (NEP) in Soviet history from 1921 to 1928 in various ways. Some scholars have presented it as an era of tolerance on the part of the ruling Communist Party that made possible peaceful coexistence with non-party institutions and their representatives. Other analysts, however, have found a party mobilizing for an attack on so-called bourgeois specialists and heretical tendencies within the Marxist camp. Still others have portrayed the party aggressively seeking a monopoly over most aspects of Soviet life. The choice of interpretation goes a long way in determining how historians understand the relationship between Bolshevism before 1928 and Joseph Stalin's "Great Break" of cultural revolution, forced collectivization, and state-sponsored industrialization

that followed. If accommodation characterized the NEP, then Stalin's policies were indeed a historical "break"; if an offensive best represented the NEP, then those policies were part of a continuum. Michael David-Fox vigorously advocates the latter point of view.

This book charts the development of educational institutions founded by the Bolshevik Party primarily after 1917. Of particular importance are three institutions of higher learning: Sverdlov Communist University, the Institute of Red Professors, and the Communist Academy. But David-Fox is interested in more than institutional history narrowly defined. He examines how, during the 1920s, these establishments contributed to a redefinition of the party's revolutionary mission in cultural and intellectual life that reduced science and scholarship to party service. Thus the offensive in 1929 against the "bourgeois" Academy of Sciences and a corresponding politicization (and brutalization) of academic discourse intensified attitudes and policies already apparent during the NEP years. And yet, as David-Fox points out, the very success of the party's assault and a subsequent preservation of the Academy of Sciences meant a "kind of defeat in victory" (p. 262) for those Communists who sought the elimination of bourgeois institutions.

By rejecting any sharp distinction between the 1920s and the Stalinist period that followed, David-Fox transcends one of several "hoary dichotomies" (p. xi) that he finds dominant in standard historiography on the Soviet Union. He successfully dismisses another such dichotomy by demonstrating that, before 1917, almost all Bolsheviks, including followers of both V. I. Lenin and A. A. Bogdanov, equated revolution with cultural as well as political transformation. Moreover, in a truly remarkable section (pp. 101-117), David-Fox shows that, for Bolsheviks, everyday behavior and politics merged so that an improperly ascetic life style became tantamount to political deviance.

David-Fox convincingly demonstrates that not only those higher up in the party's hierarchy but those at the lower levels, especially students at the party's higher educational institutions, applied intense pressure for the politicization of science and scholarship. I would like, however, to hear more of the personality and activity of these young militants. It seems to me that the author avoids further probing their role by assigning ultimate responsibility for the victory of political over scholarly criteria to impersonal structures and traditions. Perhaps in an understandable effort to emphasize the importance of anonymous forces, David-Fox, along with many others, has tended to ignore the human element. At any rate, we surely need to know whether the party's youth believed that hostile economic, political, and class forces imperiled the Bolshevik regime and thus necessitated extreme measures. I am, however, particularly pleased to find a detailed and consistent concern for the ideological and jurisdictional disputes that existed among party and state agencies, including several

competing organs within the Commissariat of Education itself, responsible for propaganda and scholarship.

The opening of party archives made this particular study possible. David-Fox has engaged their contents well, in part because of the knowledge and the perspective gained from his thorough examination of periodicals from the 1920s and of secondary literature in French, German, Russian, and English. I am especially impressed by his use of the heavily tendentious but often valuable historical literature published in the Soviet Union prior to perestroika.

In sum, this is a fine work, coherently presented and argued and supported by an impressive array of original and secondary sources. It contributes substantially to a more sophisticated understanding of the 1920s and the Stalinist period that followed.

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ANDRÉ LIEBICH. *From the Other Shore: Russian Social Democracy after 1921*. (Harvard Historical Studies, number 125.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1997. Pp. xi, 476. \$48.00.

Among Russian historians, the Mensheviks have long played exile losers to the Bolshevik winners, whose Soviet Union has only recently collapsed in ruin. Rival Mensheviks and Bolsheviks demonized each other in print for so many years that historians, too, have emphasized Bolshevik-Menshevik differences more than similarities. This definitive monograph on the Mensheviks from 1903 until the 1980s shows in great detail how the Mensheviks, in their origins, were "barely distinguishable from their counterparts [the Bolsheviks] who went on to undertake the Soviet experiment" (p. 330).

Most Mensheviks were assimilated Russian Jewish intellectuals. André Liebich argues that the famous 1903 Bolshevik-Menshevik split in the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party (RSDWP) over the party platform revealed minimal dissent between Mensheviks and Bolsheviks on most issues, a common socialist and Marxist outlook on the world, mutual personal and political ties (and marriages) between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, and continuing pressure to unite the party. Many Mensheviks were former Bolsheviks, and many Bolsheviks were former Mensheviks. But World War I further divided them over issues such as whether socialists should defend the Russian proletariat and war effort or support international socialist action against the war. In 1917, the Mensheviks were a very strong, worker-based political party in Russia. Only after October did they suffer a sharp decline in party membership and influence as the Bolsheviks came to power and the Socialist Revolutionaries drew broad popular support from the peasantry.

The Mensheviks were literally an extended family. Iu. O. Martov's sister Lidia (Tsederbaum) married Fedor Dan. Martov's sister-in-law K. I. Zakharova was a left Menshevik. Simon Volin was David Dallin's

brother. Dallin married Boris Nicolaevsky's secretary. In 1917, Martov, the Dans, Paul Axelrod, and Nicolaevsky all lived in the same St. Petersburg apartment. In 1940, the Dans, the Bienstocks, the Aronsons, Aaron Iugov and Lazar Pistrak all lived at 352 West 110th Street in New York City.

The Mensheviks after 1917 condemned the Bolshevik Revolution but agreed on little else. Like the Bolsheviks, they had their party line—the "Martov line" that the Bolsheviks should not be overthrown by force—but argued continually over the future of the Soviet Union and their appropriate role as democratic socialists. The RSDWP continued its marginal existence inside the Soviet Union into the 1930s. In exile in Berlin, Paris, and then New York, the Mensheviks produced a torrent of commentary on the Soviet Union in the pages of their journal *Sotsialisticheskii vestnik* (Socialist Messenger), which criticized the "Thermidor" and "Bonapartism" of V. I. Lenin's New Economic Policy and the subsequent brutal dictatorship of Joseph Stalin. The Mensheviks helped invent kremlinology and sovietology in the West while redefining themselves as international socialists through the Labor and Socialist International and the Independent Socialist Party of Germany.

The Soviet trial of fourteen Menshevik defendants on wrecking charges in 1931 and the deprivation of Soviet citizenship for all Mensheviks one year later made them permanent exiles. Only their Marxist determinism and their dream of "freedom through socialism" gave the Mensheviks hope amid the tribulations of exile. But by 1940, the RSDWP had disbanded. The Menshevik Foreign Delegation followed suit in 1951, although individual Mensheviks still found an anti-Soviet voice in America through the *New Leader* and the Congress for Cultural Freedom. The FBI, with great inaccuracy and ineptitude, investigated the Mensheviks as suspected Soviet agents.

Why did Western and Soviet historians in the 1970s and 1980s believe that the Bolshevik Nikolai Bukharin, rather than Mensheviks like Martov or Dan, epitomized a missed socialist alternative to Bolshevism? Historians have dismissed the Menshevik exiles as too conscience-stricken, too anti-Bolshevik, and too committed to their democratic socialist ideals. Liebich has combed archives in Amsterdam, New York, Moscow, Palo Alto, and Washington to show us in sympathetic detail how the politically adept Menshevik family in exile retained an ambivalent relationship with its Bolshevik brothers and sisters inside Russia, voicing criticism but always maintaining hope that freedom through socialism was not an impossible dream. Both Bolsheviks and Mensheviks naturally emphasized their differences after 1903. But this important book on the Mensheviks inside and outside Russia demonstrates their common socialist language and perspective as well as their factional disputes. It compels us to take more seriously history's losers and exiles, as well as the winners, whose vast Soviet empire in this case has now collapsed. This book should be useful to all Russian

and modern European historians and political scientists.

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MIDDLE EAST

SHAUN MARMON. *Eunuchs and Sacred Boundaries in Islamic Society*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 162. \$42.00.

Despite its enigmatic title, this concise and well written book is primarily a study of the society of eunuchs entrusted in the later Middle Ages with supervision of the second most sacred site in the Islamic world, the mosque and tomb complex of the Prophet Muhammad in Medina. Setting aside for a moment the problematic first chapter, the book's central three chapters trace the emergence and significance of the eunuch society in Medina from its obscure origins (possibly in the late twelfth century) to a position of considerable prominence and power in the Mamluk period (A.D. 1250–1517). It is in these middle three chapters that Shaun Marmon's book makes its most important and compelling contributions. She affords us the first full description of the functioning of the eunuch society of Medina in the late medieval period. Moreover, she illustrates the manner in which the Mamluk regime in Egypt solidified its authority over the second holiest site in Islam through patronage of the eunuch society after the fall of Abbasid Baghdad to the Mongols in 1258. The religious leadership of Medina was still predominance Shī'ite, and the society of eunuchs, through both its conscious mirroring of Mamluk imperial ceremony and its exclusive manipulation of the tremendous charismatic power of the Prophet's tomb, served as an effective and inexpensive instrument in the gradual extension of Mamluk and Sunni authority over the city: authority that simultaneously reflected a considerable measure of legitimacy on the Mamluk sultans themselves. Most importantly, Marmon provides a richly textured account of the ways in which the eunuchs functioned as ideal mediators between the sacred charisma (*baraka*) associated with the Prophet's physical remains and generations of pilgrims to his tomb. A concluding chapter reviews primarily nineteenth and early twentieth-century European descriptions of this society of eunuchs.

In the first chapter Marmon examines eunuchs as agents mediating three distinct sets of boundaries, not in Medina but in the Mamluk imperial capital of Cairo. Working first from a fourteenth-century poetic account of the ideal home, which devotes an entire chapter to the eunuchs of the vestibule, Marmon highlights the fact that the eunuchs are placed not in the interior of the home, specifically in the women's quarters, but in the vestibule, a transitional space between the bustling public world and the intricately mediated inner space of the home (p. 4). Turning from poetry to surviving *waqf* endowment deeds, Marmon

examines descriptions of the *dihliz* (vestibule) and finds in its frequently twisted corridors and subsequent "transitional zones" a highly symbolic architectural manipulation of space that physically reinforces etiquette to remind visitors that their "presence in the household is by permission" (p. 7).

Marmon is remarkably gifted at coaxing subtle meaning from the source material, but in some instances, such as in this analysis of the significance of the vestibule, one wonders if she is not too quick to assign deep symbolic meaning where more prosaic explanations are likely. Her creative interpretation of the underlying significance of Mamluk domestic architecture clearly supports the particular image of eunuchs Marmon is crafting. A more mundane reason for the sometimes elaborate asymmetry of Cairene vestibules fits the physical evidence better, however. Late medieval Cairo was among the world's most densely populated urban centers. Mamluk builders routinely faced the challenge of erecting massive stone structures on dwindling and increasingly irregular urban plots. The creative ways in which these master craftsmen conformed to pre-existing street patterns and physical stock are still visible.

Marmon next turns from the role of eunuchs as navigators of transitional space in the domestic architecture of wealthy Cairene homes to their comparable position in the "home" of Mamluk military and imperial power, the Cairo Citadel. Here one senior eunuch official supervised the apartments of the sultan's vast household, while another oversaw the sultan's personal mamluks (slave soldiers), his "military family" (p. 11). Eunuchs thus exercised a measure of control over direct access to the Mamluk sultan himself.

In her third illustration of the mediatory role of eunuchs in Mamluk Cairo, Marmon examines royal tomb complexes in which sultans made arrangements for eunuch services to guard their own early remains in perpetuity. The proliferation of such eunuch services in the imperial mausolea of Cairo in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries is closely related, Marmon argues, to the dramatic expansion of Mamluk patronage of the eunuch society at the Prophet's tomb in Medina. This connection was posited long ago by the great Mamluk historian David Ayalon ("The Eunuchs in the Mamlūk Sultanate," *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet* [1977]), but Marmon must be credited with definitively establishing this link. A minor correction is necessary here, however, when the author identifies *ziyārāt* as "places of visitation" (p. 14). This word is a verbal noun indicating not the place but the act itself of visiting tombs.

The difficulty with this otherwise informative initial chapter is that in each of these three examples the author sees eunuchs as critical guardians of "sacred space," a term she inexplicably never defines. In place of a rigorous definition she offers only an insufficient lexical explanation that the Arabic words for the private interior space of a home (*ḥarīm*), the honor due a sultan (*ḥurma*), and a religious sanctuary

(*haram*) are all from the same trilateral root *h**m*. Although Marmon makes a compelling case that eunuchs indeed were critical organizers of a variety of important transitional spaces in the Mamluk world, one is left puzzling how, beyond a metaphoric sense, these three kinds of space were "sacred."

Notions of the sacred are complex, but there exists considerable literature examining the nature of the sacred to which the author makes no reference. This recurring failure to address what the "sacred" implied in Mamluk consciousness leads, for example, to a particularly jarring comparison between shrines, such as the Ka'ba in Mecca, and the Mamluk sultan in the Cairo Citadel (p. 13). Linking three such different and clearly profane spaces in Mamluk Cairo with the genuinely sacred space of the Prophet's tomb in Medina is not only confusing, it obscures both important distinctions in the sorts of boundaries, sacred and profane, that eunuchs mediated as well as the various reasons they were valued as mediators. As the focus shifts from Cairo to Medina, where the author does employ the concept of sacred space in a recognizable and appropriate sense, the incongruity with her initial applications of the term in chapter one becomes apparent.

The endnotes are full of rich supplementary material and should not be overlooked. The lack of a bibliography, however, is unfortunate. Similarly, the absence of any comparisons to eunuchs as mediators in other, especially non-Muslim, societies is disappointing. Despite these reservations, this book is a vital contribution to our understanding of these intriguing agents of mediation in medieval Muslim society.

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DROR ZE'EV. *An Ottoman Century: The District of Jerusalem in the 1600s*. (SUNY Series in Medieval Middle East History.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 258.

This is a competent study that offers a richly textured, sometimes lively account of social, political, and economic life in a remote district of the seventeenth-century Ottoman Empire. It happily exemplifies the better kind of writing being done in the sub-discipline of Ottoman history, now beginning to merit some attention from the rest of the discipline. Dror Ze'evi is part of the third generation of Ottoman historians, a group solidly grounded in the sources and simultaneously capable of rising above the details to engage constructively broader theoretical issues.

Ze'evi displays a strong control both of the imperial Ottoman sources located in the Istanbul archives and the local court records found in Jerusalem. This ability to utilize two distinctly different source bases quickly is becoming a standard in the field. It is a marked improvement on the preceding emphases on either the central archives, with their state-centered focus, or the court records, which too often have been used uncriti-

cally. The author's sophisticated use and blending of the two sets of sources is no small deed, but Ze'evi's achievement is more than a marrying of diverse archival materials. In fewer than 200 pages of text, he engages a number of significant issues. Thus, for example, he explores Max Weber's notion of the city and the appropriateness of the concept of a uniquely "Islamic city" (although I disagree with his inclination to favor its *sui generis* nature, his discussion is constructive). Elsewhere, he examines the utility of peripheralization models on the one hand and Ibn Khaldun's "desert and the sown" on the other.

There are seven well-done substantive chapters; neither the introduction nor the conclusion are very helpful. The first three chapters examine the overall seventeenth-century context, the interaction of local elites with their new Ottoman masters, and particular local notable families and their evolution. Subsequent chapters treat the interplay among desert, village, and Jerusalem dwellers; the Ottoman land regime; the workings of the local economy as well as the various tax burdens; and the world of women.

In these chapters, Ze'evi offers important modifications to our understanding of the Ottoman land regime and how ongoing legal imperial ownership meshed with daily local use and control. I also want to single out his fine account of local elites fusing together to dominate the early seventeenth-century region and the consequences that ensued from later reassertion of direct control by the Istanbul government. Ze'evi's exploration of the meanings of centralization and decentralization for the resident population is very useful.

Overall, this book will be of value not only to Ottoman and Middle East historians but also to those interested in the dynamics of state authority and the complex and shifting ties between center and locality.

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JANET AFARY. *The Iranian Constitutional Revolution, 1906-1911: Grassroots Democracy, Social Democracy, and the Origins of Feminism*. (The History and Society of the Modern Middle East.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1996. Pp. xxi, 448. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$17.50.

Janet Afary's book is a well-researched, highly readable, and engrossing study of one of the most important periods in modern Iranian history. It joins other classics on the subject. Unfortunately, it is also an overly ambitious attempt to shift the whole historiographical debate on the subject. For the past eighty years, historians of modern Iran, inside and outside the country, have debated the question who played the definitive role in that revolution: the clergy (*'ulama*), the intelligentsia, the merchants and guild elders, or the liberal landlords and tribal chiefs? Some credit the

religious leaders; others, the intellectuals; yet others, the merchants; a few, the liberal aristocrats.

Afary makes short shrift of these earlier debates, on the grounds that the main impetus for the revolution came from the masses below: from “hundreds” of revolutionary councils and grass-roots organizations representing peasants, craftsmen, feminists, and social democrats. She also argues that this participation was mostly “spontaneous” and that the revolution eventually failed—much like the 1905 Russian Revolution—because the leaders refused to implement root-and-branch reforms and thus “distanced” themselves from the revolutionary masses (p. 38). Those who fail to appreciate this framework—including Barrington Moore—are accused of having a “disparaging attitude toward indigenous cultures and traditions” (p. 7).

If Afary had proved what she had set out to do, she would have truly changed the whole historiography of modern Iran. Unfortunately, the evidence presented is often debatable, if not questionable and tendentious. The “hundreds of councils” turn out to be mostly fly-by-night cliques led by local notables, even royalist notables; those that endured for any length of time were led mostly by the propertied classes. The book goes over the well-known fact that large demonstrations and general strikes played a crucial role in the revolution. But this does not substantiate the notion that the pressure and the initiative came from below. On the contrary, the book reconfirms the conventional view that these protests were “organized,” “led,” and even manipulated by clerics, merchants, and guild elders. When these groups restricted the right to vote to the propertied classes, there were no Leveller-type protests. The book begrudgingly admits that the most radical representatives of the craft guilds “deferred to the authority of the *‘ulama* and the more traditional merchants and landlords” (p. 72).

Similarly, the book makes much of the brief and sporadic reports of village disturbances but glosses over the fact that many of these reports appeared in “letters to the editors” in newspapers notorious for having editors who wrote letters to themselves. What is more, every incident of rural discontent is taken to be evidence of peasant revolt against landlords, whereas many could have been caused by ethnic, clan, and tribal issues. The Caspian was the only region to have numerous peasant disturbances—but previous historians have already noted that and have further noted that these disturbances often took the form of religious messianism, not social radicalism. Likewise, much is made of the later disarray among the constitutionalists, but the false impression is left that this disarray was caused by “fear from below” and the issue of land reform. In fact, the split was caused by secularism, a topic also well covered by previous historians. The reformers were weary of the masses, not because the latter were too radical but precisely because they were too conservative.

The book presents much interesting information about the early socialists. But this information in no

way proves that these early radicals had grass-roots organizations among the masses. On the contrary, these socialists often admitted that their numbers were few, that there was no “agrarian issue,” and that the clergy could still sway the “masses.” They would have been startled to read that they not only had a powerful secret center but also a force of some 86,000 armed volunteers (pp. 85, 355). The source for this fantasy seems to be an obscure British journal named *Wales* (p. 355). For the layman, this book reads like a “history from below” and a belated homage to the heroic masses. It can also be read as a disparaging dismissal of the radicals who tried their best to bring about a modest revolution in very trying and unrevolutionary circumstances.

ERVAND ABRAHAMIAN

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SAMIRA HAJ. *The Making of Iraq, 1900–1963: Capital, Power, and Ideology*. (SUNY Series in the Social and Economic History of the Middle East.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1997. Pp. viii, 215. \$18.95.

There are a number of good and original ideas in this book, but on the whole it promises more than it delivers. In particular, the grand schema of the brief epilogue and briefer introduction is not elaborated in any detail in the exposition of the empirical material in the intervening pages. In addition, Samira Haj is somewhat cavalier in her discussion of recent scholarship in the field, if and when she acknowledges it.

One of Haj’s principal theses is that the “failure” of the [Iraqi] national revolution of 1958 “and the pervasive violence of . . . national politics” (pp. 1, 111–139) are “best understood” by a consideration of the agrarian structures that developed in the course of the nineteenth century. Such an argument is both suggestive and attractive, but it ignores or skips too lightly over other causes of the revolution and distorts the significance of the almost unlimited autonomy that access to vast oil revenues gives to a regime with a total monopoly of the means of coercion.

The most convincing part of the book is the nuanced account of the evolution of agrarian structures from late Ottoman times through the mandate and monarchy periods. Haj pinpoints the gradual emergence of two fundamentally opposed groups of shaykhly landowners in the countryside: those interested in promoting forms of capitalist agriculture that would require investment in machinery and skilled labor, and those interested in the production of cash crops based on the extensive cultivation of large estates by sharecroppers. In general, late Ottoman, British, and independent Iraqi policies favored the latter group through such instruments as the Tribal Criminal and Civil Disputes Regulation of 1916 (not 1919; p. 29), the Land Settlement Law of 1932, the Law Governing the Rights and

Duties of Cultivators of 1933, and the activities of the Development Board (set up in 1950).

Although this carefully drawn picture certainly adds to our understanding of the development of the rural economy, it is a little odd that Haj does not acknowledge that she is not the first researcher to have noticed that conditions in Kut and 'Amara were particularly oppressive. The point has already been made in some detail by me (in *Britain in Iraq 1914–1932* [1976]) and by Hanna Batatu (*The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq* [1978]). Again, her detailed discussion of the economy does not mention J. Sassoon's *Economic Policy in Iraq, 1932–1950* (1987).

Where I part company more fundamentally with Haj is over her analysis of the years before and after 1958, admittedly one of the most contentious periods of modern Iraqi history. In the first place, insufficient emphasis is given to the fact that the Iraqi Communist Party provided the backbone for opposition to the monarchy in the prerevolutionary period. The National Democrats, mostly amiable Fabian socialists who had come of age politically in the late 1930s, were respected individually but had no mass following. There was no organized Nasserist party and of course no Nasserist movement before the mid-1950s. The Iraqi Ba'th Party had some 300 members by 1955, most of whom were friends, relatives, and associates of its founder, Fu'ad al-Rikabi. Given the Ba'th's lack of political weight, Haj's observation that "the pan-Arab Ba'th, speaking on behalf of a much larger urban Arab audience [i.e. than the National Democrats], opposed the preservation of the Iraqi nation-state and favored instead a unified Arab nation-state" (p. 83) seems a little incongruous.

More or less by definition, pan-Arab nationalism, with its focus on the Sunni Arab world, did not have a very widespread echo in Iraq. Fifty-five percent of Iraqis are Shi'is, and eighteen to twenty percent are Kurds; although they should not be seen as monolithic, both groups resented the fact that they were under-represented in the prerevolutionary state apparatus, and neither would have seen its destiny best served by schemes involving unification with other (overwhelmingly Sunni) Arab countries.

Haj states that the Iraqi nationalists, and especially the National Democrats, feared that a merger with the United Arab Republic (UAR) would pose a dangerous threat to their own class interests. Even if the National Democrats had analyzed the situation in those terms (and there is no evidence that they did), there were plenty of other compelling arguments against Iraq's joining the UAR, which of course fell to pieces in the autumn of 1961. During the years immediately after the revolution, the notion of unity with the UAR functioned principally as a rallying cry against the Communists, who for their part made frequent if fruitless calls for democratic elections.

As mentioned earlier, not enough space is given to explaining the idiosyncratic economic and sociopolitical distortions brought about by Iraq's dependence on

oil. Finally, greater care should have been paid to copyediting and to the creation of a consistent system of transliteration; among many such instances, Muhammad Hadid appears as Mohammed in note 18 on p. 176 and (correctly) as Muhammad in note 19, a few lines below; Sir Humphrey (p. 50) must be Sir Francis Humphrys, British High Commissioner 1929–1932 and British Ambassador 1932–1935.

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AFRICA

DONALD R. WRIGHT. *The World and a Very Small Place in Africa*. (Sources and Studies in World History.) Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 1997. Pp. xv, 278. Cloth \$62.95, paper \$19.95.

Precolonial Niumi, the "very small place" in the title of this book, was an independent state of about 400 square miles located on the north bank of the mouth of the Gambia River on the Atlantic coast of West Africa. In 1891, part of what once had been the kingdom of Niumi was absorbed into the French colony of Senegal, while a larger portion went to Britain for its Gambia colony, which was entirely surrounded by French territory and limited to "an area seldom more than ten miles in from either bank of the river" (p. 161). Intimately acquainted with Niumi since the mid-1970s, Donald R. Wright now offers a detailed and sensitive history of this tiny corner of Africa while locating it within a global economic framework that draws on Immanuel Wallerstein's world-system theory.

The people of Niumi are presented here as exemplifying the kinds of groups in various global regions whose ways of life were determined by the manner of their involvement in an unequal world economic system. According to this perspective, some of the more efficient and productive regions grew into focal points of the network, becoming politically and militarily dominant. Others became "suppliers of unprocessed resources to, and acquirers of processed goods from" the core areas (p. 17). These peripheral peoples might find themselves trading for goods made from raw materials that they had themselves produced. For this and other reasons they remained economically and politically weak, locked into a disadvantageous relationship with the core areas. Wright demonstrates that expanding "Old World" trade in the thirteenth century, including the demand for West African gold and slaves, affected Niumi along with the rest of West Africa. The people of Niumi had been connected to a commercial network with links to central Europe through the trans-Saharan trade at least as early as the eighth century. Through the commercial enclaves of an extensive trade diaspora stretching from Mali's political and economic center on the upper Niger to the Atlantic coast, Niumi had become involved in a "re-structuring world system."

Niumi's people had also been involved in trade

along the Atlantic Coast of West Africa long before the Portuguese arrived in the mid-fifteenth century, and Wright argues that by that time they were probably as interested as Europeans in increasing their participation in the expanding world market system. But the appearance of Portuguese merchants stimulated a period of reorientation for Niumi between 1450 and 1600, because it connected sub-Saharan West Africa to an expanding plantation complex that depended on transatlantic trade. Along with other small states of the West African coast, Niumi found increased prosperity by taxing the trade passing in and out of its territory and by supplying gold, slaves, and other commodities for the Atlantic economy. But contrary to the curiously inaccurate statement of Kevin Reilly in the foreword (p. xi), the heightened demand for slaves led to new levels of political and social instability and not the reverse. Consistently attuned to how indigenous cultural factors affected local agency and how traditional institutions adjusted to alien pressures and global exposure, Wright describes changes in the nature of Niumi's structure at both state and village levels.

During the period 1600–1800, Niumi's involvement with the Atlantic trade gave it increasing access to an expanding material and intellectual world. In his particularly clear and readable style, Wright details the global factors whose cumulative consequence was that, by the seventeenth century, the people of this tiny Gambia River state had become “habitual consumers of products from all around the Atlantic and from central and East Asia” (p. 117).

Addressing the thorny question of when various regions of Africa became, in Wallerstein's terminology, “fully incorporated into the modern world-system” (p. 137) and maintaining the previously mentioned comparison of prosperous core regions of the world to marginalized ones, Wright finds that the period 1835–1850 was crucial to Niumi becoming one of the low-cost production areas for the expanding global economy. As part of a tiny riverine state within the British Empire, Niumi's niche in the world system would be defined by its production of peanuts and its consumption of manufactured goods. We learn that, by the end of the century, the ancient polity had become so economically and politically weak, and so dependent on its role in the global economy, that Niumi quietly relinquished its sovereignty to Great Britain.

Wright's engagingly personal writing style is distinguished by clarity of expression with which he has crafted an outstanding pedagogical tool. Remarkably, by focusing on an obscure plot of territory currently mired in poverty and ill-health on the “wrong side” of the river from the capital of one of Africa's smallest countries (Gambia is smaller than Connecticut), the author manages to demonstrate that world history can be taught from a sub-Saharan African perspective as well as any other. Important bonuses for the classroom are nine well-designed maps and a series of fifteen boxes containing nuggets of detailed information on selected topics including historiographical issues, sla-

very and the diaspora, colonial policy, and the changing roles of women.

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ANTHONY J. BARKER. *Slavery and Antislavery in Mauritius, 1810–33: The Conflict between Economic Expansion and Humanitarian Reform under British Rule.* (Cambridge Commonwealth Series.) New York: St. Martin's and MacMillan, London. 1996. Pp. viii, 225. \$65.00.

As Anthony J. Barker notes in his short revisionist study on Mauritius, this small, Indian Ocean island has been unjustly neglected by historians of both plantation slavery and the British anti-slavery movement. Barker focuses his attention on the quarter-century from the acquisition of Mauritius by the British in 1810 to the Emancipation Act of 1833. His book is conceived as a response both to Moses Nwulia's *History of Slavery in Mauritius and the Seychelles* (1981), which he contends mistakenly reiterates contemporary impressions about the unchanging nature of slavery at Mauritius during this period, and to misleading characterizations of the importance of Mauritius in the historiography of the abolitionist movement. He is also concerned to disaggregate and make real the slave experience at Mauritius, which with a few important exceptions has largely been ignored in the historiography of that multiethnic society.

In his analysis of abolition and abolitionists, Barker demonstrates convincingly that the first British governor of Mauritius, Sir Robert Farquhar, was deeply implicated in condoning the illegal slave trade at the island in complicity with the Franco-Mauritian plantocracy. He similarly revises the self-serving depiction of Charles Telfair as an enlightened planter and confirms Nwulia's assessment that Farquhar's successor as governor, Sir Lowry Cole, was an active supporter of the slave-holding interests in the colony and did nothing to ameliorate the condition of slaves following the parliamentary reforms enacted in 1823. In chapter ten, Barker draws on the papers of Thomas Fowell Buxton to clarify the bitterness of the personal rivalry between Buxton and George Stephen as it played itself out during the last decade of this period with respect to Mauritius. The title of this chapter, “Slaves as Antislavery Property,” vividly reflects the way in which Stephen, in particular, regarded slaves as “pawns in the political battles that were fought to advance his own reputation” (p. 157) with no regard for the slaves as human beings.

The central chapters of this book seek to bring the experiences of the slaves themselves to light both by quantifying aspects of the slave experience and by attempting to reveal something of their individuality, notwithstanding the difficulty of the sources. Based on the 1826 slave registration, Barker first provides a skillful demographic analysis of slavery at Mauritius

supplemented by a rich array of appendixes (pp. 168–189) that also draw on data deriving from other sources. He next explores the disruption that derived from the transformation of the plantation economy, which experienced unprecedented expansion in sugar production after 1825; the “trauma of slavery” from capture and shipment to conditions of servitude, paying special attention to social life and the family; responses to slavery, such as resistance and, especially, marooning, which he suggests was as much a response to “the determination and ability of slaves to maintain contact with relatives and friends widely dispersed through the island and, in some cases, numbered among the free coloured population” as it was escape from harsh masters (p. 124); and the very different experience of slaves in the island’s principal urban center, Port Louis, which afforded slaves greater freedom of movement than was true for plantation slaves and was also noteworthy for the predominance of Malagasy culture among the slave population.

Although there is much to be learned from Barker, there are some important limitations to his book that must be mentioned. Despite his careful mining of the sources he consulted, he underestimates the value of the Mauritius Archives for illuminating the slave experience (p. 8). Huguette Ly-Tio-Fane Pineo, for example, makes good use of an 1823 slave census (Mauritius Archive Series KK 11) in “Les esclaves ‘de plantation’ de l’Île Maurice à la veille de l’abolition, d’après le recensement de 1823” (*Histoires d’Outre-Mer: Mélanges en l’honneur de Jean-Louis Miegé* [1992], Vol. II, pp. 635–55), and slave voices can be found in the Claims for Compensation submitted to the Compensation Committee (Series IG). Barker also neglects the work of Vijaya Teelock (*A Select Guide to Sources on Slavery in Mauritius* and *Slaves Speak Out: The Testimony of Slaves in the Era of Sugar* [1995]), which draws on the same Public Record Office sources that Barker utilizes. Finally, the two components of Barker’s book do not really come together as a unified study. That said, Barker has made a welcome contribution to the comparative study of slavery and anti-slavery that will be a useful companion to forthcoming works by Teelock and Richard Allen.

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EMMANUEL KWAKU AKYEAMONG. *Drink, Power, and Cultural Change: A Social History of Alcohol in Ghana, c. 1800 to Recent Times*. (Social History of Africa Series.) Portsmouth: Heinemann. 1996. Pp. xxiii, 189. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$23.95.

From a project that began as a dissertation on the use of alcohol as a metaphor for power in southern Ghana since 1918, Emmanuel Kwaku Akyeampong has produced a book that attempts far more ambitiously to link the history of drink to broader themes of changing gender relations, the evolution of popular (largely

urban) culture and the shifting relations of power between commoners, chiefs, the colonial state, and nationalist politicians. He pursues these themes across the ethnic boundaries that usually circumscribe scholarly work on Ghana, focusing on all three of the principal peoples of southern Ghana (Akan, Ga-Adangme, and Ewe). He also expands the chronological coverage of his earlier work, attempting to encompass the precolonial as well as the colonial and national periods. The question is, can all this be done satisfactorily in a work comprising less than 170 pages of text and notes? The answer, not surprisingly, is no. Despite offering a number of fascinating insights on the culture of power in southern Ghana, the book’s reach exceeds its grasp.

Akyeampong begins with a brief survey of the literature on alcohol, both generally and in the Third World. His principal interest is the cultural context of alcohol use, specifically the “culturally sanctioned, integrative uses of drink” (p. 2) in non-Western societies. Akyeampong then explores the cultural meanings of alcoholic drink—principally palm wine and imported spirits—in precolonial southern Ghana. His starting point is that these meanings were “closely linked to conceptions of power” (p. 4). He offers a stimulating ethnographic analysis of the relationship between alcohol and two other “powerful fluids,” water and blood. All three served ritually to bridge the spiritual and material worlds, but alcohol played a key role in a number of highly significant social activities such as rites of passage and ceremonies of power and warfare. Consequently, in alcohol Akyeampong has a fluid that he believes is especially well-suited to the investigation of power, since its use in all these contexts, he asserts, was regulated by male elders and chiefs. From this fact he discerns an “indigenous ethic of temperance” (p. 15) in alcohol use in the precolonial period.

These interesting, and in places provocative, insights rest, however, on an inadequate empirical base. Akyeampong has done little research in the extensive precolonial archival record, depending instead on published accounts and a few oral interviews. He provides no data on the level of liquor imports in the nineteenth century, for example, despite noting the importance of alcoholic drink as a commodity in Ghana’s well-documented precolonial trade. Moreover, he embraces a surprisingly outmoded view of precolonial social and political relations (“traditional” society), asserting baldly that “age and lineage defined sociopolitical status” (p. 44). Thus, outside of a few coastal towns, male elders commanded (through their “control of land and labor” [p. 44]), and women and male commoners obeyed. Factors that began to undermine this tidy state of affairs appeared only in the second half of the nineteenth century, and the sources of change were exogenous. This approach to Ghana’s precolonial past oddly overlooks much recent work, which portrays precolonial societies in less neatly hierarchical terms and reveals the internal forces and

contradictions making for fundamental change. Finally, it should be noted that the bulk of the ethnographic evidence undergirding Akyeampong's analysis derives from scholarly work on the Akan rather than the Ewe and Ga-Adangme.

Much more persuasive are the chapters on the significance of alcohol and its use in the colonial and national periods, where the empirical base is firmer. Akyeampong uses alcohol as a means of analyzing the political emergence of new social groups, especially women and male commoners, and their conflicts with authority wielders. Their appearance as self-conscious actors was fostered by changes introduced under colonial rule and threatened to undermine chiefly authority. Women became active in the retailing of liquor, and the urban male commoners engaged in conspicuous consumption of liquor, the "coveted fluid of the rural elders" (p. 47). Male elders and chiefs banded together with the colonial authorities and missionaries in an effort to contain these challenges. They found common cause in the temperance movement, although the colonial government was put in an awkward position since taxes on imported spirits were a critical source of state revenue. Alcohol thus provides Akyeampong with a valuable tool for the investigation of social and political conflicts within colonial society and between elements of that society and the colonial state.

Equally rich and enlightening is Akyeampong's examination of the new urban culture that first emerged under colonial rule and in which alcoholic drink played a key role. With the passage of legislation in 1930 (after much vacillation by the colonial state) progressively barring the importation of liquor, there arose an illegal production and trade in locally distilled spirits, known as *akpeteshie*. This commodity afforded women new economic opportunities and was closely associated with the rise of a vibrant urban culture of political opposition, first to colonialism and then to an increasingly repressive national government after independence in 1957. The reluctance of Ghana's first independent government to legalize *akpeteshie* (although it did relax restrictions on imported spirits) illustrates the remarkable power (and class) continuities between the colonial and national periods. The links that Akyeampong establishes between alcohol and commoner empowerment here are clear and persuasive.

Akyeampong concludes his study by examining popular political quiescence and withdrawal in the face of Ghana's dramatic economic collapse and the increasingly corrupt military regimes of the 1970s and 1980s. Here, too, alcohol played its part, now providing to the disenfranchised masses a means of escape—but also producing a plague of increasing male and female alcohol addiction, marital stress, and spousal abuse. Compounding the tragedy, according to Akyeampong, is the fact that Ghanaians generally fail to acknowledge the physical process of alcohol addiction, rendering treatment difficult. This is a depressing but nonetheless apt conclusion to a work that, despite serious

flaws in its treatment of the precolonial period, makes an important contribution generally to the study of alcohol in Africa and specifically to the culture of, and struggle for power in, twentieth-century southern Ghana.

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CHARLES VAN ONSELEN. *The Seed Is Mine: The Life of Kas Maine, a South African Sharecropper, 1894–1985*. New York: Hill and Wang. 1996. Pp. xvi, 649.

This book is a remarkable example of historical scholarship. For fifteen years, Charles van Onselen, together with a group of African assistants (particularly M. T. Nkdimeng, on whose oral interviewing much of the book rests) researched the life of a man whose name appears only once in the vast documentary storehouse of the South African state, for being unable to produce a dog license in September 1931. Kas Maine first came to van Onselen's attention in 1979, when fieldworkers in the University of the Witwatersrand's Oral History Project told him of meeting an old man (Maine was then eighty-five) with an astounding memory for detail. Maine appealed to van Onselen as a vehicle by which, as he puts matters in his preface, "to set right a historic wrong" by showing how thousands (indeed millions) of ordinary people "were central to the building, feeding, and shaping of this tortured country [South Africa at the apex of apartheid] as it struggled to brush aside the racial goblins that guarded entry to the modern world" (p. 11). This is a task tackled some thirty years ago by Kas Maine's near contemporary and fellow Transvaaler, Naboth Mokgatle, in his *Autobiography of an Unknown South African* (1971). Beginning with Maine's own testimony, collected over six years and sixty-six interviews (five of these by van Onselen), the author and his fieldworkers then interviewed Maine's family, neighbors, and business associates (another 128 interviews) and "checked" the oral evidence against documentary records in public and private archives.

The result of this collaborative endeavor is a huge work, almost as long as Robert Rotberg and Miles F. Shore's doorstopper life of Cecil Rhodes (*The Founder: Cecil Rhodes and the Pursuit of Power* [1988]). Organized on a strictly chronological basis, the book chronicles Maine's almost endless struggles to make a living (sometimes a good one, usually just a bare one) as a sharecropper on white-owned farms during the first half of the twentieth century and details how he was forced by economic change and legislative action into poverty in the rural ghetto of Bophuthatswana (one of the so-called "homelands") in the latter half. The narrative is presented within an analytic framework relatively familiar to historians of twentieth-century South Africa: prohibition of African ownership of land outside certain demarcated reserves (1913 Natives Land Act), increasingly easy access for white, mainly Afrikaner, farmers to cheap capital (after the

victory of their National Party in 1948), and greater mechanization of agriculture (with the tractor replacing the ox and plough after World War II). But what van Onselen and his coworkers do is put a face on the often anonymous subjects of previous research and demonstrate in particular how Maine and his family (two wives and ten children) worked together, and suffered together, as a social and economic unit.

Yet despite the great richness and complexity of this work, there are limits to its contributions to African historiography. First, it lacks the immediacy and liveliness of Theodore Rosengarten's *All God's Dangers: The Life of Nate Shaw* (1974), the inspiration although not the model for van Onselen's study. Whereas Rosengarten's study was based on sixty hours of tape-recorded interviews with Ned Cobb, an eighty-four-year-old African-American sharecropper, which he then transcribed, edited, discussed with his subject for another sixty hours, and published as "the autobiography of an illiterate man," van Onselen worked from a distance. Practically all the interviews (151 of 162) with Maine, his family, and his African associates were done by van Onselen's African fieldworkers (although van Onselen did all thirty-two of those with white informants). Most of the interviews were carried out, it appears (although the information is not given in the text), in SeSotho and then translated and transcribed into English. This process of collection and translation probably accounts for the often stilted language presented as direct quotes and the fact that Maine and his family members appear virtually indistinguishable in their prose speech. Also unlike Rosengarten's work—an attempt to tell one man's story in his own words—van Onselen's project was not to present Maine's autobiography as a tale told but rather to construct a life from a multitude of forms of evidence, oral and written, and in essence by such measures prove Maine's memories to be true. The result is a surfeit of authenticating detail, which succeeds in convincing the reader that Maine's memory was indeed very good but detracts from the narrative.

The second limitation of van Onselen's work, closely linked to the first, is that it is written as an almost daily chronicle rather than as an interpretative study or even a story. Indeed, van Onselen chose to publish his interpretative, theoretical, and methodological insights elsewhere—in the *AHR* (1990), the *Journal of Historical Sociology* (1992), and the *Journal of Peasant Studies* (1993)—without explaining why, other than to note that "writing articles and writing a book—especially a rather lengthy book—are two very different exercises" (p. vii). As a result, while van Onselen has succeeded admirably in constructing the biography of "a very ordinary man and an extraordinary countryman" (p. 11) who otherwise might well have been forgotten by history, it is at the cost of producing a text that is more likely to be admired for the effort and skill that went into its making than actually to be read. That would be a pity, for it is in the lives of people such as Maine and his family that one can discern the daily

horrors of racial discrimination and the constant struggles that people undertook to withstand the worst excesses of the apartheid state and its segregationist predecessors.

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ASIA

JOHN W. DARDESS. *A Ming Society: T'ai-ho County, Kiangsi, Fourteenth to Seventeenth Centuries*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 316. \$45.00.

The long period of Ming rule in China (1368–1644) includes some important cultural and social developments that historians are able to glimpse only with great difficulty. The post-Mongol political and administrative structure, highly centralized but minimally engaged in local affairs, and the written sources it generated have not been friendly to historians interested in discovering how things changed. The records tend to stress the normative and ignore the critical as populations shifted, local elites, kinship structures, and land-tenure arrangements evolved, silver-flows intervened, new cultural centers appeared, literati politics changed, and new ideas proliferated. Over the past two decades, local and regional studies spanning the period from the tenth to the twentieth centuries have added new perspectives, raised new questions, and mapped new fields of social and cultural investigation, but the first 150 years of the Ming period have remained in the shadows. This long-awaited study by a seasoned historian illuminates them with precision and charm.

John W. Dardess's book is not a history of Ming society, nor is it, strictly speaking, a social history of T'ai-ho County. It is a history of a devolving network of literati elite families in T'ai-ho and their culturally and politically most visible members. It includes a detailed analysis of the local landscape and its resources, which members of the original network both loved and exploited, as well as a fascinating narrative of the literati's changing stance vis-à-vis Beijing court politics and of the breakup of the network as the cultural and political landscape diversified over time. Dardess chose this county not because its society is typical of anything but because it produced an inordinate number of prominent literati, many of whose names are familiar to students of Ming political and intellectual history. Among them are Yang Shih-ch'i (1365–1444), who helped to shape the Grand Secretariat, which dominated Ming literati culture and politics from the 1420s on, and the philosophers Ou-yang Te (1496–1554) and Lo Ch'in-shun (1465–1547), whose differing positions on issues relating to knowledge and action were central to Neo-Confucian discourse. The supralocal prominence of T'ai-ho men of letters helped to provide an unusually large literary record of the place and its people that was deemed

worthy of preservation. Early gazetteers have also survived, enabling Dardess to do his complicated detective work. The result is a stunningly detailed moving picture of one part of China, inextricably linked both to the Ming's imperial center and its broadly flowing cultural streams as the developments we seek to understand occurred.

A short review cannot do justice to the complex arguments in this book concerning local settlement patterns, land use, the management of wealth, negotiations between local tax captains and the state, or demographic pressures. Earlier versions of all but the last have appeared in scholarly articles, but their inclusion in this broader study is an essential part of the whole. The chapter on demography demonstrates both the difficulties of working with limited sources and the author's determination to put these sources to work. The results are necessarily tenuous, and some of the questions, such as the large-scale disappearance of females from the records, may be unanswerable despite Dardess's efforts. But the general conclusion that pressures of downward mobility on the elite lineages, which were concurrent with political pressures on tax chiefs and large-scale success in the civil service examinations, produced new patterns of emigration from the county and corporate lineage organization within it as early as the fifteenth century is significant. Both the argument and the narrative description of organized lineage development are important contributions to this field.

Yet the bigger argument, unspoiled by theoretical jargon but conversant with current historiographical trends, is in the details of the lives and thoughts of the literati as they moved first through the landscape, then through the civil service, into the maelstrom of political intrigue, and finally onto the high ground of philosophical discourse. Dardess is a great storyteller, and he is to be thanked for his attention to the careful selection and translation of literati words. As his subjects engage capricious emperors, powerful ministers, dangerous eunuchs, and each other over the course of three centuries, Dardess shows them gradually losing the collegial and social harmony of the original network, in the style of Yang Shih-ch'i, and entering the locally detached, intellectually disputatious, politically contentious class of late-Ming scholar-officials. In the course of this passage, T'ai-ho County recedes from view, but its history illumines a period that has long been in need of more light.

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RICHARD JOHN LUFRANO, *Honorable Merchants: Commerce and Self-Cultivation in Late Imperial China*. (A Study of the East Asian Institute.) Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, in association with the East Asian Institute, Columbia University, New York. 1997. Pp. xii, 241. \$39.00.

This book tackles the trendy question of the relationship between Confucianism and economic development by focusing on the mid-level or local merchant class of small-scale entrepreneurs in late imperial China. The merchants in these small firms, whose beliefs and activities Richard John Lufrano chronicles from the late sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, continue to draw attention from scholars bent on explaining the rise of the Four Little Dragons in modern East Asia. As Lufrano points out, long after the demise of the notorious comprador class and the triumph of Communist state trading companies, the same small firms have remained the bedrock of East Asia's economic success.

Self-help manuals published for merchants in the eighteenth century contained not only travel guides (with maps, places to stay, and things to see) but also instructions, both practical and moral, for the anxious businessman trying to make his way in a world where cutthroat competition ruled, thieves and criminals lay in wait, and the government offered no legal protection. Four such manuals, written for businessmen, travelers, pawnbrokers, and shopkeepers, constitute the author's main body of evidence, which he supplements with the extensive secondary scholarship on related "Confucian" genres, especially the morality books popular among members of the middle gentry class and lineage instruction books designed to foster harmonious relations among kinsmen.

Lufrano's analysis of the merchant manuals is topical, focusing on apprenticeship, community and government relations, personal ties in the marketplace, management and financial affairs, travel, and crime. Readers, he suggests, saw themselves as good industrious people, vulnerable to chicanery and chance. A young apprentice armed himself from the time he began working, preferably at a modest shop where his mettle for hard work and low pay would be tested well. His early education in basic literacy and Confucian values (frugality, honesty, loyalty, self-discipline) would be reinforced by his employer and his coworkers. The would-be merchant who subdued his selfish desires (for women, gambling, and drink) not only marked himself a "gentleman," he also shielded himself from corruption, kept criminal elements at bay, and maximized his opportunities to enrich himself and his business. In this manner, the "self-cultivation" of the young apprentice set him apart from the "rabble" of fortune-seeking ruffians who plied the marketplaces of late Ming and Qing China's commercialized economy (p. 59). Confucian values provided, Lufrano suggests, a class consciousness and a social identity that remain hallmarks of Chinese businessmen even today. And the same values promoting individual well-being enhanced economic success.

As Lufrano continually acknowledges, his own study of merchant manuals builds on the work of many other scholars, including Timothy Brook, Shiba Yoshinobu, Yang Liansheng, and Ju Qingyuan. The uniqueness of Lufrano's approach lies in its poignant portrayal of

lonely lives and constructed dignities. Sojourns of nine months to three years were not uncommon for small businessmen seeking success. Brigands and pirates set every traveler on guard. On a boat or at an inn, a sojourner slept fitfully, alert for thieves. Moreover, companions on the road might be swindlers in disguise, so travelers kept to themselves. Local government officials promised no help to a merchant cheated out of his life savings. And because the manuals never mention guilds, Lufrano finds it unlikely that merchants of this class looked for aid from that quarter (p. 129). No wonder an ethic of self-reliance and self-dependency was part of the basic training for young men bound for careers in business. Equally striking, in Lufrano's portrayal of mid-level merchants, is the absence of women from the small business world. Mom-and-Pop operations are absent; daughters never work in the shop. Women appear only in the context of the traveler, as wives to be left behind or as prostitutes to be avoided.

Lufrano makes several attempts to analyze the contents of these manuals on a more ambitious level. For instance, he tries to link the merchants' self-cultivation ethic with late-Ming Taizhou Neo-Confucianism. He also explores the possibility of regional or occupational variation in the concerns of the manuals. But none of these analytical strategies is pursued systematically. The author's focus on the enduring relationship between Confucian values and business success in late imperial China will be of great interest to scholars looking for the secret of East Asia's current economic miracle. But most historians would wish for a more analytical treatment of the relationship between the seemingly unchanging rhetoric of merchant manuals and the dramatically shifting historical context of the last three centuries.

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JOAN JUDGE. *Print and Politics: "Shibao" and the Culture of Reform in Late Qing China*. (Studies of the East Asian Institute, Columbia University.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 298. \$45.00.

This impressive book on politics and the press in the last decade of the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911) is especially timely. Fifteen years ago, political reformers in China used to say that if Mao Zedong had not launched the Cultural Revolution in 1966, China would have been fine today. Ten years ago, they said if Mao had not taken his Great Leap Forward in 1958, things would have been dandy. Five years ago, people started saying that things started going wrong after Mao won in 1949. Now, however, Chinese historians hint that if the emperor had not been overthrown in 1911, China would probably be an international powerhouse today. Joan Judge's impressive study of the struggle waged in late imperial China by editors and proprietors of a major Shanghai newspaper, *Shibao*

(*The Eastern Times*), to establish freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, rule of law, representative assemblies, and bureaucratic accountability—all within the framework of an ancient imperial system—goes a long way toward explaining the appeal of a radically conservative, revisionist historiography in contemporary China.

Judge begins by noting that dynastic reformers had more in common with anti-dynastic revolutionaries than is generally supposed. Their shared concern to establish constitutional democracy and rule of law, in place of arbitrary monarchical rule, all but outweighed their differences on the question of retaining the emperor. Judge carries the reformist position further, uncovering a wide agenda for democratic reform that still sought to preserve much that was valuable in China's inherited ethics, religions, ritual, and social organization. Democracy and rule of law, the reformers argued, needed to take root in customary ritual, rhetoric, and belief if they were to flower in twentieth-century China. The author carefully exposes the strengths, contradictions, and ambiguities of this position.

Some of these contradictions are explored in detail: between an idealized Chinese past and an admirable foreign present; between upholding imperial rule and exposing imperial incompetence; between admiration for Japan's constitutional achievements and concern for its lack of popular sovereignty; and, most notably, between the uncertainties of local politics in the Yangtze Delta and the prescriptive platforms of organized political movements. The paper rarely adopted a consistent position on any of these issues. By accommodating a range of tensions and contradictions within its four folio pages, Judge argues, *Shibao* helped to develop a broad, complex, and pluralist political culture over the first decade of the twentieth century that ultimately fell victim to the unequivocal certainties of the Republic and the People's Republic. *Shibao* never recovered from the collapse of the empire. Nor, Judge hints, did China.

While not hesitating to draw comparisons with European and North American precedents, the author is cautious about imposing alien "teleologies" on her material. Judge employs the language of her subjects to keep faith with the "unique dynamic" of late Qing history. So she shows more sympathy for the speculative work of Roger Chartier than for the grand theories of Jürgen Habermas or Benedict Anderson. Rather than constituting a "public sphere," for example, reforming journalists are said to have carved out a "middle realm" between rulers and ruled. And although print is the subject of the book, print capitalism barely rates a mention. Judge justifies her choice of method by noting the rarefied institutional isolation of the late Qing press, in contrast to the nested cluster of bourgeois institutions that buttressed newspapers in Europe and the United States. On the basis of this distinction, she posits an alternative framework involving an intermediate political space within which jour-

nalists sought to represent the people to their rulers while explaining the modernizing impulses of rulers to their people. The book returns consistently to three foundations of this "middle realm"—the nation, popular power, and public opinion—and offers finely nuanced discussions of the significance of these terms in late Qing discourse.

The book's conclusion highlights some of the contemporary resonances of this historic struggle, including a renewed emphasis among Chinese reformers on the rule of law, on institutionalization, on the independence of the legislature and judiciary, and on preserving China's cultural heritage from the assaults of Western modernity. For its part, the government is just as likely now as then to discredit popular dissent by attributing it to the "black hand" of unpatriotic conspirators. Faced with the evidence so ably marshalled in Judge's important work, historians might now ask what it was that happened, between times, to return twentieth-century China so definitively to its own beginnings.

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DANIEL Y. K. KWAN, *Marxist Intellectuals and the Chinese Labor Movement: A Study of Deng Zhongxia (1894–1933)*. (Jackson School Publications in International Studies.) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1997. Pp. xiv, 309. \$45.00.

Deng Zhongxia (1894–1933) was a young intellectual who joined the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) soon after it was formed and became, in the remaining dozen years of his life, one of its leading organizers of urban workers. He was captured and executed by the Guomindang authorities shortly before he turned thirty-nine. This book by Daniel Y. K. Kwan combines a study of Deng's career with an exploration of several major issues in the history of the Chinese labor movement.

Kwan is primarily interested in two sets of problems. One concerns the efforts of Marxist intellectuals to politicize China's incipient working class, efforts that Kwan finds to have produced a "tragic dissonance" between workers and the CCP leadership. The other concerns the interaction between local interests and national purposes during the course of the Chinese revolution. Deng is the main actor in the story, but many other important players move in and out of the spotlight. Most of the action takes place in 1925–1926, during a sixteen-month strike in Hong Kong and Guangzhou (Canton). From this and other examples of the CCP's mobilization work, Kwan draws a mostly melancholy conclusion: "Once the Marxist intellectuals became CCP leaders, they identified themselves with the Party instead of with the working class . . . Deng Zhongxia and the other CCP leaders were ready . . . to abandon the interests of the working class in the defense of their Party whenever they deemed it nec-

essary." Here, he suggests, we find in microcosm "the tragedy of the Chinese Communist revolution," especially in its first fifteen or twenty years (p. 265). Nevertheless, the author sees in the CCP's errors and misfortunes of the 1920s signs of future success. One sign is that some workers who joined the labor movement in the 1920s went on to become important CCP leaders. A second is that some intellectuals and workers had learned to cooperate in a common cause. From this point of view, Deng's work in the 1925–1926 strike can be considered to have been an early example of success.

Kwan has managed to extract from the tragedy of the 1920s some glimmer of lasting and positive results. But to this reader, such results are far outweighed by the Marxist intellectuals' dogmatic indifference to the workers' own demands and the huge irony of the CCP leaders deciding that the party had to defend itself by abandoning the workers' interests. In 1926, the CCP accepted a strike settlement that was clearly a defeat for the workers. Deng, portrayed here as the leading strike organizer, went along with the policy, however reluctantly. The larger tragedy to which Kwan refers came soon thereafter, in the catastrophe of 1927, when the very united front that the workers' interests had been sacrificed to preserve was drowned in the workers' own blood.

Perhaps because Deng was not as close to the center of events after the strike settlement as he was during the strike, the analytical intensity of the book falls off a bit after 1926. But during 1927, Deng served on the CCP Politburo, and Kwan observes that when Deng became a party bureaucrat he "overlooked the problems of his comrades at the local level" (p. 245). This is of particular interest because Deng went to the Soviet Union early in 1928, and during his two-year stay there he was caught up in fierce factional struggles involving his own party and the Comintern. In the same period, he began work on a book to be called "A Brief History of the Chinese Labor Movement," which, although never completed, was published in unfinished form, first in the Soviet Union and years later in China. In this work, Deng referred to the Chinese labor movement as a "dictatorship of the Secretariat" (see Jean Chesneaux, *The Chinese Labor Movement, 1919–1927* [1968], p. 197). What seems to have happened is that Deng, reflecting in the late 1920s on the failures of the CCP's work with the labor movement, came to understand the tragic dissonance he had experienced in 1926.

Kwan wishes to offer us a view of Guangzhou in the 1920s that goes beyond older emphases on the CCP–Guomindang power struggle. In this he succeeds, but he nevertheless takes us back to older issues such as the roles of the CCP and the Comintern in the united front of 1923–1927. And a good thing it is, for his book presents strikingly new perspectives. Unlike older works written from the top down, he gives us a view from inside the labor movement. And unlike other recent works on Chinese labor history that treat

Shanghai or Tianjin, he takes us further south. This adds a new regional dimension to our picture, and it gives Kwan an opportunity to treat the theme of anti-imperialism from the standpoint of Britain's position in Hong Kong; this is a major contribution of the book. His comments on other topics of interest to Chinese labor historians—guilds, "Fraternal Lodges," secret societies, Cantonese localism—although brief, speak to issues raised by the outstanding work of Gail Hershatter, Emily Honig, and Elizabeth Perry. These he explores somewhat differently than his colleagues in labor history do, but there are useful points of contact. Still, to this reviewer it seems that Kwan's major contribution is his densely textured analysis of the political dynamics of the Guangzhou-Hong Kong general strike of 1925–1926 and of the united front with which it continually collided. This is all the more fascinating because Guangzhou was the Guomindang base of operations, and the strike coincided with a leadership succession crisis in the party following the death of Sun Yat-sen. Kwan weaves these complex developments together with considerable skill, and in so doing he manages to illuminate both the maze of Chinese politics in the 1920s and a vital chapter in the history of Chinese workers and of those who tried to organize them for socialist revolution.

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JOHN FITZGERALD. *Awakening China: Politics, Culture, and Class in the Nationalist Revolution*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 461. \$45.00.

This wide-ranging book by John Fitzgerald takes the reader to Beijing, Shanghai, and Nanjing as well as to many other parts of the world. It does, however, contain an empirical core. The most systematic section, which comes at the end, is a detailed survey of the key party and military organs that were created by the Nationalist Party in Guangzhou during its First United Front (1924–1927) with the Communist Party. Utilizing party and government gazettes publicized by the Nationalists then as well as later, including accounts in party-sponsored newspapers, Fitzgerald presents, in a chapter entitled "Awakening, Inc.," a blow-by-blow account of the creation of the party's mass organizations for youth, women, merchants, peasants, and laborers, the Huangpu Military Academy, and Guangdong University. This chapter also outlines the various incidents that reflect the internal tensions that eventually sundered the United Front. Specialists may welcome the details and the chronology. Instead of dwelling on this rather familiar story in modern Chinese historiography, however, the author wisely chooses to focus on what the Nationalists and their Communist allies sought to accomplish in mass organizations. All Chinese revolutionaries of this century, Fitzgerald informs us, dedicated themselves to the "awakening" of the Chinese people by means of propaganda. This means that a study of Nationalist

revolutionary institutions in Guangzhou is not incompatible with a broader discussion of the discourse of "awakening" in modern Chinese political culture. The bulk of the book thus concerns itself with propaganda and "awakening" in general instead of the specificity of the Nationalist revolution.

Following Benedict Anderson's classification of modern nationalist movements, Fitzgerald sees Chinese nationalism as one of the "last waves" that mixed elements of the "spontaneous" awakening of the literate with the "Machiavellian" awakening of the masses via propaganda. Modern Chinese nationalism, according to the author, began with the awakening of a handful of Chinese intellectuals in the late nineteenth century to the Western vision of a new world of progress and enlightenment. Their awakening to a new order of "one world" led to the envisioning of China as "one nation," thanks to the use of print and the rise of fiction. This awakening to nationhood, complete with a new sense of space and time, in turn engendered the demand for the creation of "one state" that was to be consolidated by the leadership of "one party," which ultimately required as its tangible icon the power and authority of "one leader." The book draws extensively on contemporary cultural theories and makes broad pronouncements about late imperial Chinese thought (e.g., "a revolutionary emphasis on 'practice' had direct antecedents in the scholarship of the late empire" [p. 35] or "this marriage of ethics and action survived the collapse of Confucianism in the twentieth century" [p. 35]). Fitzgerald endeavors to narrate the ups and downs of the Nationalist revolution as the unfolding of a chain of events according to the logical connections intrinsic in the discursive practice centered on the trope of "awakening."

Sun Yat-sen's life and thought feature prominently throughout this book, as is appropriate for a study that has presented the Nationalist revolution primarily as a concerted mass propaganda campaign and the leader himself as both its chief propagandist and supreme icon. Attention to propaganda and mass organization permits the author to underscore the historical continuity between Sun's Nationalist Party and Mao Zedong's post-1949 Communist Party-state. This contrasts with the conventional representation of the founding of the People's Republic in 1949 as a new beginning. Nationalist activities of the 1920s are shown as significant not only as the institutionalization of an elite campaign to awaken the people but also as a formative experience in the making of Mao and the mass politics of the Communists. "In so far as Sun and Mao were both Hegelians," Fitzgerald concludes, "it could be said that one was an idealist and the other a materialist—that Mao stood Sun on his head, so to speak" (p. 343). Other insights and information, not quite so readily classifiable by Hegelian logic, abound in this volume. These include a discussion of the displacement of gardens by museums in early republican cities, the 1923 Lincheng train robbery, the racist remarks of Gilbert Rodney, the Orientalist represen-

tation of Chinese women, the Western "othering" of the Chinese as dreamers, the missionary origin of the campaign to enlighten the Chinese, and the Chinese elite's objectification of the Chinese people as dreamers in need of awakening. This is a book with a bifurcated approach that juxtaposes discourse analysis and historical description, mixing broad generalizations from the top down together with minute details from the bottom up.

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PAULINE B. KEATING. *Two Revolutions: Village Reconstruction and the Cooperative Movement in Northern Shaanxi, 1934–1945*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1997. Pp. xvi, 340. \$49.50.

The story of the rise of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and its long-time leader, Mao Zedong, to victory over their Nationalist (Guomindang) rivals in 1949 and then to power for the past fifty years governing the People's Republic of China (PRC) is as important as it is interesting and dramatic. And like most narratives, the meaning and telling of the story of the Chinese Communists change with the times, necessitating a retelling of that story in light of a new generation's concerns. Where many North American historians working during the Vietnam War looked at Chinese Communist experience in the "Anti-Japanese War" of 1937–1945 for what it might tell about the role of "people's war" in enabling a poor, backward country to defeat a more powerful, industrial invader, today—after the 1989 repression of democracy demonstrators in Beijing's Tiananmen Square—questions about the capacity of Chinese Communists to embrace democracy have risen to the fore. Pauline B. Keating's book aspires to revise our understanding of what many consider to be the critical formative period in Chinese Communist history: the Yan'an (Yenan) era of 1934–1947.

For almost thirty years, a dominant interpretation of the Yan'an era has been Mark Selden's *The Yen'an Way in Revolutionary China* (1971). Written during a time when it was impossible to travel to China and when sources were, for the most part, limited to published collections of Chinese Communist documents, Selden's study nonetheless provided important insights into the CCP and the Maoist strategy of development, insights that have stood the test of time. Basically, Selden argued that the distinctive features of the Maoist approach to governing and to development, forged under conditions of extreme backwardness and poverty in a remote area of northwest China at a time of war against Japan and civil war with the Nationalists, enabled the Communists to defeat both the Japanese and the Nationalists, and gave them the tools necessary to govern and develop China after 1949.

Keating does not dispute the significance of the Yan'an Way, but she questions its legacy. Instead of

popular, "mass line" politics that led to close ties between the peasants and the Communist party, she sees a powerfully authoritarian, top-down, anti-democratic (she calls it "totalitarian" at one point; p. 2) strand that she claims is the real legacy of Yan'an. Keating's argument is based on a comparative analysis of what she calls "objective structural factors" (p. 11)—the "social ecologies and political cultures" (p. 2)—in two sub-regions of Yan'an: Yanshu and Suide. According to Keating, Yanshu was a depopulated "wasteland" to the east of Yan'an city, peculiarly suited to the mobilizational and developmental strategies that came to embody the Yan'an Way, while Suide, a rich, densely populated region with powerful landlords to the northeast of Yan'an, required heavy-handed interventions by Communist cadres. The tragedy, if one can call it that, is that the Maoists came to believe that the popular mass-line mobilization methods used in the particular circumstances of Yanshu were generalizable throughout China. When they were not, the Communists fell back on the other, authoritarian methods used in Suide, which Keating insists were just as much a part of the Yan'an Way.

Although Keating contributes to our understanding of the Yan'an era in Chinese communist history, this book really cannot stand on its own, for it presupposes that the reader has significant understanding of the period and the issues. Let me cite but two examples: the reasons for the Communists' need to get peasant support, to increase production, and to develop workable strategies—the military struggle against the Japanese and the Nationalists—are very distant and rarely discussed; and for readers unfamiliar with Selden's work or that of others on the early 1940s, references to the "rectification campaign" of 1941–1942 will be mysterious. Finally, the drama of the "two revolutions" in the book's title (land reform and the cooperative movement) seems to be lost on an author whose prose is at best flat.

Rather than fundamentally revising our understanding of the Yan'an era in Chinese Communist history, Keating's study adds a more nuanced understanding of the Communists' Yan'an experience and will prompt readers to examine Selden's revision of his own interpretation in *China in Revolution: The Yen'an Way Reconsidered* (1995).

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JOHN M. JENNINGS. *The Opium Empire: Japanese Imperialism and Drug Trafficking in Asia, 1895–1945*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 1997. Pp. x, 161. \$55.00.

This book is a welcome addition to a small but growing body of literature on Japan's imperial relations with its Asian neighbors. Unlike the recent studies by Peter Duus (*The Abacus and the Sword: The Japanese Penetration of Korea, 1895–1910* [1995]) and Louise Young (*Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* [1998]), John M. Jennings ranges

throughout the imperium, from Taiwan, Korea, and Manchuria into China, and covers its entire chronological range. He sets two objectives for his work: to demonstrate that the Tokyo war crimes trials, at which Japan was accused of fomenting a veritable drug production and distribution conspiracy, fundamentally misconstrued a more complex story, and to show how Japan's experience with opium trafficking was a sort of metaphor for the wider imperial experience. If his study is too tightly focused to accomplish this second goal, it nevertheless succeeds very well in meeting its first.

Jennings makes clear that Japan's Meiji leaders approached the entire issue of drug use with considerable ambivalence, even awkwardness. Their initial domestic policy, which permitted opium under government monopoly for medicinal purposes only, wiped out domestic production even as it led to official crack-downs on the drug's importation. The acquisition of Taiwan posed a challenge to abstention, since the island had nearly 200,000 addicts and opium made up over forty percent of its imports. Japan's solution required the addicts' registration and their continued use of the drug supplied by a monopoly which, in theory, would prevent future Taiwanese from acquiring the habit and thus its eventual extinction. Yet by 1930, the addicts were still numerous, and the Monopoly Bureau was doing a booming business that included exports to Kwantung since 1906.

Although Jennings is more interested in opium within the Japanese empire, he does not ignore the impact of global developments. The Japanese did not deliberately increase their monopoly's production to create demand for opium. On the contrary, they struggled to meet the terrific demand that already existed in the territories they acquired. Opium production began in Korea only after the outbreak of World War I curtailed imports drastically. Even then, nearly all opium made in Korea was exported to the colossal market for it in Manchuria, which would have over 1.5 million addicts by the early 1930s. The Japanese were hardly innocent producers, to be sure. Many, such as Nitán'osa Otozō, made great personal fortunes. Fees from opium licenses lined the pockets of many Japanese officials in the Kwantung territory, and the traffic itself provided substantial revenues for the South Manchurian Railway. During its occupation of Shantung from 1914 to 1922, the Imperial Army sold monopoly rights in that territory and half of the 2000 Japanese residents in Tsinan made money from the opium trade. Korean subjects of Japan emigrating to Manchuria often cultivated poppies or ran opium dens.

If the Japanese government, then, was not actively encouraging addiction, as Allied prosecutors at the Tokyo trials charged, was it not at least a willing party and profiteer from opium usage? Jennings delivers a mixed verdict. Such new bureaucrats as Hoshino Naoki, often associated with the run toward war, realized by 1937 that opium consumption posed more

economic problems for Japan than it offered benefits, whether in the form of license and monopoly fees or sales and freight revenues. As Director of Manchukuo's General Affairs Board, he moved to end use, only to be frustrated by the outbreak of war with China, then the West, which created severe drug shortages and, inevitably, huge smuggling efforts often aided, to Hoshino's chagrin, by intelligence officers in the Imperial Army in cooperation with Japanese trading companies. By 1942, Japan's own genuinely medicinal demands had become great enough to overwhelm all control efforts.

Jennings's story is often colorful and always fascinating. It is to his credit that he has written it from hard-to-find sources. His reluctance to be bolder in his judgements and his refusal to be more forceful in advocating his own hypothesis of the dominance of market forces are the only, minor weaknesses of a study that, for all its dark connotations, sheds much light on a neglected aspect of Imperial Japan's overseas endeavors.

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LOUISE YOUNG. *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism*. (Twentieth-Century Japan: The Emergence of a World Power, number 8.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1998. Pp. xiii, 487. \$45.00.

On September 18, 1931, Japanese officers in the Kwantung Army stationed in Northeast China staged an explosion on the Japanese-controlled South Manchurian Railway. The subsequent conquest of China's three northeastern provinces and the creation of the puppet state of Manchukuo were major turning points in Japan's history; party cabinets ended, terrorists targeted politicians and businessmen, Japan withdrew from the League of Nations, and relations with China and the Western democracies soured. The creation of Manchukuo is "remembered" in Japan (if at all) as part of the "dark valley" in which right-wing ultranationalists imposed a program of action on a cowed public. Alternately, some memoir literature fits a "Japanese as victims" narrative. Survivors of the last days of the war in Manchuria recount the widespread massacres by Soviet forces and revenge attacks by local Chinese, some of whom had served in the puppet army.

Louise Young's important new study suggests an alternate view of Japan's empire building: a popular effort with mass support in Japan itself. Grounded in the latest theories of imperialism and empire building, Young argues that Japan's actions in Manchuria "produced two imperial systems—one in the colony and one in the metropolis" (p. 5). Building on the existing body of scholarship of elite politics and diplomacy, Young has constructed a bottom-up study that sees the creation of empire as a social product.

The Manchurian Incident created an outburst of "war fever," Young argues, far beyond that of earlier wars. Why was popular reaction greater in 1931 than 1905? New media outlets and a more developed mass culture were key. Radio had just burst on the scene, joining movie newsreels as a mechanism for fueling war fever. The mass circulation of periodicals and newspapers created a popular culture on an unprecedented scale. Nearly universal literacy meant that even the poorest Japanese shared in the new popular awareness.

This outburst of war fever was driven less by right-wing ideologues and more by commercial forces. Newspapers vied with one another for fresh reports from the "war." The *Asahi* and *Mainichi* sponsored fund drives to send relief packages to the front. Within months of the incident, enough toothbrushes had been sent to supply each soldier in the Kwantung Army with twenty-six.

A second factor contributing to "war fever" was the small number of Japanese casualties. Only 2,530 died in the incident, a fraction of the 81,455 deaths of the Russo-Japanese War. Whereas the earlier conflict had brought the hand of death into nearly every Japanese community, the Manchurian Incident was an easy victory. Ironically, press stories focused almost exclusively on *bidan*, individuals who had died gloriously on the battlefield. Often reporters altered accounts of actual events in order to fit the "correct" narrative.

Manchukuo became a reality—a government, an economy, a frontier. Building on the earlier scholarship of Michael Barnhart, Ramon Myers, and Joshua Fogel, among others, Young details much of this construction. Yet Manchukuo was simultaneously an imagined empire for many in Japan who saw it as fulfilling their particular goals. Right-wing fanatics viewed its creation as a tool to purify Japanese politics. Army planners saw the economic development of the colony as a way to restructure the relationship between state and capitalism. Rural reformers saw mass migration to Manchukuo as a solution to Japanese agrarian woes. Leftist intellectuals joined the research division of the South Manchurian Railway (Mantetsu), hoping to forge a path toward a socialist utopia. As Young argues, "to a large extent Manchurian empire building took place in the realm of the imagination" (p. 17).

These dreams failed, of course. The massive economic development plans for Manchukuo ran short of capital and forced Kwantung officials to make peace with Japan's *zaibatsu*. Leftist intellectuals undertook the village surveys of Mantetsu, only to realize that they were serving the interest of the occupying power.

Young's final chapters on the farm colonization program are perhaps the most striking, in part because so little scholarly work has been done on this topic. In 1936, the government of Japan announced a plan to move one in five Japanese rural households (one million families) to Manchukuo over a twenty-year period. This would not only solve Japan's agrarian

problems but spread the Yamato race to the mainland, where it could "lead and enlighten."

A massive migration machine was established, promising recruits farms and a new life on the mainland. The nearly quarter-million who actually emigrated became the true "victims of empire," Young argues. Surrounded by hostile Chinese, the Japanese villages became armed outposts of the empire. Abandoned by the military and government in the final days of the war, many emigrants fell victim to revenge attacks by Chinese or died in Soviet camps. Only sixty-three percent returned to Japan after the war.

Young's extraordinary book will force historians of Japan to rethink their treatment of Manchukuo. Young's study also joins the new comparative scholarship on imperialism, which analyzes its transforming power not only on the colony but also on the metropole. She has thus created an essential work of scholarship for students of comparative imperialist history.

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J. VICTOR KOSCHMANN. *Revolution and Subjectivity in Postwar Japan*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 293. Cloth \$48.00, paper \$19.95.

The study of postwar Japan as part of world culture moves ahead smartly with the appearance of this book by J. Victor Koschmann. As World War II ended, fateful choices faced the country. The obvious problem was how to overcome the physical destruction of the urban environment and the industrial economy. A spiritual dilemma also arose: how to avoid future repetitions of imperialism and war, and to refashion the passive populace of the "emperor system" (*tennōsei*) into an active and self-aware citizenry. Japanese intellectuals attacked the latter dilemma by way of ideological tendencies (Marxist, Weberian) inherited from prewar days. The central conundrum was "subjectivity" (*shutaisei*): who were the agents of change (subjects) appointed to carry out the mandate of realizing a bourgeois-democratic transformation (revolution)? How would their identity as subjects be established?

Koschmann raises these and other key questions, concluding that Japan failed the postwar test of attaining "revolution and subjectivity." In the ensuing Cold War, a conservative consensus emerged with the support of Japanese leaders as well as their American patrons. First under Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru and then under his Liberal Democratic Party successors, this consensus effectively revived a prewar pattern whereby Japan forged economic prosperity at the cost of lasting political immaturity and the prevalence of the production system over the claim of individual rights and interests.

This disagreeable lesson emerges clearly from Koschmann's portrayal of Japan's effervescent intellectual scene immediately after the war. New directions were

staked out in a setting of chaos and want, basic needs such as food and housing went unmet, yet a lively debate arose over whether the subjective will could triumph. Arcane as it was, the subjectivity issue covered multiple possibilities. If so revolutionary a transformation could occur amid the ruins, it seemed, some good might yet come of the devastation that had accompanied the demise of the Japanese Empire.

The heart of the book is a narrative of the avenues taken by intellectuals as they pursued democratic modernity during the occupation years (1945–1952). It is an irony lost on no Japanese thinker that the Americans came to democratize Japan by military means, exercising total authority from above and implementing reforms through a full apparatus of repression (bases and weapons, press censorship, control of radio). But intellectuals spent little time criticizing the occupiers; their anger was directed at Japan's past for its lack of the creative forces of democracy and individualism. Both Marxists (Umemoto Katsuji, Takakuwa Sumio) and non-Marxists (Maruyama Masao, Takeuchi Yoshimi) are represented in the great subjectivity debate of the late 1940s, and their thinking about *shutaisei* forms the basis of Koschmann's chapter development.

Chapter one takes up the quest for democracy in 1946 with the leftist literary figures who founded the journal *Kindai bungaku* (Modern Literature). A subsequent chapter on the thinking of the Japan Communist Party about philosophical issues in Japanese Marxism leads to a chapter on the modern ethos as sketched by University of Tokyo professor Maruyama Masao and his senior colleague, Ōtsuka Hisao, whom Koschmann labels a Mukyōkai (non-church) Christian with "exceptionalist" views (even referring to "Ōtsuka's Orientalism"; pp. 150, 157, 166). The quest closes with a chapter on the reemergence of Japanese nationalism and its critique of subjectivity.

The book's overall effect is to reinforce notions of Japan as a sophisticated site of critical and philosophical disputation in recent world history. Readers will find here a wide range of theoretical positions concerning democracy and individualism, but it is subjectivity that the author sees as the key to the postwar ideological scene. His account of the exchange between the Weberian political scientist Maruyama and the romantic neo-nationalist Takeuchi suggests that the subjectivity debate boiled down to a distinction concerning individual responsibility and private initiative as opposed to collective self-discipline (à la Maoist China) and national identity, although other contemporary perspectives on subjectivity are also explored.

The technical apparatus deployed in this book is admirable. Bibliography and index lack obvious flaw, and the author is consistent throughout in his use of macrons (long marks over vowels to aid pronunciation). It is too bad, however, that in a work dedicated to the life of the mind, featuring a struggle over political concepts, there is no *kanji* glossary to facilitate further inquiry.

Koschmann's study marks a kind of maturation on the part of postwar Japanese intellectual history as practiced in the West. The book offers a profound analysis of an inward tendency in Japanese spiritual life just after the war. It may nonetheless be mistitled, for it is not about a "revolution" that ever took place but rather about democracy, conceived by Japanese thinkers as a behavioral system challenging individuals to reach their ideals through continuous refinement of criticism and practice. Koschmann deals with subjectivity in a caring and eloquent way, revisiting some of the work he did for the edited collection, *Authority and the Individual in Japan* (1978). Pointing out that *shutaisei* refers to the "subjective engagement" of agents of historical change (p. ix), he says that he now views the postwar debate as part of an intellectual continuum that carries on to the present time (pp. ix-x). Still, Koschmann remains convinced of the central role that subjective engagement must assume in creating—or failing to create—the model citizen.

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RICHARD H. MITCHELL. *Political Bribery in Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 1996. Pp. xvii, 206.

Political bribes in Japan are as ancient as the state itself (Prince Shōtoku first proscribed them in 604 C.E.) and became commonplace, although illegal, when parliamentary elections were instituted in 1890. This useful volume by Richard H. Mitchell brings together previously scattered information about election laws, vote buying, and influence peddling in Japanese national politics from the late nineteenth century to the present. His main argument is that Japanese politics imposes no ethical sanctions on taking bribes, so "political bribery will continue to flourish" because new leaders and reform laws "will not alter the basic political culture . . . meaningful reform must be directed at changing cultural values" (p. 157). Chief among these values is continuing reliance on personal ties rather than institutionalized relationships, so that bribes to politicians are often seen as gifts.

Mitchell packs a warehouse of detail into this slim study. He pores over such episodes as the Siemens-Vickers-Mitsui scandal over naval contracts in 1914–1915; universal male suffrage in 1925 and its ramifications for vote buying; bribes from the Teijin Corporation that brought down the Saitō Makoto cabinet in 1934; and the Shōwa Electric Company scandal of 1948, which destroyed the cabinet of Ashida Hitoshi. These cases show that "the dark side of party politics: the incessant search for funds" (p. 91) was not confined to the spectacular scandals of recent decades in Japan (Lockheed, Recruit, Sagawa Kyūbin, Bank of Japan). Despite American efforts to change Japan's political values during the occupation of 1945–1952, the rise of the postwar "construction state" offered

unheard-of opportunities for corruption—and made only feeble efforts to curb money politics.

Readers seeking analysis may wish to fast-forward to the concluding chapter. Despite Confucian and Christian opposition at the turn of the century, most voters “accepted vote buying and other illegal activities as part of the normal political process” (p. 135). Yet the public has been “less tolerant of corruption among bureaucrats” (p. 137) than among politicians. Mitchell is quick to note that bribery in Japan resembles political corruption found throughout the world, especially where institutional checks and balances are ill-developed. China and Korea, he argues, have likewise long winked at gift giving to politicians in exchange for favors. In the United States, where political corruption is well known, “the idea that bribery was morally wrong remained widespread and deep rooted.” In Japan, by contrast, “the cultural context in which political bribery takes place” means that “a politician caught taking a bribe may feel shame at public exposure but may not feel a sense of moral guilt. Moreover, political careers flourish despite convictions for bribery” (p. 155).

Given the failure of political reform since the Liberal Democratic Party lost its parliamentary majority in August 1993, Japanese personal networks, factional groupings, and political payoffs seem as vigorous as they have ever been during the past century, despite the recent national economic stasis and ceaseless revelations about official malfeasance. It is easy to agree with Mitchell that “reform will be a long and painful process” (p. 157).

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PANIVONG NORINDR. *Phantasmatic Indochina: French Colonial Ideology in Architecture, Film, and Literature*. (Asia-Pacific: Culture, Politics, and Society.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1997. Pp. x, 205. Cloth \$44.95, paper \$16.95.

Colonial expositions, surrealist displays, student protests, novels, films: these are the subjects. Fantasy, mapping, territorial conquest, desire, adventure, and ownership: these are the themes. Panivong Norindr has provided us with a reading of French colonial policy in Indochina in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries as “an elaborate fiction, a modern phantasmatic assemblage invented during the heyday of French colonial hegemony in Southeast Asia” (p. 103). Norindr is well aware that historians may be “skeptical of work in cultural analysis that draws on postcolonial theories and intertextual readings informed by post-structuralism” (p. xi). Yet historians who look askance at “cultural analysis” or “post” anything might do well to inspect this slim volume. Nods to such critical heavyweights as Michel de Certeau, Edward Said, James Clifford, Homi Bhabha, Clifford Geertz, and Julia Kristeva shape the discussions, yet Norindr deftly

does this wide range of thinkers justice without annoying the reader with convoluted citation, and the author’s own voice is wonderfully clear and graceful. The result is an intelligent and admirably thoughtful series of essays on the French colonial presence in “Indochina” from the 1880s to the present.

As the book’s title suggests, this is neither a diplomatic history nor a strict institutional study of (for example) education or cultural policy in Southeast Asia. Rather it consists of connected essays sketching out the ways in which myths, representations, and fantasies were as much a part of “colonialism” as missionaries, traders, and naval squadrons. The set is anchored by a political-psychological reading of the projects and protests surrounding the Exposition Coloniale Internationale de Paris in 1931, and it moves backward and forward through works by André Malraux and Marguerite Duras to contemporary French cinema spectacles such as *Indochine* (1992), *The Lover* (1991), and *Dien Bien Phu* (1992). Some of the chapters will remind readers of Herman Lebovics’s *True France: The Wars Over Cultural Identity 1900–1945* (1992), which shares similar interests in expositions, culture, and “the picturesque” in Cambodia, Annam, Tonkin, and Laos. Norindr’s primary concern with “phantasm” orients his own analyses towards the French political-psychic projection of desires and fears onto an invented “Indochina” and the construction of personal memories in literature as repositories of meanings.

Norindr’s use of contemporary French cinema as a source seems on the mark in an age when the *AHR* publishes regular film criticism, and the analyses make apparent the degree to which “Indochina” on film is very much a drama about French politics and morals, a Europe in upheaval played out on the stage of a timeless Orient. But more, Norindr shows how those politics and morals were defined by the complex cultural interactions of a colonial empire and how popular films have become a medium for many kinds of colonial memories in 1990s France: bitter, nostalgic, patriotic, traumatic, frozen. Norindr’s title promises ideology, architecture, film, and literature. In allusive prose he delivers those, framed by disquisitions on colonialism, cartography, archaeology, French novels, and a compact overview of postcolonial and memory literature. Whether it is history or not, this book is both instructive and attractive for thinking about many of the “phantasms” of historical thinking itself.

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GEOFFREY ROBINSON. *The Dark Side of Paradise: Political Violence in Bali*. (Asia East by South.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1995. Pp. xxii, 341. \$35.00.

No part of Southeast Asia has so thoroughly captured the West’s imagination as Bali. Since the first travelers’ reports in the nineteenth century, Bali has been portrayed as an enchanted paradise where people live in

harmony with nature and each other. Geoffrey Robinson's exhaustively documented political history of the island aims squarely at this portrayal. Robinson seeks to "demystify Bali . . . and to restore to their rightful place the conflict and the violence that have characterized the island's politics" (p. 18).

Although its focus is violence, the book actually provides a general history of Balinese politics from the first Dutch expeditions in the nineteenth century to the mass killings of Communists in 1965–1966. Most Western research on Bali has been concerned with the island's arts, religion, and cultural psychology. Rather than facile generalizations on culture and personality, Robinson sees the key to Balinese politics as "the character and the policies of the various states under whose authority Bali has fallen" (p. 10). Exploring the intersection of state and society over time, Robinson's main conclusion is that "divisions within a state may create opportunities for the emergence of political protest, resistance, or conflict" (p. 11). Severe factionalism in the state tempts elites into exploiting tensions in society.

In precolonial times, Robinson shows, the lack of a centralized state created an almost "constant state of war" (p. 21) among the island's principalities. One notable consequence of the bloodshed was a vast slave trade that exported prisoners of war to markets around the Pacific region. Dutch meddling in the island after 1830 exacerbated local rivalries by playing rival leaders off each other.

After the establishment of a centralized colonial state in 1908, Bali experienced a period of relative peace and stability. The Dutch administration nonetheless heightened tensions by rigidifying caste distinctions and reducing the role of commoners in government (p. 32). Indeed, Dutch policy in general sought to ossify Balinese tradition by discouraging the use of Malay (the language of Indonesian nationalism), the wearing of non-Balinese clothing, and even the introduction of non-Balinese architecture. This state-sponsored cultural "renaissance" was explicitly political in intent, seeking to isolate centers of Muslim population in eastern Indonesia and prevent the emergence of an archipelago-wide nationalism.

By playing on caste and class in this manner, Dutch policies unwittingly stimulated the development of a small nationalist movement. Many Balinese thus welcomed the Japanese occupation of the island in February 1942 and embraced Japanese efforts to create mass organizations. These became the prototype for "a new militant political style" (p. 94) that exploded into fierce organizational rivalries in the aftermath of the Japanese defeat. During Indonesia's national revolution, Bali was beset not so much by violence against Europeans, who were few in number, as by fierce battles between anti-colonial republicans and cultural conservatives allied with the Dutch. The bloodshed dragged on into the independence era, when hundreds were killed in incidents of banditry, vengeance-taking, and factional violence. The relative weakness of the

local state facilitated a "swift and deep" (p. 183) penetration of Balinese society by rival organizations. Divisions within the state stimulated "an unprecedented depth and breath of political activity down to the village" (p. 188). The conflict took an ominous turn after the declaration of martial law in 1957, as army officials became the prime contenders with the Indonesian Communist Party for power. In the face of Communist advances, the military inaugurated training programs for civilian militias, the awful effectiveness of which was proved in the massacres of 1965–1966, in which five percent of the population died.

Robinson's account of the killings is the richest thus far from anywhere in Indonesia. On these grounds alone, his book is an important achievement. Refreshingly free of fashion and jargon, the book also provides insights of comparative importance into the ways in which elite rivalries intensify factionalism in society. Focusing on state-society linkages, Robinson devotes less attention to the social structures and cultural practices that might, with a different kind of state, have allowed Balinese politics to become more civil. By any measure, however, this is a remarkable work of political history. It deserves to be read by all students of Southeast Asia and anyone interested in the causes of modern political violence.

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GLENN ANTHONY MAY. *Inventing a Hero: The Posthumous Re-creation of Andres Bonifacio*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Center for Southeast Asian Studies. 1996. Pp. x, 200. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$19.95.

This book argues that nearly all of what we know about Andres Bonifacio—one of the major figures of the Philippine Revolution of 1896 and long idolized by the nationalist left as the militant leader of a populist anti-colonial revolution—is based on spurious sources of unknown or doubtful origins. Claims about his early life and his revolutionary involvement were most likely based on hearsay, unsubstantiated anecdotes, and willfully duplicitous accounts by Filipino nationalist writers—in particular, Manuel Artigas; Epifanio de los Santos; his son, José P. Santos; and the revolutionary general, Artemio Ricarte—motivated by a mix of personal and political agendas in the period before World War II. It is also likely that the writings long attributed to Bonifacio, from newspaper articles and nationalist poems to personal correspondence with other leaders, were actually penned by his contemporaries or, worse, forged in an effort to secure Bonifacio's place in the pantheon of national heroes.

Given this bogus evidentiary foundation, Glenn Anthony May claims that all subsequent attempts at understanding Bonifacio's role in the revolution, especially those of Teodoro Agoncillo in the immediate postcolonial period (1948) and Reynaldo Ileto in the midst of the martial law era (1979), require serious revision and perhaps even rejection. Finally, May

attempts to situate the Bonifacio myth in relation to the nationalist tendency to manufacture the past in the interest of establishing a single, progressive narrative with which to celebrate the birth of the nation. This often requires the repression of contradictions, the mystification of personalities, and in certain cases, the fraudulent concoction of historical documents.

May's book has stirred considerable interest, coming as it does in the midst of the centennial of the Philippine Revolution and the war against the United States. It has already ignited intense debate in Filipino academic circles, in part because it is a book that is as much about what we know—or better yet, cannot know—about one of the key figures of the revolution as it is a kind of critical history of nationalist thought. Scholars who may not be wholly convinced of May's conclusions, or who may be skeptical of what he calls his "pedestrian and theoretically innocent" (p.44) approach to the texts he examines, can still find in his work materials with which to raise questions about the nature of nationalism and its historiographic projects.

One might ask, for example, about the task of historical writing at a time and a place where professional historians did not yet exist. Such was the case in the U.S.-occupied Philippines, when conventions of historical writing, authorship, and "proper" documentation of evidence were quite different from those that existed in the United States and in postwar Philippine universities. Yet, May assumes that the popular and largely journalistic and linguistically complex accounts of Bonifacio's life written by such non-professionals should be subjected to the standards and expectations of contemporary academic historical scholarship. Such writers had other priorities and a different readership, facts which May admits but sets aside at the same time.

One wonders if a different understanding of the work of nationalist writers might emerge if we were to see them not as failed historians incapable of even the most rudimentary scholarly protocol (such as supplying footnotes to their texts) but as aspiring storytellers seeking to transmit something of the possibilities they may have seen or heard of from others now gone or slipping away. As storytellers they may have been less concerned with the accuracy of their sources or authenticity of their facts (for indeed these were matters of little interest to tellers and hearers of a tale) than with the correspondences between the affective states of their listeners and the characters in their stories. Perhaps their interest lay less in conveying the "truth" of what actually happened (for that in itself would be a practical impossibility) than with the "truth" of a certain structure of feeling about the revolutionary past and the moral counsel that such stories might hold for the present. Rather than denounce them for duplicity, fraud, and ideological bias, might it not also be possible to look upon the mythical status of their accounts as a starting point for inquiring into the forms and politics of nationalist narratives under American colonial rule?

Indeed, one of the most curious aspects surrounding the manufacture of the Bonifacio myth—which May skirts around—is that the "culprits" he holds responsible were conservative elites who, with the exception of Ricarte, avoided the revolution and readily collaborated with the Spanish and, later, the U.S. colonial state. To what extent did their proximity to colonial power draw them to rehabilitate the revolution as the work of certain powerful figures? In constructing their pantheon of national heroes, were they not also situating themselves as their legitimate heirs? Materially dependent on the technologies of colonial government, could the attempts among Filipino elites to arrive at a coherent narrative of the revolution in Spanish and Tagalog, as distinct from the English of their American overlords, constitute a tactic of disavowing the fact of their collaboration: simultaneously distancing themselves from those on top while imaginatively identifying themselves with those below the colonial hierarchy? To what extent did U.S. occupation furnish the conditions of possibility for the production of nationalist myths among the nationalist elite?

Similarly, in the postcolonial era, might it be possible to think of Filipino academics who bought into the Bonifacio myth as other than dupes and victims? We might, for example, understand their receptiveness to Bonifacio and the revolution as a means by which to consolidate their marginal positions as cultural brokers between the state and the "people." For instance, in his epic retelling of the revolution, Agoncillo engaged in a politics of storytelling, seeking to transmit the aura of dying or dead revolutionaries for the benefit of those who would listen. His fascination with the revolution as a mass uprising may have had something to do with the eruption of the Huk rebellion in the late 1940s and growing middle-class anxieties about peasant challenges to the social hierarchy.

Reassessing the cultural logic of nationalist historiography should not confine us to a positivist epistemology. Rather, we might think of nationalist historiography as a set of uneven and problematic responses to the pressures of colonial modernity and the social upheavals that result from such conditions. In such a case, the "invention" of Bonifacio might amount not merely, as May sees it, to a history of dishonesty and delusion at the basis of the "crime" of nationalist historiography. It also points to the persistence of alternative modes of communicating with the past mediated by the colonial legacy of Spanish Catholicism and European Enlightenment ideas on the one hand and vernacular notions of power and submission on the other.

That May's book studiously avoids such questions is not surprising, given the methodological and theoretical limits he imposes on himself. But that his work provokes these queries is an indication of its significance not only for historians of the Philippines and

Southeast Asia but also for those interested in the comparative histories of nationalism.

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MORRIS GRAHAM. *A. B. Piddington: The Last Radical Liberal*. (Modern History Series, number 21.) Sydney: University of New South Wales Press; distributed by ISBS, Portland, Oreg. 1995. Pp. xii, 251. \$34.95.

A. B. Piddington (1862–1945) was a major influence in the pioneering period of Australian compulsory arbitration, especially on the development of a basic or living wage and the related issue of child endowment. The only previous substantial study of Piddington has been in Michael Roe's *Nine Australian Progressives: Vitalism in Bourgeois Social Thought, 1890–1960* (1984), which identified Australian reformers who shared a similar social program and political style with American progressivism. Morris Graham is critical of Roe's categorization, and one of his central arguments is "that John Bright and John Milton, not Theodore Roosevelt" were the important influences on Piddington's social thinking (p. xi). I find this argument unconvincing. In his support of state intervention in industrial and social issues and in his distrust of party politics, Piddington had much in common with the American Progressive movement. Graham's argument that Piddington was the last radical liberal and that his core belief was "to defend the liberty of the individual against privilege" is a partial view of Piddington's contribution to an eclectic but distinctive Australian tradition of social analysis.

Although Graham's categorization of Piddington is problematical, there is no doubt that the author establishes his importance to Australian labor history, especially Piddington's influence in New South Wales (NSW), the largest state. He was appointed by NSW Australian Labor Party governments to conduct two crucial royal commissions: a general survey of industrial conditions in 1911–1912, followed by an inquiry into industrial arbitration in 1913. After World War I, he was appointed by the commonwealth government to a royal commission on the basic wage in 1920. These royal commissions were important mediums of policy development, given the meager social and industrial expertise in both state and commonwealth civil service. Piddington astutely recognized the possibilities of royal commissions for public debate and policy development, writing extensive reports, commissioning research, and taking evidence from a wide variety of witnesses. He also used his appointments to the Commonwealth Inter-State Commission (1914–1919) as a platform for policy development on tariffs, prices, and trade and the NSW Industrial Commission (1926–1929) to promote the family wage. Graham has produced a valuable and detailed overview, including a useful bibliography, of Piddington's extensive and im-

portant contribution to Australian social policy development.

Piddington has received most attention from women labor historians and policy analysts such as Edna Ryan and Anne Conlon (in *Gentle Invaders: Australian Women at Work 1788–1984* [1975]), who argue that Piddington's conventional concepts of motherhood obstructed equal pay for female workers and marginalized their industrial position. Piddington was a pro-natalist and eugenicist who favored large families of healthy white Australians as essential for national development, and such views were fundamental to his recommendations on women's work and the family wage. Graham defends Piddington on gender issues, arguing for the importance of his recommendations for protecting female workers in the 1911–1912 royal commission and that gender discrimination in the workforce was reinforced rather than caused by the decisions of industrial courts. He also argues that Piddington's influence on the recommendation of the 1920 royal commission for a basic wage plus child endowment broadened the concept of the living wage by recognizing the separate rights of mothers and children to an income. However, feminist criticisms of the failure of Australian arbitration systems to recognize the economic independence of women deserved a more rigorous analysis from Graham, given Piddington's extensive influence.

Piddington's advocacy of child endowment and its partial implementation by the Lang Labor Party government in NSW gave him an international profile and attracted the interest of reformers such as Eleanor Rathbone and Paul Douglas, who were considering similar measures in their own countries. Given this international recognition, Graham asks why Piddington's contribution has been "suppressed" in Australian policy analysis. His explanation of a conspiracy involving "the money power," alienated by Piddington over his long career as royal commissioner, industrial advocate, journalist, and politician, is an important but partial explanation. Australian historiography generally underestimates the contribution of middle-class reformers to labor issues, while Piddington's arrogant and argumentative reputation detracted from his record of public service.

Compared with *H. B. Higgins, The Rebel as Judge* (1984), John Rickard's biography of Henry Bourne Higgins, also a pioneer of arbitration and the living wage, Graham's book lacks the integration of public and private life, especially in relation to the influence of Piddington's activist wife, Marion O'Reilly. Graham's book is stronger than Rickard's on policy issues and makes a significant contribution to our understanding of Australian social policy, especially in the neglected interwar period. The book is a valuable resource for the growing number of American historians interested in transnational policy development.

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CHRIS HEALY. *From the Ruins of Colonialism: History as Social Memory*. (Studies in Australian History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. viii, 249. \$59.95.

LYN SPILLMAN. *Nation and Commemoration: Creating National Identities in the United States and Australia*. (Cambridge Cultural Social Studies.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 252. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$18.95.

There has been a recent increase in publications on history and memory. This may be because some historical scholarship seemed to be at odds with the popular retention of the past. No settled view of history and memory has emerged as a result. Paula Hamilton (K. Darian-Smith and P. Hamilton, eds., *Memory and History in Twentieth-Century Australia* [1994]) saw the two categories nourishing one another, while Raphael Samuel (*Theatres of Memories* [1994]) argued for a dialectical relationship between them. Michael Kammen (*Mystic Chords of Memory* [1991]) spoke of a compound fracture between the two but still emphasized the continuities in America's mythic past. The resolution of these views hinges in part on the questions historians ask of memory and vice versa.

Both of the works under review treat, in different ways, social or collective memory; both cast light on Australian national identity, with Lyn Spillman adding the dimension of a United States comparison. The books address major issues over long periods by using examples. In Chris Healy's case, these are drawn from white and black histories of the British navigator James Cook; two categories of institutions for installing memories, museums and schools; and two key events in colonial Australia. Spillman compares the centennial and bicentennial commemorations in the two countries.

Healy starts with a sophisticated discussion of Cook and history to show how many of the dreams of colonialism lie in ruins. He traces the way in which Cook, sometimes more than the first governor, Arthur Phillip, came to be considered by Anglo-Celtic Australians as the begetter of colonial Australia. This culminated in the 1930s transfer (in 253 cases and 40 barrels) of a cottage where Cook had reputedly lived from Britain to a Melbourne public garden as a focus of European memory. In 1970, a newspaper made disparaging comments on a drunken Aboriginal man's dismissive remark: "F . . . your Captain Cook. He stole our land" (p. 45). Healy notes the deafness of the newspaper comments and the way in which Australia's national story involves forgetting as well as remembering. He goes on to discuss Aboriginal accounts of Cook that embody, in his view, analogies and correspondences combined with the resistance and drawn from the past as well as the present. All this is central to the debates of present-day Australia, with the present prime minister considering calling an election to reduce native title for land (while his predecessor, in a

well-known speech, referred to the way in which "we" took the land and committed the murders).

In examining the ways in which memories and histories were installed during and after the nineteenth century, Healy draws on a good deal of recent research, notably the work of Tom Griffiths. His contribution is to suggest that history in the contemporary European sense did not loom large for Australian museums, and, to the extent that it did, it was documentary. Objects displayed were frequently Aboriginal and included human remains. Healy does not have space to pursue the exchange by, and sometimes theft from, museums of Aboriginal remains. The extraordinary richness of African artefacts in many Australian and New Zealand museums points to the wider context of racial views, and that might have been developed. Schools, too, were areas for memory, and Healy draws on the history of Australian education to explain the apparent lack of history in schools. He refines the question by considering the ways in which history was taught under other curriculum headings, but he might have been more sensitive to late nineteenth-century debates about the awkward questions that history raised for religion and for relations with Britain.

The two events that Healy chooses to study as examples are the Eureka Stockade and the escape of Eliza Fraser. The Stockade, that touchstone of Labor and nationalist belief, was a rising against authority by miners in Victoria in 1854, in which thirty diggers died. Healy reads it as showing the "circuits and rules" of historical imagination, the changes across time, and the differences between participant memories and those of successors, as well as between oral and written accounts. Eliza Fraser raises rather different issues. She was shipwrecked in 1836 and lived with Aboriginal people for a time. Her story, in pamphlet, book, and film, became more and more detached from the original events as the memories were enlarged. Fraser's case has attracted recent discussion from feminist historians, some of whom share with Healy a distrust of positivist history. Healy's argument that such characters "enter history as an effect of available historical discourse" (pp. 177-78) is central and might better have been stated earlier in the book. The examples, events, and texts cited are intended to reveal the structures of Australian patriarchy, colonialism, and culture. Overall, Healy has much to say that is new and interesting. If the cases or texts he uses are not always appropriate for the purpose, he will perhaps inspire others to select new ones.

Lyn Spillman explains her conceptual framework in the introductory chapters. She has one chapter on the centennials of 1876 and 1888 and another on the commemorations a century later. Spillman's methodology tends to social science description and the listing of themes rather than explanation. Her chief source for both countries is contemporary documents of the organizing bodies for the commemorations. This can be valuable. Regarding the centennials, Spillman pinpoints the importance of exhibitions in both cases, the

international and intra-imperial comparisons for helping to establish national identity (especially in the Australian case), and the lack of governmental enthusiasm and vigor in both countries. She points to certain absences, such as the lack of prominence given women, African and Native Americans, and some immigrant groups, and draws analogies to the Australian cases. Spillman uses Edward Shils's notion of center and periphery, but not always to good effect; the labor movement is not usefully conceived as strata "that receive commands and beliefs which they do not create" (pp. 34, 59). The author is perhaps more at home with the bicentennials, where it is easier to analyze the documents produced by the organizing bodies in both countries and to categorize the themes they press forward and the incidents they tend to emphasize. She also interviewed some of the organizers, which allows the reader to see explanations for some of the features of these occasions, such as the reluctance to present issues that could be divisive and the preoccupation with borrowing recognized successes. The appearance of the "Tall Ships" in Sydney Harbor echoed a U. S. theme and diverted attention from the awkward questions of colonization, although, of course, there was Aboriginal protest.

Spillman contrasts the greater emphasis in the United States on the founding moment as compared to Australia, where she finds considerable reluctance to consider these historical questions in a commemoration ostensibly devoted to them. Perhaps Healy helps provide the answer by stressing the role of memory. In the first centennial, even those Anglo-Celtic Australians who commemorated it had no agreed strategy for presenting the past, and in the bicentennial, the strategies to hand, which focused on the Bush worker and the ANZAC military hero, did not work. The ruins of colonialism remained.

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PUSHPA SUNDAR. *Patrons and Philistines: Arts and the State in British India, 1773–1947*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 294. \$29.95.

Writing about India's modern cultural policies after independence has been hampered by lack of a clear picture of the British strategies that preceded Indianization of the arts. Recognition of continuing policies required a history of British arts and patronage, which until now has not existed. Pushpa Sundar's study delineates a critical period in India's arts history and the colonial values that underlay arts patronage or lack thereof. Sundar focuses on the provinces directly ruled by the British but eventually turns to princely states for those arts on which the British had little impact, namely music and dance. For these traditional performing arts, it was the princes who spent lavishly, compensating, Sundar argues, for their lack of power (p. 265).

Politically motivated cultural policy in British India sought to reinforce domination, reiterate the superiority of the civilized rulers, and introduce the "natives" to the parameters and ideals of Western art forms and styles. Sundar delineates the changing influences and impact of British policies on India's literature, visual arts, architecture, theater, music, and dance. Use of British documents located in England as primary sources leads to a critique submerged in evidence, with cited passages from colonial speakers revealing the smug ignorance and indifference (or even antagonism) to Indian aesthetic values alluded to in the book's title. Furthermore, *ad hoc* action, rather than a delineated policy, often motivated decisions with regard to the arts. A parallel political history is implicit in shifts in cultural policy in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries: Sundar assumes a knowledge of India's complex colonial history and the events that led to an independent India in 1947. For readers not familiar with India's modern history, an understanding of related events will be lost. Reference to values and policies operative in Britain and their influence on schemes for India are interspersed in Sundar's account and provide a fascinating study of the transfer of values in colonial conditions. Particularly interesting is the impact of nationalism on policy for theater (censorship), architecture (designing and building New Delhi), and dance (the immorality of *devadasis*, dedicated temple dancers), which reveal a self-image of colonial Britons as fearful, arrogant, and prudish. Sundar is careful to note that the policy makers were influenced by the conventions of their times.

Not surprisingly, British patronage focused on the moral progress of the middle class and on the material arts—decorative arts, artisanship, and architecture—rather than on the performing arts. Favoring decorative arts over painting and sculpture, dictionaries and grammars over literary creativity, and conservation of the past over contemporary and creative arts that "tend to ask awkward questions and destabilize the Establishment" (p. 262) indicates colonial values. Fine arts, imaginative literature, and modern critique in aesthetic media are reserved for the conquerors, not the conquered.

Sundar's historical account is based on government documents and secondary sources rather than works of art and their critique. These selected sources, never before surveyed for this purpose, chronicle the roots of India's modern cultural policies and are one of the strengths of this book. Original in its conception, the study surveys both chronologically and topically the ways in which cultural policies implemented by the British in India influenced development and created barriers to artistic growth. Necessarily from the viewpoint of the seat of government rather than the margins of locales, and ironically appearing to give the British a commanding position in the development of India's arts in the last three centuries, the arguments are nonetheless periodically critical and even cynical about Britain's intentions and objectives.

Whether Sundar's subject matter led her into a standard British history or whether her own training at India's British-founded universities is responsible for her style, this book is a dry read on a fascinating topic that is worthy of further exploration and more spirited prose. Missing from this useful study are a glossary, photographs, illustrations, and a chronology of British rule in India. Sundar takes for granted that readers are familiar with the various attitudes the British struck toward their Indian "natives," the shifts and changes that coincided with transformations in Britain and of rulers, and the lexicon of Indian words that carry layers of signification beyond mere translation.

The issues of who supports culture, how, and to what ends are fundamental to historical knowledge and values in the present as well as the past. The dilemma for India and Indians is how to use that past without being pulled into a vortex of non-Indianness.

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MATTHEW H. EDNEY. *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765–1843*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 458. \$35.00.

Matthew H. Edney's methodologically ambitious account of the early phases of British surveying in India will stimulate discussion of mapping as a paradigm in both Europe and its colonies. Trained as a historical geographer, Edney has the ability to unravel technical complexities for the reader who cannot tell a comparison bar from a theodolite, as well as an appreciation of the relevance of such complexities to theorizing about epistemology and imperialism.

Prior to the 1820s, Edney believes, mapping activities in Europe's colonies were not sharply distinguished from mapping activities in Europe, both being part of the world-spanning Enlightenment intellectual enterprise, which presupposed that the exchange of knowledge could benefit all peoples. This approach to mapping in India was best exemplified by Colin Mackenzie (1754–1821), the East India Company's first surveyor general, who utilized locally manufactured compasses and pre-British Mughal land records to produce compendious "route surveys" that included comments on everything from crop conditions to "peculiar customs" (p. 45). Above all, Mackenzie valued his Indian informants and in his 1816 portrait stands companionably flanked by three erudite, traditionally dressed Indians, one holding a telescope and another a palm-leaf manuscript (p. 154).

Edney argues that this collaborative era ended by 1823, when the East India Company decided to assemble an atlas that abandoned the notion that they were agents in an empire founded by the Mughals in favor of defining a new entity to be called British India. The consequence was an approach to mapping well exemplified by George Everest, India's surveyor general

from 1830 to 1843—for whom the world's highest peak is still named—who insisted on importing expensive precision measuring devices from Britain and maintained that only Europeans could be trusted to use them properly. As Edney sums up Everest's view, "With proper training, Indians could manage the basic, repetitive, and laborious tasks of the detailed topographic or cadastral survey. But the British kept the higher-level science of geodesy—informed by calculus, complex geometries, and Newtonian mechanics—out of the reach of all but a very few Indians. The imperial significance of the Great Trigonometrical Survey depended in part on the survey's configuration of the British rule of South Asia as being scientific, rational, and liberal, in active opposition to Asian rule, which it stereotyped as being mystical, irrational, and despotic" (p. 319).

Trigonometric surveying required measurements from a height, and this was first attempted in the hills of south India. But Everest was determined to extend his trigonometric grid across the flat and populous plains of north India as well. For this purpose, observation towers were erected, often in the face of strenuous local opposition. Yet more controversial was Everest's insistence on felling trees whenever they obstructed his sight lines. Not even the sacred fig tree was spared; no mere *figus religiosa* could be permitted to block the path of meticulous scientific measurement. Edney aptly compares Everest's arrogant observation towers to Jeremy Bentham's dehumanizing panopticon and convincingly adds surveying to such better-known cultural epitomes of the British Raj as Thomas Macaulay's law codes and his "Education Minute" advocating instruction in the English language.

Edney has reproduced many original maps, rare and revealing drawings of surveyors at work, and an iconographically significant title cartouche dated 1782, which incorporates the opium poppy as a decorative element (p. 14). Edney's own maps and charts are also valuable. Had he curbed his enthusiasm for explicating details of surveyors' emoluments and similar bureaucratic minutiae and shortened his text by a third, however, Edney might have sharpened his argument and reached a larger audience. Moreover, despite his numerous references to the broad-brush speculations of Michel Foucault and Edward Said, Edney makes no reference to the more substantively relevant writings of Bernard S. Cohn (most recently, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* [1996]). Some easily avoidable errors have crept in: a chart is printed upside down (p. 166); an interesting point about ancient Indian surveying for religious purposes is badly confused because the word "altars" is spelled "alters" (p. 310); and Macaulay's name is spelled correctly once, incorrectly seven times.

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C. A. BAYLY. *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780–1870*. (Cambridge Studies in Indian History and Society, number 1.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 412. \$64.95.

This is an unusual book, not least because it delivers far more than it initially promises. What appears at first sight to be a discussion of the tools of empire, in this case intelligence and surveillance of their Indian subjects by the British, is in fact a wide-ranging and subtle exploration of systems of knowledge and how these affect, and are affected by, the relations between rulers and ruled. Writing with an unrivaled familiarity with the sources and a firm grip on recent theory, C. A. Bayly has produced a fascinating study that marries social, material, and intellectual history and that has implications far beyond this particular period in Indian history.

One of Bayly's key assumptions is that there exists an "information order," which incorporates not merely the means of collection and communication of information but organized knowledge or knowledges. That order is as much an actor in social change as, say, technology or capitalism. Without its penetration and cooption of Indian knowledge, the East India Company would not have been able to conquer India's independent states. When it could not gather adequate intelligence, in the case of Nepal and Burma, it repeatedly ran into trouble. Even in India, where the British had a greater body of information and more informants, they did not always get it right. Paradoxically, in fact, as the British withdrew from intimate contact with Indian society and became more "scientific," amassing quantities of statistical information or classifying Indians by caste, they knew India less well. Hence the shock of the rebellion of 1857.

Part of what happened in 1857, Bayly argues, was a battle of ideas. The British conquest clearly challenged Indian society both at the political level and in a more fundamental way. Many Victorians, secure in their technological and military superiority, asserted that Indian knowledge was inadequate or wrong. Even those British who took a less bleak view tended to assume that Indian learning was frozen at the level of the ancient Greeks and Romans. Indians, for their part, had a keen awareness of what the British presence meant for their society. "You have already conquered our bodies," a missionary was told, "and are in a fair way to conquering our minds also" (p. 244).

There existed, at a subcontinent level, a critical public that reacted to this challenge at least two generations before the nationalist movement of the 1880s. Prints of heroes and deities, almanacs, ballads, traveling players who satirized drunken and lecherous British officers, even gossip—all helped to foster an Indian perspective. It was amazing, reported Bishop Reginald Heber in 1823, how much Indians, even those who did not know English, knew about events in Europe. Although there was less discontinuity than is

sometimes assumed, with Indians continuing to use traditional methods of communication, they also adapted new technologies; in 1857, rebels used the post office and the press to communicate with one another. Among other things, this suggests that Indians were not the passive material, as they are sometimes portrayed, on which imperialism worked.

We are left not with two monolithic worlds confronting each other but with a much more complex picture of internal debates and competing knowledges, of systems that used and influenced each other. When the British began to explore Indian astronomy and medicine, many hoped that India might settle European debates. This in turn encouraged Indians to reexamine their own knowledge. Indian scholars appropriated European learning with care, accepting and rejecting what suited them. The distinguished Muslim thinker Sayyid Ahmad, for example, tried to produce "rational proofs" to support Indian cosmology. In spite of the assumptions in recent works on "orientalism," there was no single, unitary knowledge on the British side—or the Indian. Moreover, imperfect though that knowledge might be, each side knew something of the "other."

Bayly's evidence is drawn almost entirely from northern India; it would be helpful to know more about the south. And how much did developments in India reflect global changes? This is an important and stimulating study that, quite properly, leaves questions to be explored further.

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USHA SANYAL. *Devotional Islam and Politics in British India: Ahmad Riza Khan Barelwi and His Movement, 1870–1920*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 365. \$35.00.

Many Muslims in colonial India believed that their own community's moral corruption had resulted in their subordination to British rule and their social and economic decline relative to Hindus. During the late nineteenth century, various Islamic reform movements emerged, each advocating a distinctive program to renew and restore Islam to its remembered purity and power. Usha Sanyal examines one such movement, the Ahl-e Sunnat wa Jama'at ("People of the [Prophet Muhammad's] Tradition and Community") through a detailed study of its foremost leader, Maulana Ahmad Riza Khan Barelwi (1856–1921). She argues convincingly that Ahmad Riza's concentration on the internal purification of his community and of Islamic theology and prophetology meant that he eschewed overt political engagement with, or opposition to, British colonial rule. Nevertheless, she asserts that this movement's extensive newspaper and printing program fostered stronger Muslim community consciousness and autonomy.

Sanyal portrays Ahmad Riza as the embodiment of this movement. Like many of its adherents, his

staunchly Sunni family was agriculturally based in *qasba* (market-town) and countryside. Like many leaders of this north Indian movement, he was financially comfortable, living on the income from his family landholding; his family identified itself with traditions of rule by the (deposed) Mughal Empire and (de-throned or declining) regional Muslim dynasties of India. He spent his life as a scholar, assimilating and disseminating the intricate Islamic legal sciences based upon the *Qu'rān* and the Hadith ("remembered sayings of the Prophet Muhammad"). His forte was providing guidance to his followers by issuing *fatwas* (legal opinions) on matters of Islamic doctrine and practice. His personal piety, particularly focused on the Prophet Muhammad and on Sufi Pirs (Islamic holy men), and his depth of scholarship made him the leader of the Ahl-e Sunnat by consensus in the 1880s, with claim to the title of *Mujaddid* ("Renewer") of the age for the entire Muslim community.

Led by Ahmad Riza, the Ahl-e Sunnat, like each of its rival Islamic renewal movements, sought to make itself the exclusive center of the Muslim community. Few of his *fatwas*, discourses, or poems addressed non-Muslims, except for apostate Muslims who had become Arya Samaj Hindus. Most of his works attacked Shias, Ahmadis, and others whom he considered bad Muslims, including the rival reform movements of his day. These competing movements each sought renewal of the Muslim community, but their methods ranged widely, from stressing a Westernizing yet Muslim education (such as the Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental College, later Aligarh University), or a reformed Muslim religious education (including the Deobandis and Nadwat al-*ulama*), or by eliminating all intermediaries between each Muslim and religious authority (for example, Ahl-e Hadith), or by creating a pure Muslim nation-state by emigration or *jihad* (for example, Sayyid Ahmad Bareilwi's movement). Unlike these rival Muslim renewal movements, which Ahmad Riza assiduously excoriated, the Ahl-e Sunnat favored intercessory rituals, particularly those evoking the intercession before God of the Prophet Muhammad. Indeed, the Ahl-e Sunnat maintained strong affiliations with many Sufi orders, particularly the Qadiriyya. Ahmad Riza thus sought to denigrate his rivals, as either *naccuri* (meaning worshippers of natural science) or *Wahhabi* (meaning they so concentrated all worship on Allah alone as to insult His Prophet Muhammad). He repeatedly invoked the support of *ulama* (Muslim scholars) in Mecca and Medina for his interpretations; this prestige from the Islamic holy center carried much weight with Muslims in India, who often felt relatively isolated.

Ahmad Riza had little interest in establishing schools, raising money, or lobbying Indian politicians or British colonial officials. He "confined his message to the world of the mosque, shrine and home (the domestic and private realm), refusing to involve himself in court or marketplace (the public sphere of colonialism)" (p. 336). Yet Sanyal also asserts that the

movement's growing "print culture" and apolitical stance were themselves political programs for building Muslim nationhood.

Drawing primarily on many of the Urdu publications of Ahmad Riza and the Ahl-e Sunnat, Sanyal seeks to examine this movement in its own terms. She thus tends to represent the debates that she analyzes as the movement itself regarded them. Her book concludes with brief studies of three other movement leaders, demonstrating its increasing internal stresses over the early twentieth century, particularly concerning the Muslim League's cooperation with, and then opposition to, the Indian National Congress, which led to India's partition and the Muslim state of Pakistan in 1947. Scholars of the social history of Muslims and Islamic theology in nineteenth and early twentieth-century India will appreciate Sanyal's careful scholarship.

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ASHIS NANDY, *et al.* *Creating a Nationality: The Ramjanmabhumi Movement and Fear of the Self*. New York: Oxford University Press, for the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development. 1995. Pp. xi, 212. \$16.95.

The Ramjanmabhumi temple, located within the walls of the Babri mosque in Ayodhya, was a symbol of the city's tradition of openness in Hindu-Muslim communal relations. In 1992, an attack by militant adherents of various Hindu nationalist organizations reduced the mosque to rubble. In a subsequent and systematic assault on Muslims and their property, they destroyed as well the old communal peace in this ancient pilgrimage city, now divided along religious lines. For many, it was the first move in the endgame that would lead to the achievement of a much larger goal.

Those who had begun the agitation to remove the mosque in the 1950s argued that it had been built by the Mughal emperor Babur on the ruins of a great temple that marked the birthplace of the god Ram. It was, therefore, essential for Hindus to reassert their birthright by rebuilding on that spot a new temple as a symbol of the distinctive Hindu relationship with the land of India. The brick and stone of the Babri mosque would provide symbolic material not only for the foundation of that temple but for the establishment of the Hindu nation in its homeland.

Ashis Nandy and the other authors of this book make no comment on the historical authenticity of this story. Rather, they describe the immediate events that led to the Ayodhya incident and set them in the wider context of a century-long effort to construct a pan-India Hindu national identity. The narrative is given an intimate quality by the inclusion of the voices of people who were interviewed during and after these events, while their significance is made clear in a critical analysis of the range of perspectives with which a

generation of scholars and political commentators have framed these phenomena.

The responsibility for the increasing communal clashes in contemporary India has been assigned to various sources, including the divide and rule policies of the colonial regime before 1947 and the communal vote banks after independence. This book argues that these phenomena are merely a reflection of a far larger struggle between the "authentic primordialities" of a pluralistic Indian society and the modern state that demands and valorizes a complementary mainstream national culture.

Rather than a confrontation between the "modern" advocates of a secular society and the "traditional" defenders of religious identity, Hindu fundamentalism is, the authors suggest, a creation of secularism. It is a child of modern India, however illegitimate, rather than a representative of Hindu tradition. In this context, the Ramjanmabhumi Movement and the communal violence it patronized is part of a "larger civilizational encounter" in which the achievement of Hindu nationalist goals requires a fundamental reconstruction of Hinduism itself.

The authors note a mix of three processes that has produced the current campaign: the breakdown of ties that once crossed religious and cultural boundaries; the emergence of religion as political ideology that compensated for cultural loss in a modernizing society; and the need for an "ideology of state that would legitimize the demand for access to power of a politicized Hindu urban middle class. There is, therefore, a secular ideology of the state at the core of this "new Hinduism" that has little to do with lived traditions and much to do with relatively recent phenomena.

These include the "rediscovery" of classical Hinduism by nineteenth-century European scholars, subsequent Hindu reform movements, and the redefined version of Hinduism that was utilized initially as a nationalist instrument of political mobilization. Although the survival of the colonial regime required accommodation with "tradition" in its many guises, the authors note that the successor independent state has been far less flexible in its commitment to an official nationalism. It is the specific designation of that official nationalism that provides the battlefield for the present encounter.

The book's emphasis on the role of urban middle-class citizens of modern India is supported by detailed analyses of participation in and rationalization for the communal rioting stimulated by the Ramjanmabhumi Movement in Ahmedabad and Jaipur. In this context, the authors argue, the struggle between tradition and state-sponsored modernity is only one aspect of contemporary India's political culture. Particular interpretations and uses of religious tradition are also available as instruments to achieve a modern secular goal.

Brief descriptions of the history of the major Hindu nationalist organizations, the nature of their overlapping membership, especially at the leadership level, and the interactive planning and organization that

produced the Ramjanmabhumi Movement will be useful for readers who are not familiar with the subject. The events at Ayodhya have stimulated the production of a substantial scholarly literature as well as press coverage and the writings of politicians and engaged protagonists. For those who have read much of this material—some of it produced after this book was published—there will be little that is new. The book remains, however, a very useful and insightful study of Hindu nationalism in general and of this movement in particular.

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STUART D. BRANDES. *Warhogs: A History of War Profits in America*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1997. Pp. 371. \$34.95.

"Warhogs" was a World War I term for war profiteers. That and the subtitle may give the impression that this book is more of a popular, muckraking account than it is. Although the result might be to sell more copies, such an impression would otherwise be unfortunate, because Stuart D. Brandes has written a solid, thoroughly researched, and exceedingly unemotional and restrained history of a neglected subject, carrying it through World War II with a limited consideration of the Cold War.

The subject is most importantly the evolution of American attitudes regarding the ethics of profiting from war. Brandes also deals with the history of wartime economic mobilization more generally and with the development of an administrative apparatus intended to make such mobilization equitable in its social impact as well as efficient, topics that have received considerably less historical attention than combat in war. His central concerns, however, are ethical: "Can one rightly profit during wartime? If this question could be answered affirmatively, as it eventually would be, a corollary issue appears: how much or in what degree can one rightly profit during a war disaster?" (p. 3).

Brandes begins with the colonial and revolutionary periods, when war in Europe was still commonly regarded as in large part a business enterprise from which it was natural to seek profit. In medieval Europe, war had tended to revolve around the collection of ransom for the safety of prisoners and towns, and that tradition was not yet dead. Privateering for profit was a fixture of war at sea; so was plundering prevalent in land warfare. Military supply contractors took advantage of scarcity and heavy demand to maximize their fees as a matter of course, and they skimmed on the quality of their products equally routinely. It became part of the effort to create in America a new world that was new and better in every sense, however, to repudiate profits for the few amid wartime sacrifices by the many, especially in the early, most idealistic

days of the American Revolution. Moreover, Brandes argues, American warmaking has never altogether lost that idealistic hope. War profits came to be recognized as unavoidable, but there has been a consistent effort to reach a definition of reasonable profit levels and to enforce those levels.

Brandes insists also that the effort has been more successful than not. Reviewing the Civil War, for example, he concludes that the famous instances of shoddy uniforms were essentially inevitable in the rush of an unprecedentedly large-scale mobilization, and that, on the whole, equipping the armies settled into an effective and not exorbitantly costly process. In his coverage of both the War with Spain and World War I, he similarly avoids sensationalist criticisms and finds mobilization and procurement procedures about as efficient as could be expected, while profiteering through price inflation or adulterated products—the two principal modern methods of war profiteering—was about as modest as it could be within a capitalist economy.

The moderation of his judgments is most apparent when Brandes discusses the war profiteering investigations of the 1930s and particularly those in 1935–1936 of the Senate Special Committee to Investigate the Munitions Industry, chaired by Republican Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota. Brandes emphatically repudiates the charge that arms manufacturers played any considerable role in involving the United States in World War I. They represented too small a fraction of American industry to wield such influence. He almost as emphatically dismantles the claim that the bankers brought on American entry into the war. He finally concludes that “Besides overlooking embarrassing facts whenever truth was inconvenient, Nye and his committee engaged in demagoguery and character assassination that were eerily close to the methods of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, who investigated the U.S. Army two decades later” (p. 223).

So Brandes’s book is the reverse of the kind of work that its bold title might imply. If anything, in his assessment of World War II mobilization, Brandes is too restrained, too uncritical, and too generous in emphasizing how much the mobilization process benefited from previous experience. He might well have emphasized more than he does the deleterious effects of President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s aversion, which he acknowledges, to any centralization of authority in hands other than his own, even when he had too many other immediate concerns to deal adequately with economic mobilization, or of Roosevelt’s turning for assistance to the very business leaders he had hitherto excoriated. Brandes might well have noted more fully the severe malfunctions that developed in various areas of insufficiently centralized, business-led (and thus in part profit-driven) mobilization before Roosevelt’s belated creation of the Office of War Mobilization, with James F. Byrnes as director, on May 27, 1943.

Nevertheless, returning to the issue of war profits,

Brandes establishes that by both world wars, the goal of reasonable restraint was realized through such methods as price controls, rationing of scarce commodities, quality controls, and careful administrative supervision of contracts awarded on a cost-plus basis. Moreover, Brandes’s interpretations in general remain admirably judicious, his research has been careful, and his book is not to be ignored by either economic or military historians.

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JEAN HEFFER, *Les États-Unis et le Pacifique: Histoire d'une frontière*. (L'évolution de l'humanité.) Paris: A. Michel. 1995. Pp. 505.

The term “frontier” is used here, Jean Heffer points out at the beginning of his rich and suggestive book, in the Turnerian rather than the European sense: not a fixed and static boundary between two sovereignties, but a shifting zone believed to separate civilization from savagery, within which they intersect. This is a synthetic work, based primarily on an extensive reading of secondary sources, and its strength comes not in the “creation” of new knowledge so much as its ability to cast a wide net and pull together the various strands into a coherent whole.

Heffer examines the two-hundred-year role of the United States in helping to bring a region that was on the periphery (from the perspective of Atlantic civilization) to the center of global concerns. He distinguishes three stages: the first running from 1784 to 1867, when the Pacific is very much a frontier; a second, which sees a growth toward maturity, and lasts till 1941; and, finally, the Pacific’s becoming an “American lake,” from 1941 to the present day. The first date—1784—is picked because it marks the voyage of the *Empress of China* to Guangzhou, and it was the *aimant Chinois*, or Chinese magnet, that first drew an Atlantic America into the Pacific. But Heffer ranges as far geographically as he does chronologically, treating not only East Asia, but the Pacific coasts of Latin America, Hawai’i, and the island groups of Micronesia and Melanesia, and devotes a chapter to the importance of American whaling in its charting of the Pacific and helping to give America its brief pre-Civil War supremacy in its merchant marine.

It is, in short, history on a grand scale, and through these two centuries, Heffer examines the interaction of America and the Pacific in economic, politico-strategic, and cultural terms, concluding at the end that the Pacific frontier has vanished in the first two spheres and has been much reduced in the third. The Pacific now holds pride of place in American foreign trade, if not in foreign direct investment, and, particularly since the end of the Soviet threat to Western Europe, the Pacific has become at least as important as the Atlantic in American strategic thinking. And, if American culture retains its dominant Atlantic orientation, at least in the Pacific we have passed beyond our earlier

stage of mutual despising and mutual incomprehensibility, while American cultural influences, going back to the earliest traders and the Protestant missionaries who followed them, continue to spread.

In all this, Heffer seeks to examine not only the American impact on the Pacific but the Pacific's impact on America. Because it is history on the grand scale, specialists may have particular quarrels with particular parts of the book. Thus, for instance, Heffer repeats the theories of William Appleman Williams and his disciples in dealing with the Open Door, without subjecting them to the kind of critical view which the reader finds elsewhere in the book. Some might find his defense of the bombing of both Hiroshima and Nagasaki a bit too pat (indeed, the section on the Open Door aside, Heffer displays little sympathy for American revisionist historians). Nor, in a book finished in 1994, does he appear to realize the seriousness of the recession that followed the bursting of Japan's bubble economy of the late 1980s, and the way that has helped to change events.

But Japan's problems may pass, and Heffer is interested in the long term rather than the short term, in trends rather than in particular temporal snapshots. The question, he suggests in looking to the future, is not so much whether the twenty-first century will be a Pacific century (succeeding Henry Luce's "American century"); the question is, which side of the Pacific will dominate it? For the present, at least, Heffer sees no alternative to the maintenance of a strong American military force, for only America can preserve peace in that part of the world. And he makes the interesting suggestion that American cultural influences will only increase, for they make a universalist claim lacking in those who (like the Japanese or the proponents of "Asian values") are "obsessed" with the notion of a unique character that offers little to the rest of the world.

Though the book, published in the series "L'évolution de l'humanité," might appear to be aimed at the general reader than the specialist, the specialist will profit from Heffer's enlarged scope. A useful set of tables in the appendix adds to the book's value. Although not an Americanist myself, I should think that an English translation might well find its way into American classrooms.

NICHOLAS R. CLIFFORD
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THEODORE W. ALLEN. *The Invention of the White Race. Volume 2: The Origin of Racial Oppression in Anglo-America.* (The Haymarket Series.) New York: Verso. 1997. Pp. ix, 372. \$22.00.

Eric Williams opened the modern debate about the relationship between race and New World slavery in his classic work, *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944), whose thesis was that "slavery was not born of racism: rather, racism was the consequence of slavery" (p. 7). Williams's work remains of considerable importance in

efforts to explore the historical importance of race. One need only read the thoughtful essays in Barbara L. Solow and Stanley Engerman, eds., *British Capitalism and Caribbean Slavery: The Legacy of Eric Williams* (1987), to grasp the extent of his influence. Theodore W. Allen brushes by much of this work, when he does not overlook it altogether, but he engages the debate nonetheless. His two-volume work concerns the emergence of the so-called "white race" used to maintain the domination of the propertied elite in the slave systems of continental North America, especially Virginia. Allen has posed a significant question although his work will leave readers with more confusion than enlightenment.

Allen portrays himself as a "proletarian intellectual" who has shown the weaknesses of existing models of analysis, which he labels "psychocultural" and "socio-economic" (volume 1, p. 1). The latter, with which he sympathizes, must be purged of "compromising ambiguities and inconsistencies" (volume 1, p. 1). There is no doubt that Allen tries throughout his two volumes to eliminate ambiguity. There is little subtlety in his analysis, and much of it comes perilously close to a mechanistic reductionism. One example can be found in his characterization of bourgeois views. The "bourgeois eye" he writes, "looks upon progress and genocide indifferently, as incidental aspects of the process of the accumulation of capital" (volume 2, p. 205). The relationship between property and authority, developed by E. P. Thompson, is hardly noted, nor is the role of religion. These analytical developments in Marxist thought seem to have been largely overlooked by Allen. Not only is the analysis sometimes jarringly simplistic, but it is sometimes presented in such a shrill or silly fashion that it is hard to take his work seriously.

Nonetheless, there is value in Allen's work, especially in its emphasis on the historical contingency of the notions of race. The relationship between volumes one and two, sometimes very unclear, rests here. The apparent purpose of volume one is to undermine any simple phenotype view of race. Much of the volume concerns the treatment of the Irish "race" by the English. Race, Allen claims, should be seen in a "sociogenic," not a "phylogenic" sense, and as a "deliberate ruling-class policy" (volume 1, p. 23). Volume two concerns the way the colonial ruling class created the notion of the "white race" in Anglo-America.

From Allen's perspective, the "white race" did not and indeed could not exist until the late seventeenth century (volume 2, p. 162). This conclusion is established by omitting some early seventeenth-century evidence, by emphasizing the collaboration of whites and blacks in resistance to oppression, and by placing racial slavery and indentured servitude in one conceptual category. Allen often refers to "chattel bondage" as including both. Ultimately, however, Allen's thesis rests upon the persuasiveness of his view that the so-called "white race" was consciously created by the colonial ruling class in order to supply a necessary social class that did not exist in the early years of

settlement (an "intermediate" class for the purpose of social control of the oppressed "race" at the bottom of the social structure). This allowed the propertied safely to pursue the accumulation of profits. Following the collapse of Bacon's Rebellion in the 1670s, Allen argues, lawmakers began to provide "privileges" to whites that were denied to blacks, free and bonded. These included such things as voting rights and inclusion in the protections of the law: privileges not sought by the proletariat but that might nevertheless be seen as an element in a Gramscian analysis of the way a ruling elite establishes hegemony.

It needs to be emphasized that Allen can not be seen simply as operating within Williams's analytical tradition. The reason is that Allen shifts the focus. He does not deal with the institution of racial *slavery* with any real clarity: for him, it seems, oppression is oppression; chattel are chattel, whether slaves or indentured servants; and accumulation is accumulation. It is all too simple.

Despite this, however, there remain problems worth pondering in Allen's work. Precisely what is "class" (Karl Marx never clearly defined it), what is "race" in a historical sense (is it best seen in terms of color or is it not), and what is the most persuasive way to view the elements of the relationship of class and race? Allen's work does not supersede that of Williams, but his questions—if not his proposed conclusions—remain of value.

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JAMES SIDBURY. *Ploughshares into Swords: Race, Rebellion, and Identity in Gabriel's Virginia, 1730–1810*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997. Pp. x, 292. Cloth \$54.95, paper \$18.95.

Gabriel's planned rebellion against slavery in Richmond, Virginia, in the summer of 1800, foiled before it took place, is one of the most extensively studied uprisings in the history of New World slavery. Long used as evidence of African Americans' will to resist, the plot has been a focus more recently in works on African-American assimilation and the force of revolutionary ideals in the eighteenth-century Atlantic world. Just five years ago, Douglas R. Egerton published *Gabriel's Rebellion: The Virginia Slave Conspiracies of 1800 and 1802* (1993), a book considered by some to be definitive. So why do we have another book on the subject? The answer is because James Sidbury does something different. In his book, he examines how black Virginians forged a collective identity over the course of the eighteenth century; then, he uses evidence from the trials of Gabriel's conspirators to support arguments about the ways some blacks in and around Richmond had, by 1800, developed an identity that was "oppositional" to slave society. In doing this, Sidbury casts away any lingering notions about the

simplicity of black identity. This is a book about complex people in a complex situation.

Sidbury believes the origins of black Virginians' identity lie in the slave experience. In the first half of the eighteenth century, enslaved Virginians wedded elements from their disparate African cultures with those from their American surroundings to construct plantation-bound, kinship-based communities. During the century's second half, movement to the Piedmont and experience with Evangelical Christianity rendered the black communities more inclusive. Influences from the American and (especially) the Haitian Revolutions broadened black identities further to include notions of their right to equal treatment. Those living in and around the growing urban center of Richmond, where controls were lax, found opportunity to engage in autonomous social and economic activity across racial lines. By 1800, the community recognized "crosscutting identities," at once Virginian and Atlantic, American and racial, urban and partly autonomous, yet still bound by slavery.

It was black Virginians' ability to appropriate elements from these identities that made them "oppositional" and enabled them to conspire to overthrow the race-based slavery that stood between them and their natural rights. They appropriated symbols of status and potency (men on horseback, weapons, military titles, writing and words), models of proselytizing, religious foundations, and masculinity. (Gender was another factor in black Virginians' identity and a major reason why African-American women were only marginally involved in the planned rebellion.) They felt free to borrow and change these traditions, Sidbury argues, without concern for whose traditions they were or where they came from.

Sidbury takes the discussion further by examining how white and black Virginians dealt with the conspiracy at the time and in memory. Blacks informed on the conspirators because, as products of the same "messy world of power, temptation, and compromise" (p. 105) that spawned the conspiracy, they put individualism before communalism. Elite whites worked quickly to make sense of the conspiracy (today we would say they put the appropriate "spin" on events); so did non-elite blacks, in less formal ways, including, over time, in folk history; and so have historians, including Sidbury, in ways that reflect their worlds and times.

Sidbury uses an impressive assortment of primary materials, but they do not always provide direct evidence about a broadly based black identity and community formation. So, as many must do in studies of the early history of America's lower classes, he has to make inferences about large groups from a small number of documents relating to individuals in specific situations. This is always a slippery path, and some will argue about the nature and breadth of Sidbury's generalizations. Mostly, however, he treads as he must—carefully and openly.

This book is simply full of ideas about the process of cultural formation and the borrowing that takes place

when persons from distinct cultures live together and interact that will inform social history for some time to come. The elements that go into the making of a collective identity are difficult to recognize, investigate, organize, and discuss, so the book is not a quick, light read. But what is most important is that, as well as any book in recent years, this one shows how complex were the patterns of individual and community identity in a land that contained peoples with roots in several different cultures and broad contacts across the Atlantic world. It is time we recognize that, for black identity in late eighteenth-century Richmond, race was an important factor, but only one among many.

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GILBERT C. DIN and JOHN E. HARKINS. *The New Orleans Cabildo: Colonial Louisiana's First City Government, 1769–1803*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1996. Pp. xvii, 330. \$45.00.

This is a valuable study of the role of the Cabildo, a Spanish colonial institution that functioned mainly as city government in New Orleans between 1769 and 1803. Gilbert C. Din has collaborated with John E. Harkins on this examination of the various functions of the Cabildo: that is, the institution, not the building, which the authors call the *case capitular* to distinguish the institution from the famous building. For the dissertation that preceded this book, Harkins relied on the Works Progress Administration (WPA) English translations of the records of the Cabildo. These English translations, however, are often inaccurate and range from awkward to incomprehensible and can only be used as a fairly detailed index to the contents of the Cabildo papers. There is, however, a good WPA Spanish-language transcription that facilitates the use of these difficult documents, but it is not stated whether the original documents or the Spanish transcription were used by Din, who consulted the Cabildo papers as well as other Spanish administrative documents relating to the organization and functioning of the Cabildo and presents his views and interpretations of various questions.

The authors rightfully deplore what they call the Creole filiopietistic mythology of the late nineteenth century, which greatly overstates the impact of France and greatly understates the impact of Spain on Louisiana. This book is especially important because such filiopietistic mythology is still alive and well among scholars as well as the general public. The New Orleans Cabildo, and, by extension, Spanish government and administration are convincingly presented as generally honest, frugal, and active in promoting the public good despite scarce resources and jurisdictional disputes. Deterioration set in with the death of Charles III and the decline of Spanish interest in Louisiana

during the last few years of Spanish rule there. Another strength of the book is its fine bibliography and use of secondary sources based on solid research.

A product of scholars trained in the Spanish borderlands school of historiography, which emphasizes archival research, the book's interpretations share some of the weaknesses as well as the strengths of this school. The main problem is the extent to which one can generalize about many questions from purely administrative documents. This book dismisses not just the significance but even the existence of Spanish-period judicial and notarial documents remaining in Louisiana: "Although some scattered documentation survived in Louisiana in judicial, notarial, and land records, the *Actas del Cabildo*, and scattered personal papers that fortuitously escaped destruction, the preponderance of the Spanish documents had left Louisiana, going first to Pensacola and later to Havana and Seville" (p. xvi).

In fact, judicial and notarial documents for Spanish Louisiana are extraordinarily rich and in general, surprisingly complete for rural areas throughout the state as well as for New Orleans and vicinity. While one could not expect Din and Harkins to consult these voluminous documents in their study of the Cabildo, they cannot assume that those they did examine accurately reflect all that was happening in Spanish Louisiana. To cite only one example, the authors conclude that there were substantial numbers of runaway slaves only during the early 1780s when wartime conditions loosened slave control. But my forthcoming *Databases for the Study of Afro-Louisiana History and Genealogy* (CD-ROM) finds the following numbers of testimony by slaves involving runaways: 1720s, 27; 1730s, 46; 1740s, 88; 1750s, 17 (few surviving documents for this decade); 1760s, 129; 1770s, 39; 1780s, 97; 1790s, 77; 1800s, 126; 1810s, 173, for a total of 819 individual slaves who were maroons or who testified about maroon activity. These, of course, were only the cases that reached the level of formal judicial proceedings and are still extant in courthouses throughout Louisiana. Many runaways did not appear in judicial proceedings, because masters tried to avoid the cost of injury or death of their runaway slaves, the expense of paying for slave catchers, and the cost of incarcerating and punishing slaves, for which the master was assessed. It is true that runaways increased when slave control was weak or loosened, for example during the transition from French to Spanish rule during the 1760s as well as the 1780s, when warfare weakened governmental control. But slave control was almost always weak for various reasons, and slaves ran away throughout the early period in Louisiana history.

Despite this criticism, however, this book has made a signal contribution to our understanding of New Orleans city government during the Spanish period, undermining both the filiopietistic myths of the Francophile tradition in Louisiana and the Black Legend of

the unique cruelty and corruption of Spain in the Americas.

GWENDOLYN MIDLO HALL
EMERITA
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WILLIAM HOWARD ADAMS. *The Paris Years of Thomas Jefferson*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1997. Pp. x, 354. \$30.00.

This is a splendid piece of scholarship. It recreates in lush detail the five years (1784–1789) that Thomas Jefferson spent as minister to France. It is topically rather than chronologically organized. Separate chapters treat Jefferson's immersion in the literary and scientific atmosphere of Paris, his journeys around the city, his travels through southern France and Italy, and the women in his life.

William Howard Adams devotes only a single chapter to Jefferson the diplomat, but it adequately covers his relations with the French Foreign Ministry, particularly his hugely successful consular convention of 1788. Adams's estimate is that "Jefferson excelled as an ambassador, advancing both the symbolic and practical representation of the American experiment. It was the most satisfying public role of his life" (p. 205). Although Adams generally draws a sympathetic portrait of his subject, he is critical of Jefferson's overly optimistic reports on the early days of the French Revolution, as well as Jefferson's blindness to the horrors that accompanied it.

Among the most pleasant features of this superbly designed book is the original photography by Adelaide de Menil. She photographed every major landmark in Paris and the French countryside that Jefferson mentions in his correspondence, and the book designer has managed to place every photograph on the same page as Jefferson's description. The reader is left with the impression of walking arm in arm with Jefferson through the eighteenth century.

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DAVID WALDSTREICHER. *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia. 1997. Pp. ix, 364. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$16.95.

To the growing literature on nationalist ritual and festival in the early American republic we can now add David Waldstreicher's new book, and a welcome addition it is. Not confining himself to urban centers or particular holidays, Waldstreicher surveys a myriad of patriotic celebrations that extended to the farthest reaches of America's burgeoning western empire. Acknowledging that "nationalism" is more easily recog-

nized than defined, Waldstreicher wisely sidesteps the quagmire of too-precise terminology. No good, he argues, has come of attempts by consensus historians to describe a "national mind," a single mystical "memory" to which all must subscribe to be accounted truly national. Likewise, social historians who have fastened their attentions exclusively on public displays such as parades have had too local a focus, leaving nationalism "comprehensible only as an abstraction" (p. 10). American nationalism is real enough, insists Waldstreicher, but it is not an explicit quality of which one is either possessed or deficient. Rather, it is "a set of practices that empowered Americans to fight over the legacy of their national Revolution, and to protest their exclusion from that Revolution's fruits" (p. 3).

Conflict over the nation's meaning is not only what this book is about; it is, paradoxically, what made the nation. Post-revolution Americans were far from united in their understandings of their place in "the nation." Local, regional, and national identities existed simultaneously, always in competition with each other. Patriotic celebrations during the Revolution, and especially afterwards, were carefully crafted expressions of competing national visions. A proliferation of "nationalist" festivals and holidays, marking such occasions as George Washington's birthday, Thomas Jefferson's 1800 triumph, the opening shots at Lexington, Palmetto Day in Charleston, and, of course, the Fourth of July were actually loaded with partisan messages that sought, always vainly, universal approval. Nevertheless, the "relentless politicization" (p. 9) of nationalist rituals constructed a nationalist ideology of unity, all the more potent for its elusiveness.

As for tracing the spread of nationalism in the early United States, whether as ideology or practice, one need look no further than the local newspapers, which faithfully reprinted detailed accounts of patriotic celebrations from near and far. These accounts, especially the carefully recorded toasting rituals, served as models for patriotic celebrations wherever they were read. The political sentiments contained in the reported rites elicited sympathetic or opposing expressions of nationalism from different locales or groups within locales, which in turn were faithfully reported in newspapers near and far. America's "print culture" (the tribute to Benedict Anderson is clear) thus created a national dialogue on nationalism, giving local celebrations "extralocal meaning" (p. 10).

Waldstreicher's opening chapters show how American revolutionaries drew on ancient practices both to protest imperial measures and to refashion their allegiances. Some revolutionaries employed the same ritual tropes of mourning and celebration after independence was won to create a "cult of true federal feeling" (p. 55) that defeated Antifederalists in the 1780s. Waldstreicher's best chapters chronicle how first Federalists, and then Republicans, learned to use print culture both as a means to claim legitimacy and as a weapon to delegitimize their opponents. In a particularly creative chapter, "The Geopolitics of Celebra-

tion," Waldstreicher argues that the nation's growing regionalism, shaped by party politics, was nevertheless nationalist in context; regionalism "as often as not actually contributed to nationalism, even if how it did so ultimately weakened the federal union" (p. 248). The final chapter, "Mixed Feelings: Race and Nation," is a gem, but I suspect it would have been better as an article, allowing for the expansion of the "epilogue" into a fuller conclusion, which a work as rich and as complex as this deserves.

The publishers could have made this handsome volume more student-friendly. Waldstreicher obviously mined a vast amount of material; it is unfortunate, then, that the book lacks even a selected bibliography. And while real footnotes (instead of the wretched end-of-book variety) are always preferable, those for this book frequently tend toward overkill. Also, readers should have caught an unfortunate gaffe (p. 122) that identified Trenton as the scene of a major Continental Army *defeat* (no small matter, as it changes the analysis of a celebration there) and another that charged British vessels with actually sinking (neutral) American ships attempting to trade with revolutionary France, which I do not believe occurred.

Waldstreicher's book is an important contribution to the scholarly debate on American nationalism(s), and this brief review cannot do it justice. I think that college professors will find the material too rich for most undergraduates, but historians and students of the early republic, as well as specialists in print culture and modern nationalism, must read this thoughtful, elegantly written work.

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FRANK LAWRENCE OWSLEY, JR. and GENE A. SMITH. *Filibusters and Expansionists: Jeffersonian Manifest Destiny, 1800–1821*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1997. Pp. xi, 241. \$29.95.

Frank Lawrence Owsley, Jr. and Gene A. Smith narrate American expansion and expansionism in the Spanish-controlled coastal regions of the Gulf of Mexico during the first two decades of the nineteenth century. They largely accept Robert W. Tucker and David C. Hendrickson's analysis of Thomas Jefferson (in *Empire of Liberty: The Statecraft of Thomas Jefferson* [1990]) and argue that the Virginia Dynasty presidents—Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe—pursued clear territorial objectives through diplomacy, covert and overt collaboration with filibusters, saber rattling, and even military expeditions to secure and extend national borders. Jefferson's version of Manifest Destiny flowed from a belief in the natural right of territorial expansion, which Spain unwittingly abetted through policies that frustrated Americans while failing to control the melange of people in the Floridas and Louisiana. Expansionism thus headed first south and west, but not north, where English power guarded British North America.

When Owsley and Smith turn to events on the ground, they unearth a cast of colorful and unscrupulous army officers, adventurers, settlers, self-styled liberators, freebooters, and filibusters. Although they do not attempt a social analysis of the filibuster phenomenon as Robert E. May has done (see May, "Young American Males and Filibustering in the Age of Manifest Destiny: The United States Army as a Cultural Mirror," *Journal of American History* 78:3 [1991]), Owsley and Smith bring the escapades and expeditions to vivid life. We find out much about these men, whether familiar, such as Andrew Jackson and James Wilkinson, bare memories, such as Augustus Magee and Gregor MacGregor, or romanticized heroes, such as Jean Lafitte and his Baratarian pirates. And the authors interweave the role of Indian tribes, principally Creeks and Seminoles, who struggled for survival while the Americans and Spanish jockeyed for territory, advantage, and pride.

The War of 1812 destroyed Indian power in the Gulf Coast region, however, and this further weakened Spain's control while it persuaded English policy makers to begin a long-range policy of conciliation with the United States in North America. Whereas Jefferson was cautious in the expedition against Texas in 1803 and Madison was hesitant about the Baton Rouge uprising of 1810, Monroe was bold regarding Negro Fort in 1815, northern Florida in 1816, and Amelia Island in 1817–1818. The authors' judgments are always careful, and they revisit the roles of Robert Ambrister and Alexander Arbuthnot, the Englishmen whom Andrew Jackson executed in Florida, to good effect. The book's coda, James Long's filibuster into Texas in 1819–1821, lacked official sanction or support, and Owsley and Smith believe this was why he failed. Otherwise, they imply, Texas might have become part of the United States twenty-five years before it did.

Owsley and Smith find Manifest Destiny's roots in the colonial era and see it as a connecting theme in American history. Other scholars think differently. Frederick Merk and John M. Belohlavek, for instance, tie Manifest Destiny to romantic nationalism and westward expansion from the 1830s to the 1850s. And as May suggested, filibustering was a cultural phenomenon, not merely a string of raids that flouted international law. John Quincy Adams also brought more than a different style to foreign policy. He had a breadth of vision and shrewdness not seen in his predecessors, one that rivalled Jefferson's ambitions for the United States. In sum, the authors weave much material into a coherent narrative, but they break no new conceptual ground.

The lack of solid evidence for the filibuster-government links seems problematic at times, such as "Madison's policy toward the American Baton Rouge rebels in 1810. And when discussing filibuster expeditions against Spanish-controlled Amelia Island, Owsley and Smith write "one can assume" that Edward Livingston and David Patterson "probably" had administration

approval (p. 136). Perhaps, perhaps even plausible, but unproven even by circumstance. The resurrection of Julius W. Pratt's old idea of southern land hunger is not fully analyzed, and if Jefferson imagined a future democratic empire of republican liberty, secure borders drew his attention to Spanish dominions, while the lure of loot, adventure, and glory drew filibusters into action. The authors might also have probed anti-expansionism, among New Englanders or others, whether based in partisanship, ideology, or self-interest, more deeply. Last, expansionism was a more complex phenomenon for different Americans at different times than Owsley and Smith suggest.

Such demurs notwithstanding, this book ably synthesizes the historical literature on the topic and provides appropriate selected primary research to support the main conclusions. An excellent bibliography will guide readers, and the events are well illustrated with portraits and sketch maps. Owsley and Smith have contributed usefully to the historiography of American expansionism by sorting out the murky cast of characters whose aims and loyalty could be suspect even when declared. As a result, this well-written narrative belongs in college and university collections and in major public libraries.

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ROBERT V. REMINI. *Daniel Webster: The Man and His Time*. New York: W. W. Norton. 1997. Pp. 796. \$39.95.

With the publication of his life of Daniel Webster, Robert V. Remini completes his third large-scale biography of an American political leader (Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay, and Webster), all within twenty years. His accomplishment is reminiscent of that of James Parton, who between 1855 and 1874 produced biographies of Horace Greeley, Aaron Burr, Jackson, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson. Remini, who has specialized in Jackson studies for fifty years, is of course quite different from Parton, whose biographies covered a wide range of famous figures. Yet with their skill in writing dramatic narrative history and their ability to probe deeply into the strengths and weaknesses of their subjects, the two have much in common. In the volume under review, Remini brings his reader close to the "Godlike Daniel," just as he brought his earlier readers close to "Old Hickory" and "Harry, the Star of the West."

The three biographies are so massive, so comprehensive that, taken together, they provide future scholars with a storehouse of knowledge for the political history of the first half of the nineteenth century. Remini's studies of Clay and Webster are especially valuable because he is the first scholar to produce biographies of the two based on the recently completed modern editions of their papers. For this book, he has also been able to draw on the many studies of Webster published in the past thirty years.

On the surface, it is surprising that there has been so much recent interest in Webster. Almost always on the losing side in national politics, unsuccessful in his pursuit of the presidency, and the author of no important legislation, he nonetheless has never lost his appeal. Remini leaves little doubt about the reason for Webster's fame. His biography begins with the words "That voice" (p. 27), and the final chapter is entitled "'That voice, Alas! We shall Hear No More Forever'" (p. 741). In an age of oratory, Webster had many rivals but no peers. His orations and his Senate speeches were so moving and majestic that they earned him the nickname of "Godlike." Remini pays homage to Webster's historical orations in the 1820s, celebrating the anniversaries of the landing at Plymouth and the Battle of Bunker Hill and commemorating the deaths of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. He argues that these orations gave Americans the first history "of their origins as a nation" (p. 187), for up to that time there had been no written national history.

Remini also explains Webster's enduring reputation by pointing to his other, darker side, his voracious appetites, his overpowering desire to be president, his craving for money, and his questionable behavior, which prompted many to refer to him as "Black Dan." The combination of "Godlike" and "Black Dan" has fascinated every generation of Americans.

But these qualities were not enough to sustain the memory of Webster for a century and a half. It was his reputation as the defender of the Union that gave him a special place in the hearts of Americans. Recognizing the importance of this theme, Remini has made it the centerpiece for all three of his biographies. The last volume of his life of Jackson begins on the eve of the Nullification crisis with the Old Hero muttering, "The Union will be preserved" (*Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Democracy* [1984], p. 1). His life of Clay is titled *Henry Clay: Statesman for the Union* (1991). The theme runs persistently through this book, highlighting the high and low points of the senator's career. Remini considers Webster's second reply to Senator Robert Y. Hayne in 1830—ending with the phrase "Liberty and Union, now and for ever, one and inseparable!"—his "supreme gift to the American people" (p. 328). And he acknowledges that Webster's speech of March 7, 1850, designed to save the Union with concessions to the South, destroyed his reputation in New England. Remini argues that Webster, Clay, and John C. Calhoun all devoted their last few years to "one objective: saving the Union and preventing civil war" (p. 690). Americans never understood Calhoun's devotion to the Union and they forgot about Clay's, but they long remembered Webster's.

Remini writes in a style that is likely to keep the memory of Webster alive. He sticks to the man and the story, rarely breaking the narrative except for anecdotes that help make his point. Seldom, for example, does he stop to sum up an aspect of Webster's career, such as his cases before the Supreme Court or his performance as secretary of state. He pays little atten-

tion to the social, cultural, and economic background or to themes such as the market revolution and the doctrine of republicanism. The strength of the book lies in its narrative power and its delineation of personality, qualities that have sustained great American biography since the days of Parton.

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MAUREEN OGLE. *All the Modern Conveniences: American Household Plumbing, 1840–1890*. (Johns Hopkins Studies in the History of Technology.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 191. \$39.95.

In the introduction to this well-researched, thoughtfully conceived, and engagingly written monograph, Maureen Ogle observes that people are “simultaneously amused and embarrassed by the whole idea of plumbing” (p. 2). Despite a deadpan reference to the Crapper water closet in its first paragraph, the book is a serious and indispensable contribution to the social history of technology. According to Ogle, previous accounts have erred in tracing American domestic plumbing to about 1890, when mass-produced porcelain fixtures became commonplace, as did municipal systems of water supply and sewerage. In fact, however, patent records, manufacturers’ catalogues, books of house plans, domestic advice manuals, and manuscript diaries reveal an earlier abundance of ingenious, mostly inadequate plumbing fixtures and largely *ad hoc* systems for conveying water into houses and carrying off the resulting waste. On one level, Ogle offers a fascinating survey of such devices. Beyond that, however, she focuses on social and cultural issues as she explains why the 1840s and 1850s witnessed a continually expanding interest in domestic plumbing and how that interest shifted from an almost moral concern to a more scientific orientation from about 1870 onward.

Ogle devotes three chapters to the earlier period and two chapters to the later, in each case moving from the general to the particular, from social and cultural concerns that shaped attitudes about plumbing to particular systems and fixtures that addressed those concerns. During the 1840s and 1850s, middle and upper-middle-class Americans adopted indoor plumbing as part of the era’s emphasis on domesticity. Whether pumping water from wells or creeks or collecting rainwater in rooftop tanks or underground cisterns, they sought convenience, especially for women, by bringing running water indoors to eliminate the hard work of hauling buckets and the discomfort and embarrassment of outdoor privies. While permanent kitchen sinks, washbasins, and bathtubs substituted for similar objects that had formerly been portable, American inventors also devised what Ogle celebrates as “a myriad of mechanical water closets, with flaps, hinges, valves, cams, and levers galore—cantankerous, clanking, mechanical delights for a machine-loving people” (p. 71). Judiciously selected illus-

trations and clear descriptions enable readers to follow the operation of these complicated devices, but Ogle maintains that their significance extended beyond technological ingenuity. Above all, this early enthusiasm for plumbing indicated a belief that cleanliness is next to godliness, that individual morality springs from the domestic sphere, and that as this private or domestic morality spreads, it yields a national morality that overlaps with material progress.

After the Civil War, partially as a result of the U.S. Sanitary Commission’s supervision of hygiene in Union camps and hospitals, the emphasis in plumbing shifted to the scientific professionalism of promoters and reformers referred to by Ogle as the “sanitarians.” Motivated by increasing awareness of the germ theory of disease, they advocated abandoning individual cesspools in favor of a generous flushing of wastes into municipal sewerage systems. Along with a widespread panic over sewer gas, which deserves more detailed cultural analysis than Ogle devotes to it, this scientific approach also produced simpler toilets, based more on abundant water than ingenious mechanisms, and greater attention to traps and drains. Rather than focusing on the convenience of the individual home, the sanitarians conceived of houses, sewers, and human beings as, in Ogle’s unsentimental summary, “an interconnected organic entity, somewhat akin to the human body itself” (p. 117). In essence, she juxtaposes the individualism and domesticity of the earlier phase to the social and scientific approach of the later phase. At one point, however, in a casual observation that could have become a central point of the work, she differentiates the earlier phase from the later by noting a shift in emphasis from water storage to waste disposal.

The book’s only weakness is also a strength. As suggested above, Ogle would like to place plumbing at the center of major social and cultural shifts. She suggests, to put it simply, that people get the technologies they desire. While seeking to avoid both a naive technological determinism and an internalist history of the progressive improvement of plumbing, however, she risks relegating plumbing to the status of an epiphenomenon of more general developments. Even so, this is an exemplary work in the history of technology and culture, demonstrating that an embarrassing aspect of material life that we have worked hard to render invisible can reveal much about our culture’s central aspirations and motives.

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RICHARD BRUCE WINDERS. *Mr. Polk’s Army: The American Military Experience in the Mexican War*. (Texas A&M University Military History Series, number 51.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 1997. Pp. xvi, 284. \$34.95.

Richard Bruce Winders's purpose is to examine the daily life of the soldier at war. He does not digress from this purpose to describe even one battle, making his book different than others on the war with Mexico. He does digress, however, to convince his readers that President James Knox Polk himself directed the war. Polk, he writes, was one of the most successful commanders in chief that the United States has produced. Polk achieved his war objectives: to acquire a large segment of northern Mexico, especially California, and to oblige Mexico to recognize the independence of Texas. Winders calls Polk a soldier in Andrew Jackson's political army. He used the muscle that Jackson had added to the presidency.

Winders also digresses from the life of the soldier to stress the partisan nature of the conflict. The two-party system was then at its height, and to Polk, the quintessential Democrat, the Whig Party was almost as much the enemy as was Mexico. The two senior generals were hard for him to bear as they were Whigs. "The truth is," he wrote in his diary, "neither [Zachary] Taylor nor [Winfield] Scott are fit for the command of the army" (p. 32). Still, he felt that he had to use them because he knew that the victories they were winning would make one of them president, an abhorrent prospect. He found some consolation in the power to appoint thirteen generals of volunteers, every one of them a Democrat (pp. 71–72). Also, when the Regiment of Mounted Rifles was constituted, he bypassed regular officers who deserved promotion to appoint Democrats from civil life. Polk's effectiveness as commander in chief and the fight between Democrats and Whigs has been developed by other scholars, but none has stressed these aspects of the war as much as Winder does.

As for the life of the soldiers, Winders calls them Jacksonians at war, for to him the era was dominated by what Andrew Jackson had done. Chapter four is on the regulars. Polk considered a regular army to be inconsistent with the character of America. To him and to the public, the enlisted men came from society's castoffs. In Congress, it was popular to denigrate the United States Military Academy. But this war turned the public image of the regular army around. Chapter five deals with the volunteers, of whom there were 73,260. Polk considered the American citizen soldier, the volunteer, the finest fighting man in the world. But the volunteers proved hard to control in Mexico. To them, the Mexicans seemed an inferior race, and they were often unfeeling in contacts with them. Regulars felt the same way about the enemy but were under better discipline. Also, volunteers were more prone to disease than were the regulars.

The originality of this book is in its detail. Chapter two carefully explains the organization of the American military establishment. Chapter six gives the model, characteristics, and use of every land weapon—infantry, artillery, and cavalry—and explains how all of them were fired or otherwise used. The regulation clothing issue is set forth, and some costs are given.

Winders points out that, as the war continued, what the soldiers wore was not uniforms but anything they could come by, much of it taken from Mexicans.

The tables and untabulated data give the reader information that it hard to find, such as the pay rates of all ranks in the army, from private to major general, and prices for food and accouterments. Chapter eight opens with a quote from Thomas R. Irey: "The Mexican War was the deadliest war the United States has ever fought." The death rate was 110 for every 1,000 participants; that for its closest rival, the Civil War was 65 per 1,000. There is a table, five pages long, that gives the casualties suffered by every regiment, regular and volunteer, and shows deaths from combat and those from disease (pp. 147–51). This useful data does not make the reader feel that he or she was there, but it does stimulate the historical imagination.

In conclusion, Winders shifts back to the party conflict between Whigs and Democrats. "Although Polk had built an army that conquered Mexico," he writes, "in the end the Whigs emerged the true victors in the war" (p. 201).

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GARY LADERMAN. *The Sacred Remains: American Attitudes toward Death, 1799–1883*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 227.

In this book, Gary Laderman argues that "the gradual displacement of the presence of death in daily living began sometime before the Civil War" (p. 7). Looking at the rituals and practices surrounding death, as well as the symbolic meaning of the dead body, he focuses on the changing attitudes of white, northern Protestants. According to the author, in antebellum America, rural aging differed significantly from the evolving urban model. In rural areas, the dead were integrated into the family and community; in urban areas, however, much of this "simplicity" was lost. Laderman argues that the "entrepreneurial spirit that sought to capitalize on middle class desires . . . and to turn a profit in a business that would never be short of customers" (p. 45) began to remove death from everyday life. Doctors, embalmers, and casket makers all contributed to this critical process. In their attempt to understand and preserve the body, they not only changed the appearance of death but its meaning in society as well.

Laderman sees the Civil War as the critical point in this transformation. The overwhelming presence of death "led to growing public indifference to the corpse" (p. 124), while attempts to preserve soldiers' bodies for shipment back to the North increased the acceptance and use of embalming. According to Laderman, no event was as central to this process as the embalming of Lincoln. "Abraham Lincoln's hallowed and hollowed body," he writes, "was a major catalyst in the transformation of attitudes and practices surrounding the dead" (p. 163).

The book is best when Laderman discusses issues such as embalming or dissection, which allow the author to trace ritual and meaning simultaneously. He is able to demonstrate how practices formerly unacceptable to the vast majority of northern white Protestants became widespread and reflected the changing relationship of society to the corpse. Unfortunately, this clarity does not pervade the entire book. In dealing with the meaning or symbolic understanding of death, Laderman is content to point to a broad, white, northern Protestant audience. Few individual actors or specific groups are identified. In discussing the Civil War, for example, Laderman writes that "the dead could be imagined according to a range of meaning systems—or having absolutely no meaning whatsoever" (p. 92). Did women "image" the body the same way as men; did the aged body have the same significance as the child's? Moreover, the reader is left unsure of the historical forces that shaped the new understanding of death. Although the author speaks of a major transformation coming to fruition after the Civil War, the section on postbellum America is limited to eleven pages. There is little discussion of changing medical practices or any notice of the rise of the hospital. Although he writes that his study culminates "in the emergence of the funeral industry after the war" (p. 7), Laderman's review of the industry is really limited to one page. This failure to examine postbellum America is especially emphasized by the book's subtitle, which defines the dates of this study as 1799 to 1883. Although Laderman states that the book concludes with the second annual meeting of the Funeral Directors' National Association in Rochester, New York, in 1883, the event is never mentioned after the introduction. The one, short, postbellum chapter clearly draws us into the twentieth century.

The problems with the book spill beyond thesis into the multitude of errors that plague the text and the footnotes. In one startling example, Laderman relates the story of a father, Stillman King Wightman who, during the Civil War, traveled to pick up the remains of his son, Edward Wightman. By the end of the story, however, Laderman writes that "Edward Wightman saw the remains of his son shipped back to New York. The Whitman family held the funeral on February 10, 1865" (p. 112). Unless the son picked up his own remains and a second family buried him, this makes absolutely no sense. In trying to follow the footnotes, I found similar errors of editing. Page numbers did not correspond to the cited quotes; topics could not be found on the cited pages; in many cases, no footnote was given at all. Moreover, the footnotes required the reader to check first with the partial footnote citation in the endnotes and then with a complete bibliography. The citation did not always appear in any form in the bibliography.

While many of these errors need to be attributed to poor copyediting, they also undermine the power of the book or its ability to make a coherent argument. As Laderman shows, important new beliefs and practices

affected attitudes about death in nineteenth-century America. Unfortunately, at times the author buries historical causality and clarity as deeply as the corpses he studies.

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RUSS CASTRONOVO. *Fathering the Nation: American Genealogies of Slavery and Freedom*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 283. \$32.00.

Classic fiction, slave autobiographies, landscape paintings, and architectural monuments: in his intriguing study of mid-nineteenth-century culture, Russ Castronovo demonstrates that these artifacts provided the "meaningful political grammar" that antebellum Americans required to conceive of their nation and its people as one. Anxious to preserve the legacy of the Founding Fathers and convinced they were unequal to the task, a generation of writers and artists imagined a heterogeneous population into a single, coherent entity, exploiting revolutionary myths and the rituals and practices of citizenship in an effort to inspire their countrymen. Over time, this unified representation evolved into a "national narrative"—the authorized history of America from its founding at Plymouth Rock to the present day—that politicians, among others, used to justify such things as the expansion of American borders and the extension of slavery into the West. But although this official narrative may have dominated popular culture, it was not the only one in circulation; alternative accounts that undermined its message of stability proliferated at the margins of society. Read together, these authorized and unauthorized stories of American experience lend important insight into antebellum culture and foreground its central paradox: political rhetoric to the contrary, the fruits of liberty were not accessible to all Americans.

Castronovo charts the development and deployment of the national narrative and its variants using genealogy, the account of a family or group's descent from an ancestor, as a description and a methodology. This innovative approach is well-suited to his task, given that contemporary authors tended to portray themselves as the adolescent male offspring of the original America engendered by George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison and that the father-son metaphor "saturated" mid-nineteenth-century politics, icons, and institutions. Seeking to recover the repressed or "counter" memories of those submerged by history, Castronovo scrutinizes America's pedigree to determine who has been excluded and finds omissions and erasures in contemporary literature (women, slaves) that correspond to branches splintered or broken off the national family tree. For every story of how the bounty of liberty and freedom passed down from father to (legitimate) son, another emphasizes illegitimacy and dispossession.

A fresh look at the nineteenth-century literary canon reveals such ruptures and disjunctions. Rereading Herman Melville's *Moby-Dick* (1851), for example, Castronovo emphasizes the subversion of democratic rituals aboard the *Pequod*; Ahab adulterates the covenanted will of his crew. Abraham Lincoln's speeches portray a citizenry afflicted by amnesia; read in a certain way, the Gettysburg Address exposes the president as parricidal, the most extreme reaction to genealogical repression. Outside the canon, of course, contradictions are more overt. Fiction by Frederick Douglass and William Wells Brown, both born into slavery, authorizes slave rebellion in the name of the Founders. *Clotel* (1853), Brown's novel about a fictive daughter of Thomas Jefferson, exposes the racial dimension of the Fathers' sexual legacies: slave narratives formulate an understanding of freedom that transcends patriarchal descent. In every case, the foundations of history are destabilized, made incoherent by conflicting versions of truth.

Given the multitude of alternatives, why is antebellum ideology typically viewed as a unified whole? Why is the text of antebellum America interpreted as a series of mutually reinforcing patriarchal plots that fed into the larger, more encompassing narrative administered by United States culture in the face of sectional crisis? One reason is the "incomplete and fallacious" practice of genealogy, one that eradicates the history of its human subjects. Another is the fluidity of the father-son metaphor itself. Both creators of and challengers to the national text used the same mythic figures and events to write their stories. Chief Justice Roger B. Taney authorized the Dred Scott decision by going beyond the Declaration of Independence to invoke the legacy of the slaveholders Washington and Jefferson. Melville, Lincoln, Douglass, and Brown used the same characters and historical event to make the case for freedom. That these dissenters essentially told the same story does not make their achievement any less radical; repetition, Castronovo asserts, always implies a degree of change. In this context, what becomes important is not the content of the alternative narratives per se but their existence at all; simply by being, they helped render incoherent America's narrative framework.

Adding story to story, Castronovo argues persuasively that the narrative of America cannot be told in terms of uncontested descent. His emphasis on the variety of experiences and differences that sustained the national narrative paves the way for a richer, more complex interpretation of antebellum culture. Our understanding of this complicated era is greatly enriched.

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ANTHONY GENE CAREY. *Parties, Slavery, and the Union in Antebellum Georgia*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1997. Pp. xxii, 339. \$60.00.

Anthony Gene Carey's nuanced, richly detailed, heavily researched, and closely argued study of state politics persuasively maintains that parties in Georgia functioned best—solely, really—as electoral machines. Federalists and Jeffersonian Republicans, Whigs and Democrats, Southern Rights politicians and Unionists were all far more interested in, and dedicated to, winning elections than in responsible governance. As a result, electoral imperatives transcended any commitment to consistent economic policies or alternative, coherent political philosophies.

Despite the high voltage political combat, however, Georgia politicians at all times and in all parties did concur on a single imperative: to preserve a "white man's democracy" rooted in a "rural, agricultural southern society based on slavery" (p. xiii). All agreed that outside enemies, especially but not exclusively antislavery agitators, who threatened Georgians' liberties must be crushed. Yet because parties lacked a coherent ideological core while operating within a broad consensus of white supremacy and revolutionary republicanism, they perforce exaggerated, distorted, and misrepresented the policies of each other and the extent to which they threatened the liberties of the electorate.

In the early republic, political allegiance was a function of personal attachment to a particular individual. During the Jacksonian era, party organization became more systematized and identity, such as it was, centered loosely on economic policies. Wisely eschewing the overly formulaic and deterministic market-based interpretations that have come to characterize historians' interpretations of Jacksonian party affiliation, Carey contends that both parties supported and encouraged prosperity and economic growth. He proves conclusively that no direct line can be drawn from positions taken by the national party organization on economic issues to stances taken by Georgia's Whigs and Democrats on banking, tariffs, and internal improvements. Indeed, unity among state politicians and within both parties on public policy proved impossible.

Ironically, partisan identities were defined by the opposition and usually linked to national economic policies. As Democrats and Whigs strove to form a dichotomous two-party system in Georgia, each created a caricature of the other that closely corresponded to that of their northern compatriots. In reality, state Democrats and Whigs, each speaking with a Georgia drawl, looked—and acted—more like each other than they resembled the northern wings of their parties. Thus, party lines were drawn more sharply than differences between Georgia Whigs and Democrats warranted.

Of the two parties, Georgia's Whiggery, which grew out of states' rights opposition to Andrew Jackson's presidency, least resembled its northern wing and often held free-state colleagues and their nationalist agenda at arm's length. By contrast, the state's Democracy suffered from internal divisions. Moderate Union-

ists, more closely aligned with the national party organization, differed and fought with more extreme Calhounites, whose two distinguishing characteristics seemed to have been congenital anti-partyism and a commitment to sectional loyalty.

When sectional tensions overshadowed questions of public economic policy, Whigs and Democrats concurred on the need to preserve white men's democracy. They differed, however, over the best means to protect southern rights in the territories and the South's equality in the Union. Yet again, partisan differences were exaggerated: few Georgians advocated disunion (at least before 1861), and all favored southern rights. After the disintegration of the Whig Party, partisan conflict in Georgia was played out on a continuum that ranged from positive protection of slavery in the territories to the more traditional and moderate southern-rights insistence on being left alone. At no time was there any agreement between or within parties on the meaning and practical application of popular sovereignty.

During the final crisis of the Union, differences between Georgia politicians over secession were more apparent than real. Unlike the Upper South, where moderates were vocal and strong, the very strength of slavery in Georgia limited opposition to secession. Immediatists and cooperationists disagreed less on the right or necessity of secession than on timing. Both groups agreed that Republican rule was intolerable and that disunion would best preserve the liberties of white men and the equality of the South and its citizens.

Carey's focus on party politics, the strength of this study, forefronts partisan strategies and is the book's main weakness. It pushes the electorate into the background while obscuring the ideological dynamic of political debates. As a result, Democratic and Whig positions on economic and sectional issues—however inconsistent—are presented rootless. Throughout his analysis, Carey slights the social and economic changes within Georgia that shaped and reshaped the expectations and the voting habits of the electorate. Although he sensibly maintains that geographic, economic, demographic, and historical factors shaped Georgia's politics, the reaction of the rank and file to partisan maneuvering is ultimately narrated rather than explained. Despite this caveat, Carey's study of Georgia goes a long way to refine, deepen, and add insight to our understanding of antebellum southern politics.

MICHAEL A. MORRISON
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WHITTINGTON B. JOHNSON. *Black Savannah, 1788–1864*. (Black Community Studies.) Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press. 1996. Pp. 242. \$30.00.

Churches anchored the African-American community in Savannah, Georgia, from the founding of what became First African Baptist Church in 1788 until General William T. Sherman's soldiers made emanci-

pation a reality in 1864. Both enslaved and free African Americans worshipped together in black—principally Baptist—congregations led by black ministers. These independent black churches gave Savannah “the most dynamic black religious institution in the South” (p. 8), according to Whittington B. Johnson. In other southern cities, white people usually refused to tolerate separate black congregations, and African Americans scattered among white churches, undermining the autonomy and sense of community built by Savannah's black Christians. Above all, the church was “an agency of inclusion,” bringing together “slaves and free persons of color, blacks and mulattoes” in a positive meaningful way; there could have been no viable black community without it” (p. 34).

Johnson traces the contours of community in chapters on discriminatory laws that frequently went unenforced, on work and the accumulation of property, on Savannah's thin stratum of free African Americans, on social relations among blacks and across the racial divide with whites, and on the arrival of the Union Army and freedom. Throughout, Johnson emphasizes the achievements of black Savannahans, despite the odds against them. They married, raised families, and taught many of their children to read and write; they monitored community morals and chided transgressors; with the help of legally mandated white guardians, some became property owners and a few even held slaves; led by their shrewd ministers, they avoided antagonizing whites with foolhardy political threats. Johnson documents these generalizations with numerous incidents from the lives of individual black Savannahans; one such was the remarkable Andrew Marshall, who was born a slave in South Carolina before the American Revolution and, after purchasing his freedom decades later, was called in 1826 to become the pastor of the First African Baptist Church. He held the post for thirty years, officiating the marriages of two thousand and baptizing nearly four thousand. Johnson excavates the history of Marshall and many others from a wide variety of local records as well as from private manuscript collections and the files of the Freedmen's Bureau and the Southern Claims Commission.

Johnson insists that the three-caste system of racial status, in which free people of color occupied a stable intermediate status between free whites and enslaved blacks, did not exist in Savannah as it did in New Orleans, Charleston, and the Caribbean. He observes that, although the color line between blacks and mulattoes was seldom breached by marriage, the legal chasm separating slaves and free African Americans was frequently bridged. Johnson speculates that nominal slaves—individuals legally in bondage but allowed by their masters to live more or less as if they were free—probably outnumbered the eight percent of African Americans in Savannah in 1860 who were free, thereby blurring the distinction between slave and free essential to the three-caste stratification. But if nominal slaves viewed themselves and were viewed by

others as more free than slave—Johnson argues that they “enjoyed relatively normal lives,” had full names, family households, jobs, and unsupervised living arrangements, “[and] followed the American dream, worked hard, saved their money, and purchased property” (p. 98)—then it seems at least possible that the distinction between *de facto* (rather than *de jure*) freedom and slavery was sharper and more visible than Johnson acknowledges. Certainly, color highlighted the line between slave and free, since more than two-thirds of Savannah’s free African Americans were mulattoes, compared to fewer than ten percent of slaves (the proportion of mulattoes among nominal slaves is unknown). Even if Savannah’s black community did not mirror the inclusiveness of its black churches, it clearly was both viable and vibrant, as Johnson persuasively demonstrates.

MICHAEL P. JOHNSON
Johns Hopkins University

STANLEY P. HIRSHSON. *The White Tecumseh: A Biography of General William T. Sherman*. New York: John Wiley & Sons. 1997. Pp. xiv, 475. \$30.00.

This biography by Stanley P. Hirshson comes in the wake of an outpouring of scholarship on William Tecumseh Sherman. It is not hard to imagine the uneasiness the author must have experienced as, one after another, Charles Royster’s extended meditation on Sherman in *The Destructive War: William Tecumseh Sherman, Stonewall Jackson, and the Americans* (1991), Albert E. Castel’s magisterial *Decision in the West: The Atlanta Campaign of 1864* (1992), John F. Marszalek’s well-researched and largely favorable *Sherman: A Soldier’s Passion for Order* (1993), and Michael Fellman’s much darker psychological life, *Citizen Sherman: A Life of William Tecumseh Sherman* (1995) paraded across the pages of book reviews. Hirshson strives in his preface to make room for his own book: Royster and Castel “studied only a portion of Sherman’s career, not his entire Civil War experience. Their evaluation of Sherman is at best questionable, at worst spotty.” Marszalek’s biography, he claims, has strengths but fails completely to prove its author’s argument that Sherman strove to establish order in his public and private life. “As for Michael Fellman’s recent study of Sherman . . . I must say that I disagree with it completely. I do not see Sherman as a racist, an anti-Semite, and a philanderer” (p. x).

Hirshson alerts readers that his interpretation of Sherman is “far more sympathetic than any of the others.” Pronouncing his subject a “brilliant but tormented soul” who was all too aware that mental instability had bedeviled his mother’s family, he concludes that Sherman “knew much sadness and only occasional happiness” (p. x). Hirshson subsequently devotes far more attention to straightforward narrative than to analysis, however, and closes the biography with a colorful, if scarcely illuminating, characterization of Sherman as “God and devil, hero and villain,

genius and madman,” who exemplified “the contradictions and strengths of the country that produced him” (p. 392).

Hirshson asserts that his study devotes more attention to Sherman’s battles and marches than any previous biography, which may or may not be accurate but reflects a determination to highlight his subject’s professional side. (Readers wishing to follow the military action closely will be very disappointed in the quality of the maps.) Leaning heavily on postwar regimental histories and patriotic speeches to construct an affirmative portrayal of Sherman the soldier, Hirshson concedes the general’s numerous lapses as a tactician but finds a major contribution to Union victory in five great marches: from Vicksburg to Jackson in July 1863; from Chattanooga to Knoxville in the winter of 1863; from Vicksburg to Meridian and back in February 1864; from Atlanta to Savannah in 1864’s “March to the Sea”; and from Savannah through the Carolinas in early 1865. “Chickasaw, Missionary Ridge, Kennesaw, and Bentonville show no great ability on Sherman’s part,” observes Hirshson in reference to specific battles. “Rather, on long campaigns, such as the one that ended with the capture of Atlanta, his organizational skills and ability to swing armies about stand out” (p. 391). Although at odds with Castel’s much harsher appraisal of Sherman’s performance during the Atlanta campaign, Hirshson’s overall conclusions about generalship conform to much of what has been written before.

Some of Hirshson’s other arguments reflect an attempt to distance himself from earlier writers. In handling Sherman’s views on race, for example, he tries too hard to discredit Fellman’s interpretation. “In theory, he believed whites to be superior to blacks,” notes Hirshson, “But on a personal level he was gracious, friendly, and never superior or haughty” (p. 391). Yet much of the author’s own evidence suggests otherwise, as when he describes Sherman’s handling of black soldiers in the grand review of the Union armies in May 1865: “Each brigade that passed was preceded by the only black soldiers that Sherman tolerated and admired. His battalion of black pioneers had performed nobly from Chattanooga to Goldsboro. Parading in the garments worn on the plantation, they carried the shovel and the ax and marched with ‘an even front, sturdy step and lofty air.’ The most novel feature of the great parade was the ‘Bummer Brigade.’ This was led by two tall black soldiers, their feet almost touching the ground, on tiny mules” (p. 318).

Overall, this book softens many of the hard edges usually associated with Sherman. Whether reaching the most benign possible conclusions about Sherman’s often turbulent marriage to Ellen Ewing Sherman or straining to find some benefit in the seemingly senseless Union defeat at Kennesaw Mountain, Hirshson seems determined to offer a gentle portrait of a volatile figure.

GARY W. GALLAGHER
University of Virginia

NOEL C. FISHER. *War at Every Door: Partisan Politics and Guerrilla Violence in East Tennessee, 1860–1869*. (Civil War America.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1997. Pp. 250.

Noel C. Fisher has written an accurate account of conflicts among political opponents, civilians, and military forces in East Tennessee during the Civil War. Fisher's research in primary sources is quite comprehensive, and he brings a wealth of detail to the topics that he discusses. Ever since 1861, informed observers have recognized that the Civil War in East Tennessee was going to be a distinctive experience. Starting with William G. Brownlow's *Sketches of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of Secession* (1862), writers have described and analyzed this historical development from a variety of perspectives. Fisher's book covers the same events and personalities that the others do with an admirable scholarly balance.

Fisher begins his narrative with a description of the election of 1860 and the secession crisis in Tennessee. He continues with a careful analysis of the relationship between the Confederate Army leadership and the Unionist resistance. This section is the strongest in the book. Fisher is able to demonstrate that Confederate generals like Felix Zollicoffer and Kirby Smith and Unionists like Thomas A. R. Nelson sought a moderate solution to a difficult problem. The actions of civilian Confederates, radical Unionists, and insensitive Confederate troops undermined any effort to find an acceptable relationship between the army and the recalcitrant civilian population, however. Fisher then describes the Union occupation of parts of East Tennessee and the continuation of hostilities between civilians and the military and internecine warfare among civilians. The book concludes abruptly with a very short chapter on Reconstruction in East Tennessee.

Although this volume is a useful account of this important historical development, it adds little to the existing base of knowledge for specialists in this area. In addition to being covered in a significant number of monographs, the incidents described in this volume have been covered in greater detail in unpublished dissertations by Charles Faulkner Bryan (Tennessee, 1978) and W. Todd Groce (Tennessee, 1993). Equally significant is that Fisher has deliberately narrowed the focus of this study to only the specifically political and military developments. He states: "Readers should be warned that this work . . . notes only briefly such topics as the social and economic impact of the war on this region, the demise of slavery, changes in race relations, and the attempts to alter Tennessee's social and economic structure during Reconstruction" (p. 5). In addition, Fisher fails to place this incident within the broader context of Appalachian history. Specialists in that area—including Kenneth W. Noe—now recognize that the events described in this book were a crucial element in the creation of the Appalachian stereotype. Fisher is apparently unaware of much of the literature

in that field and fails to address questions of interest to those scholars.

Although its limitations are significant, this volume is still of value to scholars. Fisher summarizes the work of many persons and combines this work with intensive research in a broad range of original sources. His presentation is balanced in a topic area where it is easy to become a partisan of one side to the controversy. His writing is clear, and his account is succinct and to the point. Because of its relative brevity, this volume would be quite appropriate as a collateral reading in a course on the Civil War. On balance, it is a useful addition to the scholarship on the civilian experience in the South during the Civil War.

GORDON B. MCKINNEY
Berea College

JAMES E. BOND. *No Easy Walk to Freedom: Reconstruction and the Ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 1997. Pp. x, 295. \$65.00.

In the century and a quarter since it was ratified, the Fourteenth Amendment has become virtually a second constitution, its famous clauses the subject of endless controversy. A key reason is the doctrine of "incorporation": the idea that the Fourteenth Amendment incorporated the entire Bill of Rights into the Constitution to protect citizens from the states. The argument was first made in dissent in the 1873 *Slaughterhouse Cases*. In the past fifty years, after decades of judicial evolution, the Supreme Court has made incorporation the law of the land. Was incorporation the "original intent" of the framers of the Fourteenth Amendment? The record is inconclusive, and scholars disagree.

James E. Bond attempts to shed new light on the original intent issue by studying the ratification debates in the post-Civil War South. Required to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment in order to be readmitted to the Union, Southerners—Conservatives/Democrats and Republicans—debated the amendment for over two years, subjecting every phrase to intense analysis. Surely, Bond maintains, if incorporation was in the wind during these years, both enemies and defenders of the Fourteenth Amendment would have seized on the doctrine for their own ends. The results of his study—and he examines each of the eleven states—are unambiguous. The Bill of Rights is nowhere in the picture. Postwar southerners believed the Fourteenth Amendment guaranteed blacks the basic rights of citizenship "and the civil rights necessary to their exercise" (p. 9). These did not include suffrage (although the amendment edged in that direction), nor integrated schools, nor equal access to theaters, restaurants, and railroad cars. "In the entire record of the Southern debates there is not one shred of direct evidence—not one—which supports the theory that the due process clause incorporated the guarantees of the Bill of Rights" (p. 252).

Bond has examined a broad range of legislative

debates, newspapers, and other documents, and there would appear to be little ground for doubting this aspect of his thesis. But there is more: while hedging his verdict (there remain the Congressional debates over the amendment and ratification in the North), he clearly believes he has gone a long way toward settling the original intent issue and that original intent, once established, ought to be decisive in constitutional jurisprudence. Thus, he argues that the modern Supreme Court has run away with the constitutional cart. The Court "has perverted the Fourteenth Amendment . . . by fastening the Bill of Rights upon the states through the fraudulent doctrine of incorporation" (p. 252). The court has used "the Fourteenth Amendment as a garrote about the necks of the states" and "strangled the last vestiges of diversity that had once been the hallmark of federalism" (p. 268).

Bond's view of original intent is extreme. Few legal authorities would deny that original intent is a key part of constitutional interpretation, but it is not the only part. For one thing, as the century-old debate over the Fourteenth Amendment illustrates, determining original intent is an inexact science. Moreover, not every one shares Bond's faith in original intent. "Whatever the framers of the Fourteenth [Amendment] intended," Leonard W. Levy has written, "they did not possess ultimate wisdom as to the precise meaning of their words for subsequent generations" ("Incorporation Doctrine," in William E. Nelson, ed., *The Fourteenth Amendment* [1988], p. 194).

After reading this book, I am inclined to agree with Eric Foner that the notion of original intent is inherently political. Bond is clearly more concerned with the statecraft of the modern Supreme Court than with historical questions about Reconstruction. He is alarmed by the political agendas of liberal justices, scholars, and special interests, and he targets particularly Hugo Black's influence, the Warren Court, *Roe v. Wade*, and the political demands of groups like the Congressional Black Caucus and the Gay and Lesbian Task Force. This is, of course, his right, and some of his arrows strike home. But one puts down the book more than a little concerned about Bond's own political agenda. He concludes the work with an admiring discussion of and lengthy excerpts from the judicial opinions of Justice Clarence Thomas, easily one of the most conservative members of the current conservative Supreme Court. Then, too, Bond's dismay seems largely confined to liberal jurisprudence. He has little to say about the use of substantive due process under the Fourteenth Amendment—incorporation's incestuous companion—to shield big-business corporations from regulation.

There is more than a little irony in the title of this book. The phrase "no easy walk to freedom" comes up in the context of post-Civil War blacks starting life over as free people. It was indeed a long, hard road, and one can but wonder how far black Americans

would have come if the Supreme Court had continued to embrace Bond's notion of original intent.

TED TUNNELL

Virginia Commonwealth University

ANNE M. BUTLER. *Gendered Justice in the American West: Women Prisoners in Men's Penitentiaries*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 1997. Pp. xvii, 262. \$29.95.

Anne M. Butler's book focuses on two neglected areas in criminal justice history: women prisoners and state penitentiaries in the intermountain western United States. The book illuminates gendered justice in the West from 1865 to 1915 through a series of biographical portraits of women caught up in the male world of western courts and prisons. She draws from official prison records and letters (left by state officials, lawyers, prisoners' friends and family members, and the women prisoners themselves) to recreate the experiences of these women. Butler does a masterful job of weaving this information into a highly readable and coherent narrative.

For much of the period under study, women convicts were housed within the walls of men's penitentiaries, often with little or no separation from male inmates and supervised almost exclusively by male guards and prison administrators. After society had labeled them "deranged" for violating "the patterns of womanhood," their "fate demanded no concerned response" (p. 32). Under such circumstances, women in men's prisons suffered sexual, physical, and psychological abuse.

These women were sentenced for crimes that were usually minor and nonviolent or involved violence that was motivated by self-defense. In fact, many of the women had been the victims of domestic violence; their crimes often involved striking back at their abusers. Whether convicted of violence, acts related to prostitution, or property crimes, they had acted in ways that were deemed violations of gender norms. Butler persuasively demonstrates that enforcement of gender definitions was at the root of the harsh judicial and penitentiary treatment that women prisoners received. The suffering was magnified if the woman was non-white or poor.

Several themes emerge from the picture Butler draws of women's prison experiences. In addition to the constant threat of physical and psychological violence that overhung their prison stays, women had to deal with poor sanitation and inadequate health care. While male prisoners also suffered greatly from these conditions, the special health needs of women, especially during pregnancy and childbirth, aggravated the effect on women. Women were often forced into inactivity in their cells, as they were not given the same opportunities provided men for occupational training. When work was available to women, it consisted of domestic chores or sweatshop-paced textile manufacturing in prison industries. Women were also used by

prison staff for sexual services as rewards to favored male prisoners or as indulgences for guards.

Poignant stories of quiet courage in the face of overwhelming stigmatization and affronts to respectability form the core of Butler's book. Women's struggles to maintain dignity are reflected in their petitions and correspondence to governors seeking pardons and in their resistance to the male-dominated prison regime. Some turned to the judicial system for relief or recruited influential people on the outside to assist them. Other women who found these avenues closed resisted through sabotage of prison industries, disruption of prison routines, theft, and arson. Such activity led to brutal corporal punishments. Some found protection from the harsher conditions of confinement by exchanging sexual favors with staff members for better treatment. Others escaped the suffering through suicide.

The theme of the "violent West" focuses exclusively on men's experiences. Yet, as Butler documents from the stories of women prisoners, violence was very much a part of the lives of women in the West. These stories open a door into the dark side of women's experiences. How many unknown women quietly suffered the violence and abuse of men without striking back, knowing that the fate of women prisoners—their loss of respectability, banishment, and harsh treatment in prisons—would be their fate if they resisted?

Butler's book is an important addition to a growing, but still too small, literature on women prisoners. As far as I know, it is the only book that gives a comprehensive overview of penitentiaries in this region during this period. The book should provide researchers with a strong basis for exploring some further questions not completely addressed by Butler. To what extent were western penitentiaries distinct? How did they vary from state to state within this region? Did women's suffrage (which came early in some western states) have any impact on state criminal justice policies? Why, after about 1910, did these states establish separate facilities for women and begin to use women matrons? Butler has provided the essential starting place for any future research on penitentiaries in the West, especially for studies that focus on the women locked in them.

MARK COLVIN
George Mason University

MICHAEL LEWIS GOLDBERG. *An Army of Women: Gender and Politics in Gilded Age Kansas*. (Reconfiguring American Political History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1997. Pp. x, 313. \$39.95.

Inasmuch as the woman suffrage movement runs through one third of our national history, no single study can do justice to its many forms and political twists. Michael Lewis Goldberg's careful new study explores the movement in a particularly important time and place. These were the years when the demand for suffrage was beginning to draw adherents and enter

politics and moving, in Aileen Kraditor's formulation, from "justice" to "expediency." Were it not for habitual eastern bias, historians would have long ago recognized the riches of suffrage history in Kansas: abolitionist hotbed and Republican territory; site of the first popular woman suffrage referendum in 1867; first state to grant women both school suffrage (1861) and municipal suffrage (1887); and the place where the Populist drive to win votes for women ground to a halt in 1894.

The core of Goldberg's story lies in the fifteen years between the successful prohibition referendum of 1879 and the failed woman suffrage campaign of 1894. Kansas women began to move into politics with prohibition, the issue on which women's moralism and men's politics first intersected. Determined to see that prohibition was enforced in their state, members of the Kansas Equal Suffrage Association and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union joined together to get state Republican leaders to give women the tool of suffrage at the municipal level. Party bosses were overly confident of women's loyalties and thus unprepared when the Prohibition Party emerged and some women began to turn to it. Women's unstable partisanship became considerably more dangerous two years later, with the appearance of the Populist Party, which struck the Republican Party much closer to its business-minded heart. Furthermore, the Populists seemed willing to champion the cause of woman suffrage.

In Goldberg's judgment, however, Populist electoral successes posed as great a danger to women's political activism as they offered opportunity: the threat was partisanship, dividing women from each other. The greater source of promise for women rested outside of the structure of parties, even third ones, in the Farmers' Alliance. Here, following the work of Lawrence Goodwyn, Goldberg finds a "political culture" with different standards of involvement and greater tolerance for participation among women. Unlike the middle-class, town-based society that gave rise to mainstream party activism among men and moral reform among women, the agricultural economy and rural families of Kansas farmers did not follow the rigid rule of sexually differentiated spheres. Thus, when the Farmers' Alliance elected to throw its lot in with the Populist Party, Goldberg argues that women were necessarily excluded because of the increasingly electoral, thus male, definition of political activism.

The climax of this book is the 1894 voters' referendum on woman suffrage. Although the Populists lost overall to resurgent Republicans in this election, Goldberg looks not to the opposition but to the suffrage and third party forces for the explanation for suffragism's failure at the polls. He levels responsibility on the Populists for not sufficiently motivating the party's potential constituency to enact votes for women; underlying this failure, he suggests, was the inability of Populist women leaders to link up to the women of the

Farmers' Alliance and, through them, to their husbands.

Like other historians of women, Goldberg relies heavily on the concept of "political culture" to open up space for non-voting women in a revised concept of political history. As useful as this move has been, there is a decided danger of allowing an analysis of political culture—of the means and symbols by which people demonstrate their notions of government and their relationship to it—to obscure an analysis of politics—what it is that they want from government, how they intend to get it, and who they feel they must displace to do so. A corollary of this is the tendency to romanticize nonpartisanship as a more female-friendly and less power-hungry basis on which to practice politics than party-based activism. But as the denouement of the Kansas story demonstrates, nonpartisanship designated a shifting political territory, one highly dependent on the particular moment in partisan politics. By the end of Goldberg's story, nonpartisanship no longer meant a criticism of politics as usual and had become a term appropriated by Republicans to normalize their own position at the expense of the failed (hence unnatural) Populist insurgency.

Goldberg succeeds in demonstrating the tremendous importance of the story of women's political activism and suffrage efforts in Kansas and explores this material in a way that reveals its considerable complexity. His portraits of Kansas political leaders Laura Johns, Annie Diggs, and Mary Lease are extremely valuable. He establishes that the story of Kansas is a crucial element in the history of gilded age women's political activism. But the material demonstrates the need for an analytic framework less schematic than that of "political culture."

ELLEN CAROL DUBOIS
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ANN D. GORDON *et al.*, editors. *African American Women and the Vote, 1837–1965*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997. Pp. 217. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$15.95.

This is a book that needed to be written. Too often, the woman's suffrage movement is taught and treated as though 1921 were the magic year and the Nineteenth Amendment the triumphal acquisition of the franchise for women. Such assumptions egregiously ignore the condition that most black women found themselves in: to be an African-American woman in the age of Jim Crow meant that the franchise would be deferred for almost forty-five years more. At times, we correct the faulty history that accompanies our pronouncements that women acquired the right to vote in 1921, but too often we do not. This model is so powerful that I was taken up short by a student presentation on suffrage and race, which began with the bold assertion that women—all women—did not get the vote until 1965, regardless of what the history books said. So, first, this

book is valuable if it succeeds in catching us off our guard and challenging our smug assumptions that we *know* when women got the vote.

Second, the book is worth the time and effort needed to read it because it lays open the multifaceted aspects of the suffrage movement. Like many revolutionary trends in history, we tend to limit our understanding of the phenomenon by focusing on a single (and sometimes simple) direction. This collection of essays, edited by Ann D. Gordon, reveals that getting the vote was only one part of black women's efforts to access the mainstream of American society. They were just as passionate about securing equal access to education, about anti-lynching legislation, and about advancing the race in a panoply of venues.

Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham explores the pursuit of race advancement in several endeavors in her essay, "Clubwomen and Electoral Politics in the 1920s." The metaphor of "invisible politics" used by Higginbotham is especially useful in understanding the role of black women in electoral politics of the 1920s, not only in directing attention toward suffrage but also in their efforts to obtain anti-lynching legislation. Obviously, suffrage was a means to other ends that would benefit the race, and, in this regard, black women's clubs played an important role.

As Paula Giddings noted in her study of black women's clubs, black women were ever more conscious than white women of their obligation to lift up their race in their club and suffrage activities. Cynthia Neverdon-Morton's essay, "Advancement of the Race through African-American Women's Organizations in the South, 1895–1925," explores this phenomenon. White women activists in the suffrage movement were seldom so inclusive in their pursuit of political access as their black counterparts, who were acutely aware that their treatment and personal growth were intimately tied to race.

African-American women in the nineteenth century pursued their vision of access to American life in a variety of ways. They pushed for justice through the courts and litigation, often with success and always with an admirable chutzpah, considering the general focus on civil and political repression in the era of Jim Crow. "The Quest for Justice: African American Women Litigants, 1867–1890" by Janice Sumler-Edmond explores a variety of cases and causes. This essay goes a long way toward rendering black women visible in a time period when most African-Americans were hardly allowed to be seen, much less heard. Additionally, in one of the most thoughtful and challenging essays, "To Catch the Vision of Freedom: Reconstructing Southern Black Women's Political History," Elsa Barkley Brown argues that black women took part in an "internal" political arena of parades, rallies, mass meetings, and conventions that suggested an entirely different paradigm of personal freedom from that of the white version of rugged individualism. As a group, African Americans were enslaved, and as a community they envisioned their freedom.

Of course, there are always the indispensable personalities in a movement, to whom historians look as to a model or an emblem, and this volume has no shortage of individual heroines. Bettye Collier-Thomas offers an excellent example in her essay on "Frances Ellen Watkins Harper: Abolitionist and Feminist Reformer, 1825–1911." Harper deserves to be included in more anthologies on women, reform, suffrage, and race. As a powerful speaker who employed clear, logical rhetoric, Harper stands out as one who "spoke . . . always as an African-American woman who recognized that for most Americans race was the key definer of her existence. However, she knew that both issues were of equal importance and that . . . it was imperative that she represent both causes" (p. 49).

One of my personal heroines is Fannie Lou Hamer, who receives her due in Martha Prescod Norman's essay, "Shining in the Dark: Black Women and the Struggle for the Vote, 1955–1965," which brings the history of the suffrage movement to fruition.

In sum, there is a lot to be learned from this collection of essays. Black women pursued not only the vote but also justice for their gender and their race. They demanded not only political inclusion but economic, legal, and social justice as well. Their vision embraced access to education, jobs, and housing; the eradication of lynching; and legal parity. African-American women always saw the smaller picture of justice for one as intrinsically related to the bigger picture of justice for all. Those at the historical bottom of the pile—the most invisible of all Americans except possibly for Indian women—have the most to teach us. This collection does just that.

JANICE BRANDON-FALCONE
Northwest Missouri State University

ANNE MEIS KNUPFER, *Toward a Tenderer Humanity and a Nobler Womanhood: African American Women's Clubs in Turn-of-the-Century Chicago*. New York: New York University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 209. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$18.95.

ANNE RUGGLES GERE, *Intimate Practices: Literacy and Cultural Work in U.S. Women's Clubs, 1880–1920*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 367. Cloth \$42.50, paper \$18.95.

These two books add new dimensions to the history of women's organizations. Much of their value lies in their focus on groups outside the white middle class and their provision of detailed information about the operations of local clubs. As scholars debate the decline of social capital in the late twentieth-century United States, these books illuminate how some Americans amassed that form of capital earlier in the century.

Anne Meis Knupfer's arguments about African-American women's clubs echo those of earlier writers. She posits that black clubwomen in Chicago drew on many ideologies, which ranged from true womanhood

and progressive maternalism to combinations of Booker T. Washington's industrial education and W. E. B. Du Bois's doctrine of the talented tenth. Knupfer argues that the clubs both maintained class distance and helped to create cross-class coalitions. She suggests that, although clubs pushed African-American women into political life, they narrowly defined the issues appropriate for women's activism, and she sees the purposes of the clubs as both self-improvement and community uplift.

Despite mostly familiar arguments, much of Knupfer's information is new, and she does a good job of setting African-American women's clubs in their Chicago context. Through painstaking research in newspapers and sparse club records, Knupfer identified 150 African-American women's clubs active in Chicago in 1915. Even for those convinced that Alexis de Tocqueville was right about the propensity of Americans to associate in voluntary groups, this seems like a very large number of clubs among an African-American population that in 1920 reached 110,000. Different clubs did everything from playing whist to agitating for women's suffrage, and indeed, one strength of this book is its attention to card-playing clubs as well as those doing politics and building social welfare institutions. In this regard, Knupfer shows how elite clubs, which sponsored spectacular balls and other social events, stimulated African-American women's businesses—especially dressmaking enterprises, beauty parlors, and barber shops. Furthermore, inclusion of elite clubs helps us understand middle-class women's clubs as genuinely in the middle of two other classes, as nebulous as class identities may have been among African Americans in the early twentieth century.

Without mentioning Linda Gordon, Knupfer confirms Gordon's contention that African-American women reformers had a more ambivalent relationship with the state than European-American women reformers, but Knupfer complicates the picture with specific information about a local situation. According to evidence here, it was not that African-American women, having little faith in the state, did not try to exploit it. Rather, Chicago's black women consistently wrangled for resources from the state and were usually, but not always, turned away.

The specific results of this angling are not always clear in Knupfer's account. She explains, for instance, that in 1900 the all-white Chicago Woman's Club remunerated the work of six white probation officers who worked for the Juvenile Court. At the same time, one black woman labored unpaid on behalf of all African-American children involved with the court. We do not learn what this evidence for the racism of white women's clubs means about black women's clubs; we never discover whether the black officer sought their support for her work. More significant, we do not see what happened to black probation officers when Cook County finally began paying white officers in 1907. Our understanding of the relationship be-

tween black women activists and the state would be greatly enhanced by that information.

Similar oversights occur in Knupfer's chapter on institutions built by Chicago's African-American clubwomen. For example, Knupfer argues that two African-American social welfare institutions were "compromised" when they finally won funds from the Juvenile Court, but she fails to show us how. Indeed, her evidence suggests that state intervention saved the institutions from earlier closings than they eventually suffered and moreover that they received more aid from black women's voluntary associations once the state joined the venture (a lesson for those who insist that state intervention kills off civil society). Still, the book hints at the instances where African-American women did gain resources from the state, and this alone is valuable.

Anne Ruggles Gere's book shifts our focus from one locale to many and specifically explores the literacy practices of clubwomen throughout the United States. Her sample includes local African-American, Jewish, Mormon, Protestant white middle-class, and working-class women's clubs. She argues that, in their reading and writing of texts, clubwomen participated in national debates over the meaning of American-ness, womanhood, professionalism, culture, and consumerism. As we would expect in this postmodern period, Gere argues that clubwomen sometimes resisted and sometimes undermined dominant definitions of these concepts.

Following in the footsteps of Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, Gere presents women's clubs as a "public" in the revised Habermasian sense of an arena where citizens discuss public issues and create public opinion. Through her chapters, we watch as clubwomen all over the country take on issues of the day, research them scrupulously, write about them, discuss them, sometimes perform them, publish their findings, and circulate them among local, regional, and national groups. She shows how the exchange of texts among club women all over the country created connections—even intimacy—among women who would never meet, and she shows that clubwomen construed literacy as active, social, and creative rather than passive, solitary, and receptive.

One of the strongest chapters in Gere's book investigates the conflict between the "genteel" approach to culture—with its passive appreciation of canonical texts—and a more engaged and relativistic approach to culture especially associated at the turn of the century with William James. Gere demonstrates that George Santayana was wrong to accuse women's clubs of slavish devotion to the genteel tradition. Instead, she finds the literacy practices of women's clubs to include critical assessment of a wide variety of authors that fell far outside the developing literary canon. Moreover, clubwomen disseminated literary texts far and wide through traveling libraries, and they funded cultural institutions, like art galleries and symphonies, where they developed relationships with art that were en-

gaged, communal, and transforming—of both the art and themselves. These were not the passive, individual spectators of the genteel tradition.

In her most fascinating chapter, Gere shows how the literacy practices of clubwomen resisted those of professionalizers of English studies. Ironically, clubwomen, with their thirst for knowledge and understanding, created a demand for experts in English studies, thus providing a clientele for English professionals, while at the same time refusing to capitulate to the supposedly "superior" judgments of the experts they had helped to create. While the scholars insisted that the meaning of literature be established by experts who had determined which texts merited careful study in the first place, clubwomen devised their own reading lists, which included women authors, writers of color, and people living as well as dead; encouraged interpretation by every reader; and insisted that literature guide the lives of readers.

By focusing on aspects of women's club work other than social policy making and by taking us inside local clubs, these two books enrich the literature on women's clubs in the early twentieth century.

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JAMES A. DENTON. *Rocky Mountain Radical: Myron W. Reed, Christian Socialist*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1997. Pp. x, 206. \$45.00.

Myron W. Reed was one of the most prominent late nineteenth-century advocates of Christian socialism in the western United States. His tenure as a minister and later as leader of the non-sectarian Broadway Temple in Denver (1884–1899) coincided with the rise of labor radicalism in the Rocky Mountain region. Indeed, although not nearly so well known as such socialist-leaning clergy as W. D. P. Bliss or George Herron, Reed's story is worthwhile, because it contributes to a more complete understanding of western radicalism while highlighting the role that Christianity played in providing a moral sanction for Gilded Age working-class movements.

Little in Reed's early years foreshadowed his later accomplishments. Born in 1836, he spent his childhood in Vermont as the middle child of a poor Congregationalist minister. Forced to leave school early, he worked on a fishing vessel and as a recruiter for the Republican Party in New York City. Joining his family in Wisconsin, the outgoing Reed passed the state bar exam but quickly tired of a mundane law practice. At age twenty-five, he entered the Chicago Theological Seminary hoping to effect greater social change through a life in the ministry. The child of abolitionist parents, he interrupted his education to volunteer in the Grand Army of the Republic, finally completing his seminary studies in 1868. After short stints in New Orleans and Milwaukee, Reed first gained broader notice in Indianapolis, both for his sermons as well as

his habits of hunting, smoking cigars, and wearing flashy jewelry.

It was, however, as an advocate for the poor and downtrodden that Reed made his mark. Recalling his own hardscrabble childhood, Reed helped bring organized charity to Indianapolis and subsequently to Denver. But his compassion for tramps and those that many charity workers deemed unworthy broke with many of the developing canons of the new charity movement. Reed's compassion did not spill over to more recent immigrants. Instead, he decried the "Huns, Poles, and Chinese," particularly those who were brought into the country as cheap labor for powerful corporations. This nativist streak was certainly evident in many of the other midwestern and western Socialists with whom he would come into contact.

Upon accepting a position in Denver in 1884, Reed became more involved with the labor movement emerging in the Rocky Mountain region. Although previously supportive of the cooperative activities of the Knights of Labor, his condemnation of the capitalist wage system intensified in the 1880s. Yet not until the 1890s did Reed truly support the use of strikes and begin to accept labor-management conflict as inevitable under capitalism. In particular, his experience of the Colorado government's actions in the Cripple Creek strike (1894) made him an outspoken opponent of corporate America and caused him to lose his pulpit. Six months later, Reed inaugurated the non-sectarian Sunday services in the Broadway Temple, from which he would preach Christian socialism until his death in 1899.

Although this biography by James C. Denton introduces the element of religion into Rocky Mountain radicalism, its organization makes it difficult to get a strong sense of Reed's development. Denton has written an intellectual biography, concentrating on Reed's ideas, which are presented topically. Hence, the chapters frequently repeat biographical events and fail to clearly delineate change and the causes of change. Moreover, because the biography principally treats Reed through his ideas rather than his actions, there is too little appreciation of how experiences shaped his thought. Who in the labor and socialist movements influenced him? How did unions feel about Reed and his message? There are clues here, but a greater attention to the organizations with which Reed interacted might have fleshed out the social influences on the progression of his thought. Likewise, we learn little of his personal life, despite his colorful reputation. Still, western historiography will certainly need to acknowledge the influence of social Christianity on the development of Rocky Mountain radicalism.

KEN FONES-WOLF
West Virginia University

PATRICIA EVRIDGE HILL. *Dallas: The Making of a Modern City*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1996. Pp. xxix, 240. Cloth \$30.00, paper \$14.95.

Despite its misleading title, this book is not a comprehensive history of the Texas metropolis. Instead, Patricia Evridge Hill presents a narrower story. She seeks to demonstrate that a pro-growth business coalition has not always ruled without challenge in Dallas. Thus, she focuses on non-business groups that were active players in the city from 1880 to 1940. Populists, Socialists, and labor activists are the stars of her drama, not the monied men who have figured prominently in more traditional accounts of Dallas.

Part one of Hill's study covers the period from 1880 to 1920. Hill examines the efforts of Dallas clubwomen to nurture a more humane urban environment and moderate the policy of no-holds-barred growth advocated by their husbands. She also surveys the radical alternatives of Populism and Socialism. During the 1890s, Populists wielded political clout in Dallas, and during the first two decades of the twentieth century, Socialists ran unsuccessfully for public office. According to Hill, both political movements were strong enough to force the city's business elite to bend occasionally to their wills. Moreover, organized labor garnered considerable working and middle-class support, especially during the streetcar strike of 1898. In other words, a monolithic business class did not unilaterally dictate public policy in Dallas.

In part two of her work, Hill examines the 1920s and 1930s. During the 1920s, Populists, Socialists, and labor no longer posed a serious threat to the business elite. The first two groups had disappeared, and conservative leaders, who advocated cooperation with the business establishment, dominated the surviving labor unions. But Dallas was not marching lockstep behind an undivided business elite. Instead, the rise of the Ku Klux Klan blasted any prospect for consensual government. Winning many adherents in the city, the Klan was the target of bitter attacks from the business elite. The Klan's reputation for lawless violence could tarnish the business image of the city, and downtown moguls would not tolerate such a threat to continued economic growth.

In 1930, business leaders won a major political victory when Dallas voters approved adoption of a city manager form of government. The new city manager regime emphasized economy and efficiency, responding faithfully to the business community's demands for fiscal restraint. From the late 1930s to the mid-1970s, the Citizens Council, an elite body of corporate executives, ruled Dallas with little effective opposition. The cornerstones of the council's agenda were low tax rates and unrestrained development.

During the 1930s, Dallas business leaders also squelched labor militants. According to Hill, Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) efforts to organize garment workers and the local Ford plant met stiff resistance. Dallas chieftains thereby ensured that their city could boast of a favorable business climate. By the 1940s and 1950s, Dallas was a city where one could make a profit with minimal interference from either labor or government.

By recounting this story, Hill has clearly demonstrated that a pro-business consensus did not prevail unchallenged throughout Dallas's history. There is an alternative tradition in the Texas metropolis. Yet, given Hill's obvious sympathy for this alternative tradition, her work fails to present a balanced history of the city. In her pages, business leaders are one-dimensional stereotypes, and social reformers and radicals can do no wrong. Moreover, Hill fails to put her account in the context of the changing political climate of Texas and the South. The long journey from late nineteenth-century Populism to the pro-growth business culture of the mid-twentieth century is a theme in the history of the region as a whole. Dallas's Citizens Council might not have been the chief factor in the changing nature of the city. Larger forces at work throughout the region might have been the true makers of modern Dallas.

JON C. TEAFORD
Purdue University

REBECCA CONRAD. *Places of Quiet Beauty: Parks, Preserves, and Environmentalism*. (The American Land and Life Series.) Iowa City: University of Iowa Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 382.

Rebecca Conrad describes the development of Iowa's state park system from the nineteenth century to the present against a broad backdrop of developing American ideas about nature. The variety of interests involved in state park creation has, as Conrad documents, complicated the structure of the park system and led to predictable difficulties in managing state park lands. Iowans interested in setting aside lands for conservation, recreation, wild land preservation, and the demands of sportsmen, scientific research and landscape restoration together expressed changing environmental values in the parks they created.

The creators and managers, rather than the people who recreated in the parks, figure most prominently in Conrad's account, reflecting the rich archival material from many state agencies, commissions, and environmental advocacy groups at her disposal. The book offers a detailed and informative case study of what other historians have documented more generally as Americans' Arcadian desire for green spaces, set aside for a variety of purposes, as greater numbers of Americans lived and worked in urban, industrial communities. Conrad's focus on Iowa state park lands demands a close look at the people who experienced and helped shape emerging ideas about outdoor recreation and land management policy in Iowa; therefore individual careers and statements figure prominently in the book. Her attention to a state park system addresses a gap in our understanding of public lands history, which so far has examined the establishment and contested management of America's national parks almost exclusively. As Conrad shows, federal and state parks systems developed under different political and financial circumstances, even if they both emerged

from widespread concerns about land management, use, and enjoyment. Conrad's history also allows us to see more clearly the role of women in public lands history, as they were central actors on the state scene in a way rarely presented in histories of federal park lands.

Conrad introduces us to a crowd of complex and thoughtful people whose varied skills and values demonstrate vividly how environmental issues have always pitted many interests against one another. An important factor in state park establishment and an impediment to sound management throughout Iowa's park history has been the constant demand of the public for park recreation, which has made park management for other priorities more difficult. Jay "Ding" Darling, Pulitzer-Prize-winning cartoonist, is among the activists and policy makers Conrad describes. Darling was a long-time conservation activist in Iowa's Isaak Walton League who was eventually appointed to Iowa's first Fish and Game Commission, which was instrumental in developing Iowa's ambitious twenty-five-year conservation plan in 1933. The plan was a joint project with the Board of Conservation, proposing management for many types of state lands, from scenic highways to fish hatcheries. Darling was ultimately dissatisfied with the lack of success carrying out coherent land use and wildlife management goals in Iowa. He blamed "a lazy citizenry" (p. 131).

The tensions between competing interests—recreation and scientific study, for example—surface repeatedly in Conrad's account, threatening fragile coalitions (as they do in every environmental context) among environmental advocates and land managers, testing the organizational and diplomatic skills of generations of Iowa citizens and policy makers. Vagaries of funding and organization, together with continuous use of Iowa's parks by eager outdoors-seekers, led to a sometimes neglected system of parks. Conrad closes the book noting that the fate of Iowa's parks remains unsettled, partly because the park system has always addressed multiple constituencies; there is no single environmental voice to give structure and direction to park management.

This is where a reader wishes there were more information about the large but anonymous crowd of park users: what have been *their* understandings of management policies or environmental values? With Conrad's study in hand, surely other historians will take up the chance to answer those questions. The value of Conrad's book lies precisely in documenting the competing ideas, organizations, and actors that made Iowa's parks—however difficult to manage—possible in the first place.

FRIEDA KNOBLOCH
University of Wyoming

CHARLES JOHANNINGSMEIER. *Fiction and the American Literary Marketplace: The Role of Newspaper Syndicates, 1860-1900*. (Cambridge Studies in Publishing and

Printing History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xi, 284. \$54.95.

Charles Johanningsmeier's book sheds light on an obscure area of late-nineteenth-century textual distribution, that of newspaper syndicates. These middlemen supplied metropolitan and country newspapers with copy in three basic forms: preprinted "insides" or "outsides," in which local editors used the blank side for their own copy; stereotyped plates, which editors could employ in their own page make-up; and galley-proof copy, which would then have to be typeset by the local paper. Of course, how much of a newspaper's copy came from these services is unclear, and there are no reliable figures for the extent of the business. Given this uncharted and perhaps unfathomable dimension of the topic, Johanningsmeier focuses on two American syndicators for whom substantial documentation exists, Irving Bacheller and S. S. McClure. The author, using as a justification that syndicators' reminiscences and other records emphasize fiction-marketing activities, narrows the scope further still to exclude the nonfiction circulated by the syndicates (p. 33).

Such a scope, although disappointing to historians sensitive to the era's commonly indistinct genre boundaries, not coincidentally permits Johanningsmeier to take aim at previous literary scholarship on magazine fiction, which too often casts the relationship of authors to publishers as one of industrial laborers to capitalist bosses. He complicates this simple "hegemonic" (p. 9) scheme by recounting instances of give-and-take between syndicators and authors and by introducing "local newspaper editors . . . [as] the gatekeepers who controlled the flow of fiction from author to reader" (p. 182). Yet, Johanningsmeier argues, even editors were hardly captains of the reader's consciousness. Neither they nor the syndicators "force[d] standardized reading strategies or interpretations of the fiction texts on passive readers" (p. 224). Amid "extensive negotiation and compromise on all sides," like the wrangling of the marketplace, "the syndicates played a major role in . . . cultural democratization" that put the best authors' work within reach of the newspaper-reading masses (pp. 224, 226). In his concluding chapter, Johanningsmeier interprets the turn-of-the-century decline of syndicates as an example of cultural stratification, presumably, as the putatively democratic market faded.

While Johanningsmeier justly corrects literary historians' oversight of syndicated newspaper fiction, his case against the hegemonic aspects of the industrial relations surrounding its production, distribution, and reception is unconvincing. To begin with, he reacts against a blunt, deterministic model of a command relationship between publishers and both authors and readers that exceedingly few literary historians employ, certainly not Michael Anesko, Daniel H. Borus, Susan Coultrap-McQuin, and Christopher Wilson, whom he mentions (pp. 27–28). This oversimplification leads Johanningsmeier to confuse the contingent and

negotiative subtleties of social, economic, and cultural power—the very essence of Gramscian hegemony theory—with "control." He then marshals a few anecdotes of syndicators and authors, in which the former do not leave direct evidence of exercising control and the latter do not say they are exploited. Overlooking the possibility of indirect publisher influence and unacknowledged author exploitation, Johanningsmeier does not discard the "control" model but merely vests it in editors (p. 182) in smaller cities and towns rather than syndicators in New York and Chicago; presumably, the change of site makes control somehow less hegemonic.

Johanningsmeier has even less to offer in defense of reader autonomy, for his evidence rests on shaky ground, indeed: the implied reader in the newspaper text and the author-constructed reader in printed discourse. Both of these lead him to overgeneralize a more or less uniform late nineteenth-century reader (singular) that undermines his effort to show a multiplicity of readers' choices. The only direct evidence of a diversity of response come from ever-dubious letters to the editor positing a range of "'solutions' to a serialized mystery novel" (p. 202). Without firsthand testaments in diaries and letters from "real readers," Johanningsmeier's readers remain passive.

Beyond its weak argument against industry hegemony, this book shares with other narrowly conceived works on the so-called history of the book an oddly vacant, McLuhanesque focus on the media to the neglect of the message. The fiction itself seldom enlivens Johanningsmeier's story; the result is like a history of candy that stops at the wrapper.

RONALD J. ZBORAY

Georgia State University

LINDY BIGGS. *The Rational Factory: Architecture, Technology, and Work in America's Age of Mass Production*. (Studies in Industry and Society, number 11.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 202. \$39.95.

"Rational factory," the term used by Lindy Biggs as the title for her fine monograph on the development of the mass-production factory, sounds as if it had been coined by one of the industrial engineers whose work she examines, but it turns out to be her own very apt term for the "engineers' vision of a factory that could be run like a great machine" (p. 6). That she was able to invent a phrase with such historic resonance is a testament to her understanding of their effort to create a new type of factory.

Biggs begins her study by placing the movement to create the rational factory within the framework of a century of factory design and development that began with Oliver Evans's famous automated flour mill. In creating his mill design Evans was responding to the "labor problem" of the early republic—a lack of skilled workers. But he also pointed to the potential for his mechanized mill to produce flour more efficiently and

uniformly. Labor, efficiency, and uniformity would remain major influences on factory design over the course of the ensuing century. Biggs makes this clear in her concise examination of the history of factory production as she discusses the development of special-purpose manufacturing machinery, automated methods for materials handling, and the emergence of new construction techniques, particularly reinforced concrete, which helped give rise to new ideas concerning factory design. Not surprisingly, labor relations continued to exert a particularly important influence on changes in the production process. The engineers who sought to create the rational factory therefore saw their work as encompassing not just the design of the factory and its machinery but also the "human machine" (p. 55).

Biggs discusses the influence of the scientific management movement on the engineers and notes that they considered Frederick Taylor to be "the father of industrial engineering" (p. 44), but she points to another and, perhaps, ultimately more important influence in the emergence of the rational factory: Henry Ford. Even though Ford and his contributions to mass production have been the subject of considerable study, Biggs adds something new and significant to our understanding of his influence by detailing the evolution of his factories from his first traditional small shop and factory in Detroit, through the building and redesign of the Highland Park plant as the first full-scale rational factory, followed by the ultimate embodiment of this ideal in his River Rouge plant. Biggs's discussion of River Rouge is particularly illuminating and adds to our understanding not only of Ford's drive and vision but also of the limits of his vision of mass production and of the rational factory as an ideal. The Ford case study that is the heart of this book is an important one that clearly illuminates the key issues raised by Biggs.

Having praised what is here, I would like to comment on what seems to be missing. First, given the importance of labor relations to the rational factory movement in general and at the Ford plants in particular, it is too bad that the voices of labor are so muted. This causes the evolution of the rational factory to appear as a progressive inevitability that met with little opposition. Second, although architecture is the first theme in Biggs's subtitle, it is given rather short shrift, though her discussions of the subject are quite suggestive, particularly the influence of German architectural work on industrial buildings and the influence of Albert Kahn and his architectural firm, neither of which are explored in much detail. Third, and perhaps most importantly, after portraying the development of the rational factory against an expansive background, Biggs fails to return to her larger canvas in discussing the subsequent influence of either Ford or the rational factory movement outside of the automobile industry. While stating in her conclusion that "the River Rouge plant undoubtedly introduced the modern rational factory to the world" (p. 162), she does little to

demonstrate its influences. Instead she focuses on the cultural meaning of the rational factory, particularly the River Rouge plant, in the work of writers, artists, and European architects. But she does not explore the increasing physical presence of the rational factory in the built environment or the cultural meanings this presence created. While wishing for more, I think most readers will find Biggs's work to be an important addition to the literature of industrial development.

PAUL ISRAEL
Rutgers University

MARK ALDRICH. *Safety First: Technology, Labor, and Business in the Building of American Work Safety, 1870-1939*. (Studies in Industry and Society, number 13.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1997. Pp. xx, 415. \$49.95.

The struggle for safe workplaces in the United States is as old as the nation itself, if not older. Especially in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, workers and their unions, employers and their trade associations, and reformers and their allies in government regulatory agencies all confronted the challenges of making worksites safer. Mark Aldrich has written a judicious and well-researched study of this work safety movement in industrializing America. In an age when many of his colleagues in economics and economic history fill their works with nearly impenetrable graphs and equations, Aldrich quite simply thinks and writes as a historian should. He presents clear analytical arguments supported by a broad range of primary sources from business, labor, and government.

Aldrich argues that the history of workplace safety intersects with many crucial social and political movements of the Gilded Age, Progressive Era, and New Deal. The climate for work safety changed over more than half a century, often for the better, with shifting employment patterns into less dangerous white-collar work, redesigned technology in factories and mines, new laws concerning employers' liability and workers' compensation, government investigation and regulation of hazardous working conditions, and an emerging breed of corporate managers who saw that a safe workplace could be part of an efficient and profitable enterprise.

The first three chapters of this book focus on the horrible safety record in the railroad, mining, and manufacturing sectors during the second half of the nineteenth century and the horrifying human toll exacted on the workers (usually men) in these industries. Train wrecks and mine disasters fill the pages of Aldrich's study, and so do the impotent and even callous responses of employers and government officials to the industrial massacres taking place every year across the United States. Until the close of the nineteenth century, it was still a common assumption that accidents in the workplace would happen with some regularity and that there was not much to be done about them. Industrialists and politicians declared that

danger was a part of doing business in a competitive, fast-paced economy; safety was an expensive luxury, which few employers could afford; workers knew the risks and willingly assumed them (in fact, workers were often blamed for causing accidents); and, therefore, government should stay out of a private sector problem that could not be solved anyway.

The following three chapters explore why workplace safety improved during the first third of the twentieth century, and the answers tend to be industry specific. In coal mining, government agencies—especially the U.S. Bureau of Mines—argued that safety regulations should not have to follow only on the heels of industrial disasters. The Bureau deliberately promoted new technology and laws to prod mine owners into taking precautions against fires and explosions. But mine-workers and their unions, steeped in traditional craft practices and work cultures emphasizing independence and manly stoicism in the face of danger, were suspicious of new safety procedures and equipment which might reduce their productivity and piece wages. Large manufacturers often developed complex centralized safety programs as part of their internal managerial reorganization plans. But these employers also found that workers were often resistant to top-down rules and procedures that impinged on shopfloor control; promotional schemes such as contests and bonuses drew the particular ire of skeptical employees. Workers wanted to see money spent on safer machines, better lighting and ventilation, fire escapes, and other physical improvements.

The organization of the book, marking a clear distinction between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, allows Aldrich to revisit each industry and see the difference several decades makes in new technology, managerial tactics, work practices, government regulations, and declining death and injury rates on the job. But, by breaking his focus on each industry across two distinct chapters, separated sometimes by more than a hundred pages of other text, Aldrich is unable to present a sustained analysis of changes in a particular economic sector over a longer period of time. It is possible that a study organized along broader industrial lines, rather than chronological periods combined with particular industries, might have allowed Aldrich to explore even more of the larger economic and political forces at work in the arena of workplace safety. For example, in his conclusion, Aldrich indicates that a key factor in declining injury rates was not the work safety movement—the very subject of his book—but a long-term shift in employment toward safer white-collar jobs.

Aldrich also admits that the attitudes of workers toward safety are often conveyed indirectly, by what management and government officials say about them, rather than in labor's own words. Although labor's precise response to industrial accidents and safety programs is not easy to glean from the historical record, a careful survey of union archives, the social reform press, and corporate safety committees might

yield more insights into the workers' wide range of reactions to workplace safety. It appears that they were not always confident about the progress being made, despite what the aggregate numbers may have said. In fact, labor was often skeptical about new safety procedures that might protect employers from liability more than shield workers from danger.

With these modest caveats in mind, scholars should find this a lucid, thoughtful, probing, and thorough exploration of the work safety movement in industrializing America. It should prove to be especially useful to historians of business, labor, technology, and the state—all key factors in the campaign to see that workers came home safely from their jobs. Aldrich has shown that American industry made real progress in this endeavor a century ago and could learn much from its past successes and limitations in the ongoing effort to improve even further on the nation's safety record.

DAVID A. ZONDERMAN

North Carolina State University

CHRISTOPHER C. SELLERS. *Hazards of the Job: From Industrial Disease to Environmental Health Science*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 331. \$45.00.

The premise of this book is that environmental science originated in an early twentieth-century science of industrial hygiene. Christopher C. Sellers is one of several historians interested in "bridging the factory wall" by fusing environmental health history with industrial health history; after all, workers on the inside of the factory and the rest of the public on the outside are poisoned by the same chemicals. This book is not a social history of public health, however, but an intellectual history of science. The heart of the book is a contrast between the empiricism of early industrial hygienists and the experimentalism of later industrial toxicologists. The latter's more abstract knowledge about chemicals' effects allowed them to expand scientists' authority into the new field of environmental health.

With labor plentiful and cheap in America, turn-of-the-century managers ignored the adverse health consequences of factory conditions until middle-class reformers responded to an exploding labor movement. Linking the rising influence of science to the expanding scope of governments, reformers promoted scientists' objectivity to create new cultural and political authority over workplace conditions. In response, business challenged industrial hygienists' methodological claims. The newer industrial toxicology, housed in universities and research institutes, was financed largely by business. Industrial hygienists had visited workplaces; toxicologists confined themselves largely to laboratories. Hygienists documented workers' illnesses through enumerating their clinical manifestations, symptoms such as headaches or rashes; toxicologists studied animals' subclinical physiological responses to chemical exposure. Hygienists posited

links between workers' illnesses and working conditions: toxicologists attacked these theories as empiric and unscientific.

Sellers waffles on the scientific credibility of industrial hygienists. He dismisses as "promiscuous evidentiary standards" their acceptance of expert opinion based on familiarity with workers and their industries (p. 40). He sometimes contrasts workplace-centered methods like factory inspections with laboratory methods as if they were mutually exclusive, accusing industrial hygienists of spurning toxicologists' findings. Other times he shows hygienists eagerly employing quantitative experimental data. Industrial hygiene pioneer Alice Hamilton, for example, utilized expert testimony, factory inspection, hospital records, worker physicals, secondary literature, and laboratory assays and experiments to demonstrate the existence and wide prevalence of industrial diseases. Hygienists' methods "required little formal schooling." Sellers writes, although Hamilton, with an M.D. from the University of Michigan and postgraduate research training at Johns Hopkins and German universities, was among the period's better-trained scientists. Sellers breaks new ground in a much-needed discussion of a 1914 Public Health Service industrial health investigation for New York City garment workers' unions; his purpose is to discredit occupational health researchers' reliance on physical examinations and clinical symptoms of disease, and certainly these methods seem insufficient in the case he describes. In a tolerant if patronizing vein, Sellers calls for a pluralism that would include the "so-called amateur" and "'crude' ways of knowing" that, he admits, often did uncover diseases and their causes later confirmed by "more 'sophisticated'" scientists (p. 239).

Sellers posits a radical disjunction between the causes and consequences of the new quantitative and reductionist toxicological science. For instance, two of the toxicologists who are the focus of his work are Robert Kehoe of the University of Cincinnati and Cecil Drinker of Harvard University. They are improbable protagonists, given their excoriation at the hands of other historians: Kehoe, up to and after the banning of leaded gasoline in America, defended as harmless widespread public exposure to lead, based on a lifetime of automobile and gasoline-industry funded research; Drinker, at corporate behest, withheld safety information from endangered radium workers. None of this matters to Sellers's purposes. Not Kehoe's corporate-inspired research *conclusions* but his investigative *methodologies* interest Sellers, who writes that Kehoe "pioneered a quantitative, more broadly environmental type of field study" (p. 198). Drinker's preference for the laboratory, Seller concedes, reflected a distaste for worker-centered research such as Hamilton's, which he criticized as politically motivated and unscientific (although he happily repeated Hamilton's unscientific factory walk-throughs for \$100 a day plus expenses), and his "toxicological approach to industrial disease" led Drinker far afield to abstract

topics little related to workers' health. Sellers, though, celebrates Drinker's new "quantitative chemico-physical terms and techniques" with their "potential for abstraction and generality" that allowed "imperialistic" application to other fields, including consumer safety and health (pp. 164–66).

Sellers agrees with other industrial health historians that the movement from workplace and worker-centered "industrial hygiene" methods to laboratory and animal-centered "toxicological" methods was in large part a response to business demands, but this does not shake his belief in the epistemological superiority of the newer quantitative and reductionist stance. Acceding to the "artificiality of our boundaries between what is 'science' and what is not," Sellers nonetheless argues that "calls for renouncing pursuit of an objective viewpoint seem intellectualist folly" (p. 238). His positivist stance allows Sellers to consider methodologies as if they were independent from attitudes and mores, money and power. His epistemological concerns make an interesting story, well developed here, but, to my mind, the analysis begs for more political depth.

CLAUDIA CLARK

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JOSHUA I. MILLER, *Democratic Temperament: The Legacy of William James*. Foreword by SHELDON WOLIN. (American Political Thought.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1997. Pp. xix, 168.

William James is not a philosopher of choice for most political theorists. He had little to say about political life, certainly nothing systematic. His activism was sporadic, and apart from his heartfelt protests against American imperialism in the Philippines, he figures little if at all in American political history. Among American pragmatists, it is John Dewey, not James, who is at the center of discussion when politics is the agenda.

Joshua I. Miller struggles doggedly to make the case for providing a prominent place for James among American political theorists. At the heart of his argument is an appreciation of what he terms the "democratic temperament," a temperament James both acutely describes and defends. In Miller's view, "James's great contribution to political theory is his comprehension of the political actor's psychology" (p. xiv). The democratic political actor, Miller says, ideally would be possessed of the sort of temperament James was constantly recommending to his popular audiences: a temperament comprised of "the inclination to action in the service of an ideal and mutual respect for all citizens and people in foreign countries, including those with different aims" (p. 112).

Miller certainly has put his finger on the temperament James most admired. But, generally speaking, it is Miller, not James, who tries to spell out its pertinence for politics. The "legacy" that Miller claims James provides for political theory requires a good deal of extrapolation to uncover. I do not find this

particularly troubling, nor, I think, would James. His great essay on mutual respect, "On a Certain Blindness in Human Beings," may not, as seems likely, have been shaped by his growing concerns about American imperialism, but I hardly think he would have resisted the implication.

Nonetheless, one might easily describe the temperament that James commends in that essay as a "liberal" as much as a "democratic" one. Indeed, it is in the interest of creating and sustaining mutual respect among citizens and for competing views of the good life that liberals such as John Stuart Mill (one of James's heroes) worried over the fate of democracy and sought to limit its scope. Democratic theory may not need a liberal transplant to provide grounds for a defense of mutual respect among citizens, but I am less certain than Miller that James would agree.

Here, as elsewhere, Miller strains to provide James with radical democratic credentials that I do not think he merits. Miller is at his most tendentious in this respect in a chapter on feminism. He argues that James's use of the language of "manliness" was merely strategic, ignoring the deep investment James had in the project of shoring up masculine identity in the late nineteenth century. Miller contends that "manliness" was for James a set of virtues that both men and women might possess, ignoring the fact that crucial texts such as "The Moral Equivalent of War" clearly are addressed to men alone. There, James suggests that one of the benefits for men enlisting in such moral equivalents would be that "women would value them more highly." At times, Miller is admirably frank about James's failure to measure up as a radical democrat. He speaks of "tensions" in James's work between heroic elitism and quotidian egalitarianism and admits that he is "trying to salvage James as a democrat" (p. 100). James was a democrat of sort: a limited sort. He was perhaps the most complicated and humane of mugwumps, but a mugwump nonetheless.

Much of this book is devoted to Miller's own efforts to render James's thinking pertinent to contemporary political concerns. Most of these interventions are too truncated to be convincing, and some of them are quite muddled. Chief among the latter is Miller's rejection of the argument of critics such as Christopher Lasch that mutual respect must be earned. Miller counters with a brief for an ethic of universal respect, but he then follows with an admission that "some people should be understood—neo-Nazis or members of the Ku Klux Klan, for example—if only for self-protection, but they should be neither respected nor, depending on their actions, tolerated" (p. 65).

Miller is, however, quite astute in explicating a central dilemma of pragmatist politics, a dilemma embedded in James's attempt to conjoin "committed action with comprehension of the opposition" (p. 81). Committed action would seem to require a conviction of certainty that pragmatism makes unavailable, while such certainty threatens the mutual respect for opponents that pragmatism's fallibilism authorizes. Can

people be moved to active democratic citizenship by convictions that are held provisionally, even hypothetically? And if not, how can democracies protect themselves from those in the grip of bloody certainty? Miller does not answer these questions, but he poses them well.

Miller is writing neither history nor biography, but his ardent defense of the Jamesian temperament might have been all the stronger had he ventured a bit beyond James's texts. For though James's account of this temperament is valuable, we have perhaps as much to learn from the manner in which he himself embodied it.

ROBERT WESTBROOK
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JONATHAN KAHN. *Budgeting Democracy: State Building and Citizenship in America, 1890–1928*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1997. Pp. xi, 222. \$42.50.

Jonathan Kahn's study of budgeting reform in the United States acknowledges the centrality of public finance in modern statecraft. Budget reformers at the turn of the century also recognized this reality and advocated fiscal planning as a strategy for rationalizing the management of government. Kahn surveys this campaign, beginning with the effort to implement modern accounting methods in municipalities in the 1890s and concluding with the Bureau of the Budget's insistence on centralized control of national finances in the 1920s. The New York Bureau of Municipal Research, a private organization created in 1907, and its principals—Frederick Cleveland, William Allen, and Henry Bruere—command the author's attention in the first half of the book. Kahn argues that the bureau's three leaders had immense influence in spreading budget reform across the nation and in Washington. Drawing on the analogy of corporation procedures and influenced by the rise of private and academic professionalism, the devotees of civic rationality argued that budgeting would cure fiscal mismanagement by arming citizens with the tools necessary to monitor public performance. Budgets would replace party machines and bureau chiefs would supplant political bosses. The objective of the reform was not to reduce public spending but to enhance the capacities of government. With these arguments and clever publicity, the reformers persuaded New York City to adopt budgeting in 1908 and President William Howard Taft in 1910 to appoint a Commission on Economy and Efficiency. The commission's report in 1912 laid the groundwork for Congress's adoption of the Bureau of the Budget Act in 1921.

The latter development owed much to William F. Willoughby, director of the Institute for Government Research, the forerunner of the Brookings Institution, and the central figure in the national chapter of the story, which occupies the latter portion of the book. Willoughby championed the effort of national budgeters to "recast the conceptual world of the federal

bureaucracy" in the 1920s. Recoiling from a regime that had been constrained by "courts and parties," the bureau budgeters sought to create a "coherent, inter-related, unified state" (p. 2). In this revamped polity, the president used budgeting "to centralize control over governmental administration." One upshot of the budgeters' triumph, Kahn contends, was the emergence of "the modern American citizen," who was part of "a community of educated consumers of government services" (p. 211).

Kahn has authored a readable overview of budget reform in the Progressive Era, written within the prism of its principal advocates. Because the movement is the subject of numerous studies, Kahn's story contains few surprises. Where the author attempts to cut new ground is envisioning the budget movement within Stephen Skowronek's idea of state building. Thus, budgeting reform was not primarily an effort to contain the rising costs of government or undercut machine politicians but a quest to impose rationality over chaotic governance. At the national level, reformers strode purposefully and successfully toward the creation of a "single state."

The persuasiveness of this view hinges largely on one's acceptance of its orienting paradigm, which rests on a vague notion of the "state" and feeds on the traditional indictment of politics in the Gilded Age. Did a sense of statelessness pervade the nineteenth century? Is "courts and parties" an appropriate characterization of the era's approach to governance? Did new civic procedures transform the polity between 1910 and the 1920s? Neither this volume nor most others in the library of state building have addressed these questions satisfactorily. Honoring the paradigm's roots in classical European social science, state builders favor theory crafted from their own perspective and slight empirically based research designs. Kahn's penchant for hyperbole regarding motivation and influence compounds this methodological imbalance. His inattention to historical context, moreover, leads him to miss the long campaign to enlarge executive authority, to devalue federalism, and to overlook the significance of subnational governments. Excising the states and localities from the American polity accounts for Kahn's inaccurate claim that "government activity declined steadily" during the 1920s.

BALLARD C. CAMPBELL
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THOMAS A. BRITTEN. *American Indians in World War I: At Home and at War*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1997. Pp. x, 253. \$34.95.

Thomas A. Britten has written an interesting book about Native Americans and World War I. He begins with an overview of Indian military service during the nineteenth century and shows how it was used to expedite assimilation. He then discusses the debate over whether to employ segregated troops, responses to the draft, the stereotyping of Native American

combatants, their role on the Western front, and treatment compared to other minorities. Britten also considers the contributions of tribal people on the homefront and the experiences of veterans in the postwar era.

At the outset of the war, a controversy arose over how best to utilize American Indian troops. Joseph Kossuth Dixon, who participated in three photographic expeditions to Indian country between 1908 and 1913, championed the formation of segregated military units to preserve indigenous cultures. He was opposed by Secretary of War Newton D. Baker, the Indian Rights Association, and the Society of American Indians. Britten argues that even though Dixon lost on this issue, he helped to educate the broader society about Native American life and to redirect federal Indian policy toward a tribal alternative to assimilation.

This study explores the variety and complexity of Native American responses to the war. Despite episodes of draft resistance, over 12,000 Indians served in the military. They fought in every engagement from Château-Thierry to the Meuse-Argonne offensive. Notable was the bravery of Private Joseph Oklahombi who won the French Croix de Guerre for extraordinary service. A Choctaw Telephone Squad also transmitted messages in their native language to confuse the Germans. On the home front, Indian men and women brought more land under cultivation, purchased Liberty bonds, and assisted the Red Cross. A small number of people also accepted off-reservation jobs at automobile plants, shipyards, and in the sugar beet industry. Nonetheless, Congress slashed appropriations for Indian health care and education in response to wartime exigencies.

Indian Commissioner Cato Sells used the war effort to pursue goals associated with the policy of land allotment. He issued patents in fee to adults with one-half or more Indian blood whom Competency Commissions ruled were capable of managing their own affairs. Furthermore, officials at the Indian Bureau approved the sale of tribal herds and increased the leases of allotted land to nearby Euroamerican ranchers by twenty-two percent. Britten contends that this renewed wartime commitment to forced assimilation challenges the historical interpretation that, after 1900, pessimistic reformers lost their zeal to transform Indians and to guarantee their equality in American society.

World War I was a watershed event for Native Americans. They escaped the isolation of reservation communities, gained an appreciation for the larger society, and acquired skills to survive in a capitalistic market economy. In addition, military service fostered pan-Indianism by giving individuals from different tribes a common experience. Native American veterans returned home with pride in their accomplishments and a heightened awareness of the importance of self-determination for different nations. Nevertheless, in the postwar years, they experienced racial

discrimination, segregation, low wages, and unemployment. Federal officials also continued to mismanage their resources and to disregard their property rights.

This volume provides a useful beginning point to explore several issues. For instance, how did Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points and the creation of a League of Nations encourage anti-colonial sentiment and a growing sense of self-determination in reservation communities? We also need to know more about the relationship between the war and the subsequent reform of Indian policy, the accelerated movement to settle tribal claims, the growth of pan-Indianism, and the voluntary migration of Native Americans to cities.

This book is based on extensive archival research and use of interviews in the Doris Duke Indian Oral History Collection. It is an important contribution to the historiography on Native Americans during the first three decades of the twentieth century. Britten convincingly shows the diversity and complexity of American Indian responses to the war and how this tumultuous event served as a catalyst for change. This informative book will be of interest to scholars and the general reading public.

KENNETH R. PHILP
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MARTIN S. PERNICK. *The Black Stork: Eugenics and the Death of "Defective" Babies in American Medicine and Motion Pictures since 1915*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xv, 295.

After discovering the only surviving print of *The Black Stork* (1916), a feature film advocating the death of severely deformed babies, Martin S. Pernick investigated the convergence of eugenics and euthanasia in the early twentieth century. The result is a fascinating and important study. Unearthing the print led Pernick to reconstruct the medical career of the film's prominent star and propagandist, Dr. Harry J. Haiselden. An advocate of eugenic euthanasia who could not always differentiate between passive and active killing of unfit infants and humans, Haiselden has, until now, been subject to deliberate erasure from the pages of history.

Discussing this physician's career in the first part of the book, Pernick examines the complex ways in which eugenics and euthanasia intersected with other significant forces, namely progressivism, socialism, feminism, racialism, sexuality, scientific objectivity, and modernity. Despite the fact that the scientific community and the lay public did not always agree on a definition of eugenics, the subject was associated with issues of reproduction charged with racial and sexual politics. Among the noteworthy triumphs of eugenics were ethnic discrimination in immigration restriction laws and judicial sanction of forced sterilization. Although eugenics became identified with right-wing politics in the 1930s, earlier advocates supporting a physician's refusal to save impaired babies included Lillian Wald, Clarence Darrow, Charles A. Beard,

Judge Ben Lindsay, and Helen Keller. Pernick argues that belief in modern science brought together eugenicists and progressive reformers who might otherwise not have rubbed elbows, but that ultimately such faith was not foundation enough for a broad social movement.

The second part of Pernick's book focuses on the representation of eugenics and euthanasia in the silent film era, a period when both physicians and reformers debated the educational value of film. Pernick provides a very useful survey of "pro- and antihereditary" films—one-reelers, features, educational films, and newsreels—that were produced by small companies as well as major studios. A whole chapter is devoted to the production, distribution, and exhibition of *The Black Stork*, a remarkable film that was retitled *Are You Fit to Marry?* and periodically reissued for approximately a decade after its initial release.

Although Pernick divides his interdisciplinary study into two parts for the convenience of readers, he argues that "medicine and media evolved together in the context of a common culture" (p. viii). Yet the social and cultural history that comprise the first part of the book are more nuanced in argument than the film history in part two. Pernick argues, for example, that negative reaction to *The Black Stork* contributed to an increasing demand for censorship of films based on their aesthetic content. Such issues could have been contextualized in terms of a larger class and ethnic struggle during the 1910s, when the film industry began to court "better" audiences by building movie palaces and adopting the realist aesthetic of the respectable middle class. As a result, authentic costume and set design in feature films served as the backdrop for sentimental melodramas with a didactic function. *The Black Stork* was such a melodrama in terms of its representation of characters facing moral dilemmas. But it violated middle-class sensibilities by showing shots of miscegenation as the cause of hereditary disease and a deformed black child as the consequence. Slumming as a form of voyeurism had its limits.

Constructing an interdisciplinary study, Pernick does introduce some theoretical concepts, but he could have been more daring in their deployment. Given the attitude of eugenicists towards ethnic and racial groups, his discussion of Otherness in a short paragraph is much too limited. A brief mention of Michel Foucault could have led to a profitable discussion of discursive formations that regulate what can be thought and said, and how knowledge constitutes power as a mode of surveillance, discipline, and normalization. Significantly, the medical profession objected not to Haiselden's advocacy of eugenic euthanasia but to his self-promotion in the media, and thus erased him as an important figure.

To sum up, Pernick's study is highly original and should interest social and cultural historians as well as film historians. Although he might have ventured further into film studies, his work serves as an example

of interdisciplinary work representing innovative trends in the academy today.

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JUAN R. GARCÍA. *Mexicans in the Midwest, 1900–1932*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1996. Pp. x, 292. \$39.95.

Juan R. García provides a broad survey of Mexicans in the Midwest during the first three decades of the century. Included are Mexican communities in ten midwestern states. The well-written book synthesizes both primary and secondary materials (including archival ones) into nine chapters and an epilogue. These chapters cover migration, distribution, housing, work, women, institutions, organization, culture, products, and Depression travails.

Young immigrant males committed to short-term sojourning constituted the core of these midwestern enclaves, according to García. Such individuals comprised a “Mexican generation” distinct from later Mexican Americans, he believes. In effect, Mexican immigrants in the Midwest shared experiences similar to those of other immigrant ethnic groups. García identifies economic and social inequality—reflected by low wages and unemployment—and limited housing availability and generally high rents as formative influences on the lives of Mexican immigrants. Cutting across these realities were the ubiquitous, socially formative activities of women. Overarching and underpinning the specific situation of Mexican immigrants were Mexico-U.S. political and economic relations, which could effect individual lives. Such confluences are visible through the windows of Mexican consulate records, which show that these immigrants, like those before and after them, sought to recreate and to create their own cultural and civic spaces through directed organized activity. Mexican immigrants were diverse and energetic individuals who sought survival and, if possible, personal progress.

In sum, García has written a competent narrative introducing the history of a minority as yet insufficiently examined in midwestern studies. His contribution is guided by contextual and subtextual interpretive argumentations that affirm immigrant agency and show how historical Mexico-U.S. relations influenced domestic social relations in the Midwest. Most novel are the signs and substance of incremental social change after 1932, partially substantiated by data of the late 1930s. García does not venture beyond his sources, which are situation specific. The important analytical questions concerning midwestern Mexican communities are in large part comparative: how does the historical development of these communities compare to those of the Southwest, and how does the experience of Mexican-American immigrants compare to that of other midwestern ethnic groups? García is

aware of these larger questions and addresses them in this book.

JUAN GÓMEZ-QUIÑONES
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KAREN ANDERSON. *Changing Woman: A History of Racial Ethnic Women in Modern America*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. vii, 291. \$35.00.

Karen Anderson's book is an informative and rich resource for women's historians, but it is also in some respects frustrating. Anderson traces the lives of “racial ethnic” American women in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. More specifically, she focuses on Native American women (mainly in the West and Southwest) and on Mexican and African-American women, paying careful attention to women's lives both before and after migration from their rural homelands to cities. Her goal is to show how women have faced—and challenged—racism in the form of governmental policy and relationships with white men and women at the same time that they have struggled with culturally distinctive forms of sexism in their home communities.

For her case studies, Anderson draws heavily on a large, and growing, literature on each group of women, supplemented by her own readings of women's narratives and government documents. The special contribution of her book is to present, through juxtaposition, the very diverse experiences of women often analyzed in isolation from each other in the separate historiographies of African-American, Latin-American, and Native American studies. Anderson's decision to view the three together has some obvious advantages. It allows her to demonstrate in considerable detail that race, class, and gender function very differently in the lives of women of color of differing backgrounds. She is particularly adept at showing the interplay of governmental policies, women's everyday lives, and resistance to oppression in its many forms. Anderson has a very fine sense of paradox and notes how resistance to one form of oppression can encourage accommodation to others. Her exploration of governmental policies—which evolved quite separately for the three groups—is especially welcome, as studies of state policy often do not take gender into account. Anderson is also careful to note the diversity of women's experiences within each group, showing, for example, how the work and identities of Mexican women vary with age, generation, marital status, and rural or urban residence.

Anderson's emphasis on female diversity is neither new nor startling. Recognition that race and class shape female experiences has been a truism in women's studies since the 1980s. Anderson's contribution is to convince readers that diversity exists within and among racial categories.

Precisely because her book emphasizes the vast diversity in the lives of Mexican, Native American, and African-American women, however, the absence of a

conclusion is especially regrettable. In all three cases, Anderson sees the years between 1934 and 1950—not, as one might expect, the mid-1960s—as eras of change key for racial ethnic women. Her periodization contrasts somewhat with many studies in both women's history and ethnic history. Surely this commonality deserves comment and interpretation. What, if anything, do "racial ethnic" women share in common that makes the Depression and war years critical ones in the history of all three groups?

Anderson's reluctance to reflect on her research is pervasive. She says little about her research design in the introduction, and she seems to assume that readers will understand why some women are included in the category "racial ethnic" while others are not. But I, for one, was puzzled that Anderson offered no explanation whatsoever for excluding Asian women, the fourth group of women usually included in this category. Nor does Anderson seem aware that Americans in the late nineteenth century saw Jews, Italians, Greeks, and other foreigners as "racial" groups. Anderson chose a research strategy that could reveal differences through comparison, yet her organizing concept suggests commonality based on race. Given her vast reading and deep knowledge of her case studies, her decision to skip conclusions diminishes the usefulness of this book. It also obscures the book's contribution to ongoing scholarship. Anderson's study might have supported conclusions about the experiences of racial ethnic women and those who became white or between racial ethnic and other ethnic (religious, foreign-born, immigrant) women. Alternatively, Anderson might have made explicit comparisons among the three groups she has studied in such detail. Instead readers are left uncertain whether "racial ethnic" remains a concept flexible yet also still powerful enough to shape future narratives about the lives of all American women.

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RONALD C. TOBEY. *Technology as Freedom: The New Deal and the Electrical Modernization of the American Home*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1996. Pp. xviii, 316. \$35.00.

Although the bulk of this book deals with the 1930s, its most important conclusions concern the 1920s and the period after World War II. Using Riverside, California, as a case study but focusing more on the nation as a whole, Raymond C. Tobey shows that private enterprise in the twenties made no attempt to "develop a mass market for the new labor-saving technology" it was selling to the richest quintile of consumers (p. 176). The creation of a mass market for electrical appliances came only after 1935 and was the result, Tobey contends, of "New Deal goals and programs, especially housing programs" (p. 6).

This is a significant argument in itself, but the

importance of Tobey's book is much greater. The contention that the New Deal saved American capitalism is by no means new. It began with Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Dealers themselves. What is new in Tobey's provocative book is its argument about how and when the New Deal accomplished this feat. The author sees the New Deal's contribution to the long-term viability of the economic system as having played itself out over a span much longer than the first years of Roosevelt's administration. "The New Deal did not end in the late 1930s," he declares. "It transmuted from process to structure" (p. 212).

It has long been clear that home building was to the affluence of the post-World War II era what the automobile industry had been to the prosperity of the post-World War I decade: the engine that propelled the economy. Much as the rapid expansion of automobile ownership in the 1920s had carried along such other industries as rubber, steel, petroleum, and road construction, the rapid expansion of home ownership in the 1950s stimulated sales of building materials and electrical appliances, provision of electrical power, and car sales and road construction (through suburbanization).

The sources of the home-building frenzy that began in 1946 have usually been located in a combination of pent-up demand following a decade and a half of disruption of "normal" patterns of family formation and home buying, the resulting postwar baby boom, and a general prosperity attributable to such factors as Cold War military spending, American domination of the world economy, and the unionization of mass-production industries. Without denying any of these elements, Tobey makes a case for the housing boom and the concomitant prosperity being the intended consequences of Roosevelt's policies and actions more than a decade earlier. "The New Deal created the 1950s," he proclaims (p. 209).

The 1950s have generally been seen as a decade of retreat from the activist government of the 1930s. But Tobey believes that the long-term effects of New Deal policy in the areas of housing and electrical modernization have not been given their due. It was, he contends, the "subsidized consumerism and home buying" (p. 177) made possible by New Deal legislation that played the largest role in producing post-World War II prosperity and in assuring that the benefits of that prosperity would be widely dispersed across the population. "By making home buying as cheap as renting, the New Deal rapidly shifted the nation from renting to ownership" (p. 206). This switch accomplished a significant redistribution of wealth in the United States, Tobey maintains, by transferring "ownership of the nation's housing stock to those who had previously been tenants" (p. 208). Key elements in bringing about this "democratization of material abundance" (p. 209) were the Tennessee Valley Authority, which demonstrated that cheap electricity would lead to mass consumption, the Rural Electrification Administration, and the Federal Housing Administration.

This book provides a twist to the familiar assertion that twentieth-century liberalism has employed Hamiltonian means to achieve Jeffersonian ends. In an age when industrialism had ended the possibility of a nation of independent, small landowning producers serving as the basis for democracy and freedom, Roosevelt substituted the concept of government-supported ownership of an electrically modern home as the new basis of a middle-class society with sufficient assets to make freedom meaningful to a majority of citizens. In this way, Tobey says, "the New Deal created a truly mass consumer market" (p. 210) and continued as an "invisible revolution" throughout the postwar decades, giving "most wage-earning households enough assets for them to identify with the middle class" (p. 211).

Although it is plain (as Tobey acknowledges) that New Deal programs in such areas as labor organization and social welfare provided a major portion of the undergirding of postwar prosperity, this book makes an important contribution in providing evidence that the invisible hand guiding the nation to widespread prosperity in the postwar years was more that of Roosevelt's government than Adam Smith's marketplace.

ROBERT S. McELVAINE
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GAIL RADFORD. *Modern Housing for America: Policy Struggles in the New Deal Era*. (Historical Studies of Urban America.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1996. Pp. x, 273. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$17.95.

This book provides a fascinating account of an ambitious but largely ignored housing program for American cities, articulated most completely in Catherine Bauer's *Modern Housing* (1934). Although the history of that program is interesting in its own right, Gail Radford uses it effectively to offer insight to the federal government's early foray into housing policy. The book's careful, well-documented analysis makes it one of the best works on housing policy yet produced. Clearly written and cogently argued, the book calls attention to a path not chosen by the federal government.

Radford starts by examining the changing nature of the housing market and details the failings of that market in the 1920s, particularly the inability of the private sector to meet the housing needs of the working classes. She documents the growing displeasure with that reality and shows how both the housing industry and reformers sought to alter the situation by attracting government intervention. The author makes a good case about the importance of understanding the debate over housing in the 1920s to appreciate the governmental efforts of the 1930s. She identifies two different strategies that vied for governmental acceptance in the depression decade. One called for the government to provide assistance to the private sector, while the other required direct governmental interven-

tion supporting non-commercial housing development for more than just the very poor. Bauer played a key role in the latter strategy and proposed modern housing that emphasized neighborhood community rather than merely dwellings. Influenced by European programs, she also supported a housing program not just for the neediest but for others who had been left in limbo by the increasing upscale housing focus of the 1920s.

Such an emphasis influenced the nature of the Public Works Administration (PWA) housing program, an undertaking that produced some of the most praised public housing projects in America. The book reviews the success of two such projects—the Carl Mackley Houses in Philadelphia and the Harlem River Houses for New York City—and concludes that these immensely popular projects provided viable housing options for many Americans.

The failure of the nation's first permanent public housing program to incorporate the best of the PWA efforts, however, was largely political, according to Radford. Bauer never succeeded in mobilizing labor for modern housing in the way she had anticipated, and the revitalized mortgage and housing industry, revived in part by government assistance, proved a major deterrent to the modern housing program's success in Congress. Reformers were, of course, able to secure the Wagner Public Housing Act, but Radford notes how conservatives emasculated it so that it became a different program than modern housing supporters had anticipated. As a result, the promises of modern housing gave way to a two-tier system of housing support. One, associated with the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) and the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), was invisible yet expensive in both economic and social terms, while the Wagner Public Housing Act, aimed at the poor and the city's slums, proved highly restricted and always controversial. The author concludes that today's housing problems suggest we revisit the modern housing concept and include it in our discussion of the possible.

This book is successful in many ways. It handles the complex housing problems inherent in 1920s with care and depth that had previously been missing from the scholarship. It also puts away the myth that the two-tier housing policy in the 1930s was somehow natural or inevitable. Rather, this book identifies two very different approaches to the housing problem during the Depression and explores how those approaches influenced public policy.

One of the book's greatest contributions is its ability to place the modern housing movement in the larger context of housing policy debate. Radford's emphasis of the role of European influence on the movement is also refreshing and helpful. She is correct to contrast United States Housing Authority (USHA) shortcomings to PWA public housing, although I think she may unfairly denigrate early USHA projects; many of them did an amazing job at duplicating the modern housing standards. The book might also have benefited from

giving more attention to a third approach, one primarily interested in the slums. Still, this book is an important addition to the historical literature on housing and the development of public policy in the modern United States.

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PAUL D. MORENO. *From Direct Action to Affirmative Action: Fair Employment Law and Policy in America, 1933-1972*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1997. Pp. 311. \$35.00.

Few topics in modern American history have generated more scholarly studies in recent years than the civil rights revolution. The boundaries of our knowledge of this subject expand with each new publishing season. The literature on the civil rights movement divides roughly into three categories: first, portraits of activists and protest organizations; second, accounts of the civil rights struggle in individual communities and states; and, finally, studies of shifting national policy on segregation, discrimination, and, more broadly, race relations. Paul D. Moreno's fine new book fits squarely in the last category, as it offers a timely analysis of fair employment law and policy from the 1930s to the early 1970s.

Moreno did not intend to write a comprehensive compendium of every battle against racial discrimination in employment over four decades. Rather, in a clear and judicious fashion, he traces the dominant paradigms in fair employment law and policy during that span of time. The modern fight for equal employment opportunity, he argues, did not truly begin until black activists in northern cities launched "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" campaigns in the late 1920s and 1930s. Although these efforts met with limited success, they featured both a method (direct action) and a goal (proportional representation in the work place) in the quest for fair employment. During the Great Depression, the federal government also attacked the dual labor market, albeit selectively and tentatively. The Public Works Administration did respond, for instance, to Harold Ickes' order to end racial discrimination in its projects by going so far as to set quotas for African-American employment.

Yet the expanding economy of World War II ensured that a color-blind approach to fair employment eclipsed a race-conscious program. The wartime Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) rooted out blatant cases of discrimination, and the federal courts issued rulings that reinforced a national policy against job discrimination. With the end of the war, a number of states, most notably New York, established their own fair employment practice committees, which, for a time, became the most important shapers of antidiscrimination law and policy, especially after Congress ended funding for the federal FEPC.

The idea of a race-conscious approach to fair em-

ployment was not completely buried, however. In the late 1950s, for example, Charles Abrams, chairman of the New York State Commission against Discrimination, warned against the limitations of a strict color-blind vision. And, in the early 1960s, Whitney Young of the National Urban League called for a compensatory program to promote African-American participation in the bountiful American economy. Yet despite substantial discussion of group rights and preferential treatment, the landmark federal statement on fair employment of the era—Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964—upheld the postwar emphasis on prohibiting job discrimination rather than on promoting black employment.

In the last two chapters of the book, Moreno chronicles the strange early career of Title VII. Federal agencies, particularly the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, and the federal courts moved swiftly to turn Title VII into a mandate for affirmative action. Fair employment was now viewed as a group rather than an individual right; corrective remedies for past discrimination were permissible; and any policy, whether designed to discriminate or not, that was injurious to black prospects in the labor market became suspect. Finally, in 1971, the Supreme Court largely affirmed this new reading of fair employment with the *Griggs* decision.

The sweep of Moreno's coverage is one of the virtues of this book. Moreno reaches well beyond the *Brown* decision of 1954 to gain a broader perspective on one of the critical issues in the struggle for racial justice. Moreover, he argues that the origins of affirmative action cannot be tidily assigned to the 1960s.

In places, however, this study seems insular. It fails, for example, to situate sufficiently the fair employment question within the country's evolving political culture, especially American liberalism, which became more rights-oriented after World War II. And the connections between the architects of affirmative action after 1964 and earlier advocates of a race-conscious approach are not fully fleshed out. Yet, in the end, Moreno's book, with its tight focus, makes an important yet complex subject accessible and comprehensible.

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SHERYL R. TYNES. *Turning Points in Social Security: From "Cruel Hoax" to "Sacred Entitlement."* Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1996. Pp. viii, 253. \$39.50.

A book that addresses public provision for the elderly and concludes with questions about the welfare of children ends in the right place. Social Security mandates the transfer of resources from younger generations to the old. In the evolution that Sheryl R. Tynes describes, the system has become both politically sacrosanct and fabulously remunerative for recent recipients, who, on average, receive the full value of

their contributions plus interest within three years of retirement. The experience of children in the United States has been quite different.

Given trenchant opposition to public welfare in the early twentieth century and the rather conservative intentions of the creators of the Social Security Act, the successful expansion of the system has intrigued both historians and social scientists. The latter, chiefly concerned with a set of theoretical models designed to explain the origins and evolution of the welfare state, have employed Social Security as a test case. Tynes assesses models by focusing on five "turning points" in the history of the United States program. Using primary evidence as well as secondary works, she examines what factors led to change in Social Security's objectives, range, and political stature.

The author concludes that no single theory satisfactorily explains the history. Countering Theda Skocpol's obsession with the power of the state, and specifically of the Social Security bureaucracy, Tynes maintains that a variety of "organizations" influenced policy making. These ranged from state agencies to the National Association of Manufacturers to the American Association of Retired Persons. Organizations interacted with other factors, such as "coalition formation, timing and time, and ideology" (p. 21).

Parts of the argument make for tough going. The breadth of the explanatory scheme, the volume of primary and secondary materials, and the complex, at times impenetrable, social science rhetoric confound even the committed reader. Tynes occasionally resorts to historical works of dubious scholarship, and the selection of primary documents is just that, a selection. A cynic might observe that a theorist may be found to confirm any conclusion. Books could be, and have been, written about each of the central events and, by taking a middle ground, neither distant nor fully committed to any of the turning points, the narrative often loses clarity.

Certain conclusions do become clear. First, Tynes demonstrates the invalidity of explanations not based in long-term historical analysis, revealing the historical setting crucial to each event. Second, theory based on any single period will not suffice. Third, abstract concepts, such as the "state" or "capital," are not particularly helpful. Finally, Tynes shows that popular support was a consistent and powerful force in creating what is now "a seemingly inviolable institution in American culture" (p. 197). Like most social scientists, the author remains reluctant to give the people their say: policy makers, politicians, and organizations distorted and recast popular mandates, designing them to serve particular ends. From this perspective, the Townsend movement, arguably the most important factor in Social Security history between 1934 and 1950, presented a radical alternative that allowed more conservative policy to be instituted. A disinterested observer of the current system might wonder if the Townsendites had not prevailed after all.

Tynes is not reluctant, however, to draw lessons in

intergenerational equity from the analysis. While the elderly enjoy unparalleled economic fortune and have poverty rates well below the national average, a fifth of the nation's children are poor. Children have probably been worse off than the elderly since the creation of Social Security, yet no program similar to Old Age Insurance exists for those on whom the national future depends. Tynes concludes with an intriguing and useful analysis of why such a disparate history exists, and what it implies. She argues forcefully for greater investment in the young, for reasons of equity and for reasons of sheer self-interest.

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HENRY L. FEINGOLD. *Bearing Witness: How America and Its Jews Responded to the Holocaust*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 322. \$16.95.

The question of Franklin D. Roosevelt's response to the Holocaust and, by way of extension, that of the entire American government evokes a range of partisan responses. Some, such as David Wyman, vilify the president, State Department, and Congress for constructing "paper walls" around this country and callously abandoning European Jewry. These critics hold America's political leaders greatly responsible for the Jews' fate and contend that this country was, and continues to be, marked by deep-seated anti-Semitism. They also fault the American Jewish community for being timid and transfixed by its own agenda. According to some of these critics, both during the Holocaust and today, American Jews fear speaking truth to power.

Others, prominently among them Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., argue that America did all it could. They dismiss the criticism leveled at Roosevelt as unfair and unfounded. Bombing Auschwitz, they believe, was a military impossibility. They declare it a myth that America could have rescued the Jews of Europe. The American public would not have tolerated increased immigration. These Roosevelt defenders, who have a political and intellectual loyalty to this president, loathe the attacks on his image as a defender of the underdog. Both sides have twisted the evidence to buttress their arguments. America could have done more, but not as much as the critics argue.

Sorely missing from this cacophony are voices willing to contextualize the historical evidence and provide balanced analysis. No one is more capable of doing so than Henry L. Feingold. He was among the first to engage in serious academic study of America's political responses to the Holocaust. Consequently this book, a compilation of essays written forty years later, becomes all the more significant. Feingold's critique of Roosevelt constitutes an important middle ground. He argues that America's policies were not driven by anti-Semitism. There were committed anti-Semites in the White House, State Department, and Congress,

but most people in power simply did not care enough about the Jews to make rescue a priority. Official Washington considered the Holocaust strictly a Jewish problem. It failed to grasp that civilization had run amok and that its world was also burning.

American Jewry dissipated its energy in internecine warfare. Consequently, government bureaucrats, particularly in the State Department, aware that the community did not speak with one voice, could more easily ignore it. Even if American Jews had spoken in unity, however, the chance that they could have effected a change in American refugee and rescue policy is slight, if not nil. Those who criticize the Jewish community of World War II for inaction often transpose the contemporary American Jewish community for its predecessor. They forget, as Feingold points out, that both the Jewish community and the American society within which it operated were very different from today. There was less tolerance for dissent. A significant proportion of the Jewish community were immigrants themselves and far less comfortable engaging in protest. On those rare occasions when Jews won entrance to the corridors of power, it usually was through the back door and not, as it is today, through the front door.

Feingold analyzes Martin Ostrow's PBS documentary, "America and the Holocaust: Deceit and Indifference" (1994), which severely attacked Roosevelt. This galvanized the president's defenders. America's refugee policy was driven by deceit and indifference, but, Feingold observes, Roosevelt faced tremendous domestic challenges. To win this war, he had to keep the nation, suffering as it was from racial and class strife, united. The army he served as commander in chief suffered 500,000 casualties. The destruction of millions of Jews could, to this country's great shame, easily be ignored.

This book, a useful Holocaust text, constitutes the insights of a man who was not just present at the creation of this field of study. He helped create it. Now, after watching its politicization during the past four decades, he cuts through the politics to offer a balanced and important point of view.

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TOWNSEND HOOPES and DOUGLAS BRINKLEY. *FDR and the Creation of the U.N.* New Haven: Yale University Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 287. \$30.00.

The jacket of this book claims that it is "the first account of the American role in creating the United Nations." That is simply not true, and it is a shame that even distinguished university presses find it necessary to resort to such hyperbole. The preface contains a slight modification: this is the first book to tell "the full story." That is clearly debatable. Given the complexity of its subject matter, this is a relatively slim book and one that draws heavily on the work of other scholars—most notably Robert A. Divine, Robert Hilderbrand,

and Ruth Russell. Moreover, those acquainted with the field will find here little that is new.

The book is also marred by an inattention to detail (Senator Guy Gillette was from Iowa, not Indiana, and Senator Gerald Nye was from North, not South, Dakota). More significantly, occasionally the sort of partisanship that marked Townsend Hoopes's earlier treatment of John Foster Dulles (*The Devil and John Foster Dulles* [1973]) surfaces here as well. For example, Hoopes and Douglas Brinkley hail the, to my mind, rather ambiguous and very Rooseveltian Atlantic Charter as "a revolutionary pronouncement for American diplomacy, representing a total break with the narrow isolationist policies of the Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover administration" (p. 41). Few historians today would credit such an interpretation of American policy in the 1920s, and many would be quick to point out that isolationism reached its high watermark in the Neutrality Acts passed on Roosevelt's watch and when the Democrats had overwhelming majorities in Congress.

Nevertheless, this book has much to recommend it. The account of Hoopes and Brinkley is well written and engrossing. More importantly, they meet "the complex abstractions of international organization" (p. 129) head-on and throughout provide a lucid and incisive account of the various proposals advanced for structuring the new international organization. In simple, straightforward language, with no bows toward legalese or the obfuscations of some academicians, they explain clearly and forcefully what was involved in the constitutional and organizational issues that both President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the State Department planners faced. As the authors assert, "the three key problems were how to organize the agency charged with keeping the peace, how to provide for decision-making within it, and how to ensure the availability of adequate armed force pursuant to its decisions" (p. 113). Particularly enlightening is their discussion of the consequences ensuant to maintaining the canons of national sovereignty and compromising the principle of great power unanimity (pp. 113, 117). Equally sharp is their discussion of the responsibility (whether it lies with the president or the Congress) to commit U.S. military forces (p. 125). Their exposition of these issues alone is ample justification for another book on American planning for the United Nations (UN).

The authors also clearly rank themselves with the school of historical interpretation that sees Roosevelt's diplomacy as that of a consummate "realist." They question the Wilsonian myth that U.S. participation in the League of Nations would have prevented World War II, and they identify FDR as a "thoroughly disenchanted Wilsonian idealist" (pp. 8, 11). Accordingly, Roosevelt's conception of a world controlled by Four Policemen "ran directly counter to the assumptions of most democratic internationalists . . . that the new world organization must be based on the principle of sovereign equality and must permit the smaller nations a meaningful role in the ordering of the

postwar world." In short, there was a "sharp disjunction" between the State Department's Wilsonian high principles and "the stark doctrine of realpolitik that underlay the President's prescription for a secure peace" (p. 109). So far, so good. The real interpretive problems arise over the question of how and for what reasons this "sharp disjunction" was bridged, ameliorated, or sometimes even ignored. Although I agree with the judgment of Hoopes and Brinkley that the idea that the UN would become the effective guarantor of world peace was always a utopian vision, I find that their comment that "it is ironic that much of the euphoria was generated on the American side by leaders who were keenly aware of the inherent limitations" has little explanatory power. As I have argued elsewhere, the best explanation seems firmly rooted in domestic politics: in the Democratic Party advantage implicit in the establishment of a new organization to keep the peace.

The authors do not address that question, and that is their prerogative. Instead, they posit both in Roosevelt's mind and as a guide to contemporary American foreign policy the idea—"the Roosevelt Doctrine"—that "we must shatter at the source any threat to the peace of the world," that "civilization requires a police force" and that the best available combination—namely the United Nations strongly supported by the United States—is the very formula for world stability and peace that . . . Roosevelt fought with all his strength to achieve" (pp. 64, 222). To this writer, that solution, smacking as it does of Secretary Madeleine Albright's recent proclamation of our right unilaterally (read without Security Council approval) to bomb Iraq, is not philosophically tenable. It is the same old straddle that has led to an abiding hypocrisy in our approach to the UN. The UN is useful when it does our bidding; otherwise we have to act on our own. That hardly represents a binding commitment to the principle of international organization. I for one would still prefer to admit as much.

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SUSAN ARIEL AARONSON. *Trade and the American Dream: A Social History of Postwar Trade Policy*. Foreword by WILLIAM V. ROTH, JR. and ROBERT T. MATSUI. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996. Pp. xvii, 262. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$15.95.

Susan Ariel Aaronson's book is a very good one, but it is not the book promised by the title. "Social history" is normally understood to concern the lives of everyday people. "The American Dream" also connotes popular aspirations. But this monograph on the conception and abortion of the International Trade Organization (ITO) between 1940 and 1950 tells the story of how policy makers failed to effect their own dreams. It is a story worth knowing.

The ITO was supposed to be one of a triumvirate of

postwar institutions. The World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the ITO arose from the conviction of men like Secretary of State Cordell Hull that trade wars and monetary instability had helped lead to the Depression and World War II. These organizations were to be the economic expression of world cooperation, just as the United Nations was its political expression. The World Bank and IMF saw the light of day at the Bretton Woods Conference of 1944 and were confirmed by Congress in 1945. The ITO, whose charter was signed four years after Bretton Woods, did not even come up for congressional hearings until 1950.

These years of delay made all the difference. The onset of the Cold War dampened American enthusiasm for utopian internationalism. Conflict seemed more the order of the day, and cooperation with allies became defensive rather than innovative. Cooperation also became tinged with the idea of collaboration. Aaronson notes that "after the Soviets exploded an atomic bomb in September 1949 and [Alger] Hiss [a UN promoter] was found guilty of perjury on January 21, 1950, distrust of international idealists grew" (p. 116).

The architects of the ITO sought to establish fair rules for trading, to reduce tariffs, and to create full employment in all nations. Ironically, there was more precedent for something like the ITO than for its sister organizations, and this precedent was part of its undoing. President Franklin D. Roosevelt had expanded the authority of the executive in 1934 when he obtained congressional approval for the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. This act enabled the president to enter into bilateral agreements with other nations to reduce trade barriers. Of course, lowering tariffs could be dicey: employment might be increased, but workers might also lose their jobs if a protected industry was uncompetitive.

Roosevelt took care to educate the public about the larger good to be obtained putting "idle hands" back to work (p. 21). But opinion polls revealed that most Americans did not understand the benefits. Support for increasing American vulnerability in world markets was soft. And, congressmen knew that executive trade agreements meant less power for them. They sought to delegate authority sparingly. ITO planners should have recognized these realities—and compensated by consulting Congress and educating the public—but they did not.

They also failed to recognize how a simultaneous creation, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), would undercut the ITO. Government strategists initially looked to GATT as a temporary expedient. They tucked authorization for it into the 1945 renewal of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. The president could negotiate tariff reductions without participating in a new international organization. By the time ITO came up for approval, GATT had been operating for three years. It looked the safer bet both

to Congress and to the public: more limited in scope and less compromising of U.S. sovereignty.

Aaronson demonstrates that diplomatic elites did not pitch their arguments well. She contrasts this with the effective public relations employed decades later to secure passage in 1994 of the formalized GATT, the new World Trade Organization. Aaronson openly favors participation in a global economy “no American can escape” (p. 168). Her book is prefaced by Senator William Roth and Congressman Robert Matsui. She uses public polls to show that much remains to be done to convince average Americans of this perspective.

But her book is not about these Americans. It is an overview of how policy gets made or, in the case of the ITO, gets flubbed. By her title, the author appears to be stretching the bounds of diplomatic and public policy history. The attempt is admirable. Aaronson’s book is essential reading for anyone who needs to know how trade policy is made. But a true “social” history of America’s postwar trade—if it is possible—is yet to be written.

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FRANK NINKOVICH. *Modernity and Power: A History of the Domino Theory in the Twentieth Century*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1994. Pp. xviii, 418.

Frank Ninkovich is a diplomatic historian who takes ideas seriously; he is one of the few who can quote the likes of Paul Ricoeur and mean it. His premise, here and in his other writings, is that historians must understand the ideas of U.S. foreign policy makers in order to understand how diplomacy evolved in the twentieth century. Ideas have power. They do not just describe “objective reality”; they inhere in it.

In this book, Ninkovich is specifically interested in tracing the origins and history of the domino theory, which, he argues, has in its general form guided U.S. diplomacy for decades. The theory did not begin with Theodore Roosevelt, who Ninkovich contends was “the first modern . . . president and the last traditional American statesman,” a man wedded to “the old regional distribution of global power” and the “narrow nationalist assumptions underlying traditional diplomatic practice” (pp. 19–20). There were surprising glimmerings of the theory in the mind’s eye of William Howard Taft, who acknowledged the bankruptcy of power politics and the doubtful utility of regionalism and so cleared the way for the modern order. Woodrow Wilson, though, was the “founding father of American internationalism” (p. 68) and the creator of the domino theory. At first optimistic about the transformative possibilities of American imperialism and confident in the solidarity of English-speaking peoples, Wilson changed his thinking when war broke out in Europe. A German victory might set in motion a chain of events that would crash through the barricades of American complacency and, Wilson feared, eventually threaten U.S. security. There were no “natural bal-

ances” left in the modern world, power politics was too dangerous a reliance, and another war was unthinkable. And so Wilson sought to replace the balance of power with “world opinion,” a “collective conscience” that would prevent war. Wilson appealed to the “human potential for universal civilization” while nevertheless recognizing that he was likely to succeed only if the United States remained credibly committed to “propping up world opinion” (pp. 59–60, 65). The imperatives of mobilizing opinion were clear enough in a world where evil lurked; that dark view would turn out to be Wilson’s most potent and sobering legacy.

Thereafter, presidents tinkered with the Wilsonian structure but did not fundamentally alter it. Herbert Hoover, recognizing as Wilson did not that cultural differences complicated efforts to define world opinion and frankly less concerned than Wilson that war would mean the apocalypse, pursued a “minimalist internationalism” (p. 88). Franklin D. Roosevelt was a “half-way Wilsonian” who moved from at least formal advocacy of world opinion to dealing “on an ad hoc basis with geopolitical nightmares” by the end of his presidency (p. 100). With the onset of the Cold War, George F. Kennan took a reasonably benign view of the Soviet Union, emphasizing Russian culture and history over Marxist ideology and observing that the Americans and Soviets spoke a “common language of power” (p. 139). That view became untenable by 1949. Harry S. Truman, Dean Acheson, and others were convinced that the Soviets sought to take over the world. The idea of a periphery now vanished from American diplomatic discourse. Free world morale would suffer if *any* nation fell, or any part of a nation, for each bit was symbolically meaningful in the universe of public opinion. With the Cold War thus “psychologically defined as an exercise in maintaining credibility and world opinion” (pp. 192–93), Berlin and China and Korea and Vietnam and Quemoy were functionally equivalent. So concluded Dwight D. Eisenhower and John Foster Dulles, whose alliance systems were made to stand in for Wilsonian collective security. So, too, John F. Kennedy, who was unlikely, in Ninkovich’s view, to have withdrawn from Vietnam “because of its global impact on beliefs” (p. 272). And so, too, Lyndon B. Johnson, whose presidency was wrecked by the “crisis in world opinion” that his policies in Western Europe and Southeast Asia precipitated (p. 276). In a brief conclusion, Ninkovich escorts the ghost of Wilson quickly through the era of détente, the revived Cold War of the 1980s, and the Cold War’s end in 1991, after which crises “were largely localized and thereby reduced in importance,” symbolic or otherwise (p. 317).

Ninkovich’s purpose is to examine the domino theory, not to debunk it, and in locating the origins of the theory in the second decade of the twentieth century, he admirably historicizes the ongoing debate over the Cold War and Vietnam. (Ninkovich himself is fond of analogies and uses them deftly: “The other NATO ducklings huddled instinctively under the American

mother's warmth, but the United States could no longer be so welcoming to the ungainly and outsized German black swan" [p. 283]. One wonders how the Poles would be depicted today.) Ninkovich is a penetrating thinker and a skillful writer. He succeeds in recasting modern U.S. diplomacy in ways that are always provocative and frequently arresting.

The book's flaws have to do with its determination to measure every president from Hoover to Johnson against a Wilsonian standard that is broadly drawn. Ninkovich describes Wilsonian assumptions as "sedimented," by which he implies they are both weighty and layered. The mass seems to me to overwhelm the texture; if some of the layers can be named "economics," or "race," or even "domestic politics," they are barely visible in the analysis. Wilsonianism appears through the account as a text inadequately erased from a palimpsest, not always clarifying the thinking of Wilson's successors but muddling it, creating a sense of blurred vision.

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RICHARD NELSON. *A Culture of Confidence: Politics, Performance and the Idea of America*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 1996. Pp. xv, 285. Cloth \$47.50, paper \$19.50.

It is a rare book that discusses with serious intent the philosophy and writing of Edmund Burke, Max Weber, and Will Herberg and their impact on such diverse Americans as Norman Mailer, Daniel Bell, William Appleman Williams, Billy Graham, Newt Gingrich, Ronald Reagan, Bill Clinton, and Frank Capra. But all of these personalities play major roles in Richard Nelson's study. Nelson has produced a work brimming with ideas. Although it is sometimes a difficult and frustrating book—Nelson leaps across centuries attempting to connect modern politics with eighteenth-century philosophers—it offers at the same time a unique look at the far-ranging philosophical and intellectual influences on American culture during the Cold War (p. 114).

Although the English philosopher Edmund Burke has not been given iconic status as a founding father of the political culture in America, Nelson nonetheless argues that Burke has had a profound influence on a wide cross-section of influential figures ranging from Alexis de Tocqueville, Herman Melville, Mailer, and even politicians like Reagan.

Modern American intellectuals, searching for meaning in life and politics during the Cold War, were attracted to Burke's critique of the French Revolution and saw in it parallels to their own retreat from an earlier fascination with communism, Marxism, socialism, and American liberalism. Burke's defense of tradition, the monarchy, and the church allowed intellectuals such as Sidney Hook, Daniel Boorstin, and Irving Kristol, among others, to embrace a brand of conservatism that accepted the American Revolution

and at the same time rejected the Soviet model because it too closely resembled the violent and destructive French model.

Liberalism became the enemy for many of these intellectuals; it was a political philosophy that conservatives came to see as antireligious in nature. On a philosophical level, the writings of Herberg articulated this movement from the 1930s fascination with communism to the 1950s and 1960s conversion to the religious political right. On the popular front, the movies of Elia Kazan represented a similar journey, according to Nelson. Kazan went full-circle both politically and artistically: from being a member of the Communist Party and a leader in the Group Theater movement to giving names to the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) in the early 1950s. Kazan, who certainly understood the power of performance, translated his greatest performance into a lasting career that successfully combined a corporate and artistic message.

Capra may not have realized it, but Nelson finds his films of the 1930s and 1940s to be vehicles that used disillusionment with traditional institutions to redeem American confidence in the individual and the community. The cynicism and redemption played out in *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* (1936), *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939) and *Meet John Doe* (1941) were prelude to the ultimate Capra film, *It's a Wonderful Life* (1946). In Nelson's view, the film represents Capra's "recognition that any affirmation of confidence in America rests upon theological underpinnings" (p. 148). This sense of redemption permeating Capra's work made some of his films more popular in a Cold War atmosphere than they had been when originally released.

If politics is theatrical performance, the politician the actor, and Hollywood the quintessential combination of theater and politics, then Reagan was the consummate American politician. Like many contemporary conservatives, he was, Nelson believes, "politically born again" when he abandoned his liberalism for the corporate, anticommunist conservatism on which he based his political career. But it was Reagan's image of sincerity and confidence that made him appealing to millions of Americans. He used his acting ability to appear forceful and sincere in the modern medium of persuasion—television. Nelson argues that Reagan and other Cold War leaders as diverse as Graham, Richard Nixon, and John Wayne had the same charisma that Burke associated with the trappings of power in his era. They were able to convey power, confidence, and tradition to the American public. Their modes of performance—religion, politics, or movies—were less important than their carefully crafted public performance and message of confidence in an era filled with doubt.

It is certainly possible to quibble with some of the leaps across centuries of philosophical and political writing that Nelson makes, but it would be beside the point to do so. His book offers, especially in this era of

contentious cultural wars at all levels of American society, an opportunity to think about American culture in an intellectually challenging way. It is a book well worth reading and arguing about.

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DONALD W. WHITE. *The American Century: The Rise and Decline of the United States as a World Power*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 551. \$35.00.

In the prologue to this ambitious book, Donald W. White promises a study of "the ways Americans placed their nation into the mainstream of world history." White argues that Americans during World War II stood at a conceptual crossroads, faced with "alternative visions of the nation in the postwar era—one as a preeminent power, another as a participant in an egalitarian society" (p. 11). In one direction stretched an ethnocentric, unilateral, power political internationalism whose main themes were expressed by Henry Luce's imperious announcement of an "American century." In the other lay a cosmopolitan internationalism represented by Henry Wallace's vision of a "century of the common man." With the triumph of Luce's ideas, White argues that postwar history was "in a sense the history of the victory of one kind of thinking over the other" (p. 428). The book's title suggests that the American century was the product of an ironic, self-subverting myth whose dominance produced a brief stay at the mountaintop of world power before the inevitably steep descent into exhaustion.

Most of the book is devoted to tracing the evolution of a postwar, unilateral, "world role" for the United States. After starting with a survey of "elemental forces" like geography, natural resources, population, technology, economic production, and military readiness, complemented by a look at subjective factors like national character and morale, White describes America's militarization, the growth of alliances, its spreading economic and cultural power, and, inevitably, the decline of which Vietnam is the symptom. Throughout, there is an attempt at world-historical detachment as the discussion attempts to float above the events, with just about every American policy attributable to an almost anthropomorphized consensus.

The book has its merits. Although already on the heavy side, adding weight to the midsection would have been a good thing, for it is here that the book is strongest. The chapters on postwar economic planning, foreign aid, and America's cultural reach abroad are strongly researched and full of interesting information. In some cases, the author manages to convey with acuity important moods, most notably, the highs and lows of being an American in the 1950s.

Unfortunately, the book's ambitions far exceed its achievements. Overall, it is encyclopedic rather than penetrating; vague in analysis; and too one-sided,

sweeping, and naïve in its judgments. Although one might agree generally with White's argument that power potential alone does little to explain American internationalism, his use of myth as an explanatory concept is poorly grounded conceptually, and its policy relevance is never established. It is possible, for example, to argue that American Cold War policy was motivated by different kinds of ideas altogether, with different historical antecedents.

Finally, I wonder if White is not using the wrong standard by which to judge the United States. If one is to accept the author's thesis that America was done in by its own success, one would almost think that America had lost the Cold War. Had this book had been published ten years ago, its thesis might have seemed more plausible, but things look different from the standpoint of the 1990s. As the term "world role" suggests, America's goal throughout the Cold War was, first and foremost, to preserve an open international environment, which it certainly succeeded in doing. To suggest that Americans would have done better had they shown "a respect for international opinion" is surely too simplistic. It is hard to imagine a satisfactory postwar outcome if events had been left to the United Nations. One could, in any case, argue that American Cold War policy showed an excessive regard for world opinion. White's thesis may ultimately prove correct in the long run, if only because it is safe to say that nothing lasts forever. The book's argument as it now stands, however, is yet another example of the temptation to compress epochal change into the span of a few years when, instead, the pulse of history continues to beat at a slower pace than the tachycardiac modern temperament would have it.

Even with allowances for the fact that many historians write as if truth were the negation of beauty, this book is filled with ponderous and wooden prose. Good writing may not necessarily make for good history, but bad writing is a reliable indicator of trouble under the hood. Some of White's problems have to do with poor copyediting (George Shultz's name is, on the same page, also spelled "Schultz"), but with painfully stiff prose assaulting the eye on just about every page, it is hard not to question the depth and acuity of the book's analysis.

FRANK NINKOVICH
Harvard University

LORRAINE M. LEES. *Keeping Tito Afloat: The United States, Yugoslavia, and the Cold War*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1997. PP. xviii, 246. \$40.00.

After a day-long visit with Josip Broz Tito on Brioni in November 1955, John Foster Dulles reported to President Dwight D. Eisenhower that the "day with Tito was one of the most interesting I have ever spent." The Yugoslav leader took the United States secretary of state for a ride in his snappy two-seater speedboat, advised him not to think of China as a Russian

satellite, and cautioned that the path of the other Soviet-style regimes toward an independence similar to Yugoslavia's would be a slow one. The meeting was cordial in part because each party saw the other as an instrument of larger aims: independence on Tito's side, and driving a disrupting wedge into world communism on Dulles's side. Tito was certainly a strange bedfellow for the vigorously anticommunist Dulles, but precisely because he understood communism as a monolith, Dulles appreciated the usefulness of Tito's independence. For the more rigid anticommunists, Tito remained an anathema; one congressman even threatened to resign his seat if Eisenhower invited Tito to visit the United States. But not Dulles, who consistently pushed for aid to Yugoslavia through the 1950s. "Our best friend in the United States," Leo Mates, a former Yugoslav ambassador to the United States, called him.

Lorraine M. Lees has written a detailed diplomatic history of this relationship, relying not only on published documents but also on a number of archival and personal collections. This is diplomatic history in the old sense: reports from the American ambassador in Belgrade, communications among high-ranking officials, participant oral histories, and National Security Council policy discussions and papers. Lees's detailed approach provides some interesting reminders, such as that in the early to mid-1950s, Eisenhower and Dulles would have liked to get Yugoslavia into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Tito was unwilling, of course, but the possibility certainly provides for piquant speculations, given the fate of socialism in Yugoslavia and the current expansion of NATO eastward. Lees's discussion of the ups and downs of military aid to Yugoslavia gives an idea of how difficult it is to maintain a coherent policy at the operational level in the face of conflicting views among the policy makers, congressional scrutiny, and changing international parameters—not to mention the needs and policies of the intended recipient.

Lees's narrative, however, has several weaknesses. The most significant is her narrow purview. Essentially all her sources are either produced by American policy makers and participants or are English-language books about Yugoslavia. Thus, when she discusses such things as the creation of the Cominform and the Hungarian revolution of 1956, she does so in a narrow and uncomplex way. When she mentions that the Cominform was founded at a meeting in Warsaw (it was in Szklarska Poręba) at which the main speech was given by someone named "Zhavadov," one begins to worry. This is not to say the book is filled with inaccuracies; it is not. But it is clear that Lees has sacrificed breadth and complexity in order to concentrate on the details of American policy.

The book's narrow diplomatic focus results in a study without analytical bite. Lees's simple point is that the United States followed a "wedge" policy that it hoped would somehow pry open the Soviet sphere. The reader will doubtless conclude that Tito was

playing both sides against the middle fairly well during the 1950s but will reach that realization with minimum explicit analysis of the Yugoslav side from Lees.

The kind of detailed, honest, and conscientious work that Lees has put into this book and the coherent, if rather dull, narrative she has presented will always be of use, especially to specialists interested in some details on a particular point. But readers looking for interpretive power or a broad-ranging interpretation will have to find it elsewhere.

GALE STOKES
Rice University

HOWARD E. MCCURDY. *Space and the American Imagination*. (Smithsonian History of Aviation Series.) Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 1997. Pp. x, 294. \$29.95.

This study examines the impact of the "highly romantic dream" (p. 1) of space as a new American frontier, open for exploration and then settlement, on the actual unfolding of the United States space program during the past four decades. It finds that this dream has created an unfulfilled set of expectations about the course of space development in the American public, and that "the reality of space travel has depleted much of the vision that originally inspired it."

The vision of space exploration that Howard E. McCurdy sketches in his book was most clearly articulated in the 1950s by a group of space popularizers, the most famous of whom was German émigré Werner von Braun. Its elements included first establishing human outposts in orbit around the Earth ("space stations"), then astronauts undertaking initial expeditions to the moon and Mars, soon followed by initial colonists. The author traces the origins of this vision in the works of nineteenth and twentieth-century science fiction writers; space flight pioneers in Russia, the United States, and Germany prior to World War II; and the various individuals and groups of enthusiasts who succeeded in making images of space stations and early journeys away from Earth a visible part of postwar American popular culture. He suggests that the expectations created by this space flight movement had a strong impact on the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations and on Congress as the United States developed its space efforts in the 1957–1961 period; the result was that "human travel into the solar system became the official justification for the civil space effort" (p. 216).

In advancing his thesis, McCurdy provides a clearly written brief, drawing extensively from the public rhetoric that has accompanied the development of the U.S. space program. But he cites virtually no evidence suggesting just how the shared public vision of the goals and character of human space exploration actually influenced policy and program choices by the President and the Congress. Indeed, he is not very successful in tracing the causal links between human imagination, public attitudes, and the influence of

those attitudes on public policy, although that is the overall goal of his study.

The space flight vision has not been one-dimensional. McCurdy is effective in showing how it has been fueled along the way by factors as diverse as Cold War fears; the sense of being able to accomplish difficult tasks that came from the success of Project Apollo; the continuing fascination with the possibility of discovering other life, particularly on Mars; and a variety of Earth-bound considerations, ranging from consumerism through feminism to environmentalism. In other words, the mythical character of space flight, as opposed to its reality, has accommodated itself to the aspirations and concerns of almost everybody. No wonder it is an enduring vision!

Ultimately, however, McCurdy overstates his case. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) was not "created to carry out this vision" (p. 1). Rather, it was seen as an alternative to military control of all space activities, even as the Eisenhower administration gave highest priority to the security uses of space. As McCurdy suggests, "space exploration received government support during its infancy largely as a result of nationalistic concerns" (p. 109). Those concerns, particularly the desire to use space achievement to demonstrate U.S. power and leadership, were overriding in shaping American space policy until very recently, and they have not completely disappeared even today. The desire to begin human exploration of the solar system had essentially nothing to do with President John F. Kennedy's decision to send Americans to the moon or President Ronald Reagan's approval of space station development. With the brief exception of an abortive 1989 proposal by President George Bush for a continuing commitment to human exploration of the solar system, policy makers have consistently rejected the popular image of space exploration, not embraced it.

Even so, "the image of the frontier is America's creation myth" (p. 159); the vision of space as "the final frontier" undoubtedly will have an impact on the continuing debate about when, or whether, Americans will once again travel beyond Earth's orbit. This book is a flawed but still valuable analysis of the evolution, lasting power, and limitations of that vision, whose primary influence on the course of America's space efforts is perhaps still to come. As McCurdy comments, no alternative vision to guide future space activities has come to the fore. The result is that "the dreams continue, while the gap between expectations and reality remains unresolved" (p. 243).

JOHN M. LOGSDON
George Washington University

ANNE C. LOVELAND. *American Evangelicals and the U.S. Military, 1942-1993*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 356. \$55.00.

Although religious history and military history have lamentably little impact on the main course of our

historiography, both fields are thriving. In a study that brings these two specialties together, Anne C. Loveland shows that, as has also been the case in civilian society, evangelicals in the armed forces have become more numerous, visible, and influential during the past half century. Loveland uses the problematical term "evangelical" broadly to encompass a wide range of theologically conservative Protestants, including fundamentalists and Pentecostals. By and large, this is a history of institutions. Loveland traces the efforts of conservative denominations and such umbrella groups as the National Association of Evangelicals to place chaplains and otherwise influence the shape of religious life in the armed forces; examines the rise of such parachurch groups as the Navigators, Officers Christian Fellowship, and Chaplaincy Full Gospel Churches; traces the careers of prominent evangelical generals and admirals; and examines the role of retired officers as advisers to New Christian Right political groups since the late 1970s. Throughout she focuses on the army with minimal attention to the navy and air force. There are, however, interesting digressions on religious critics of the military, intrafaith debates on the nuclear arms race, and Ronald Reagan's theological musings. A persistent theme is the conflict, usually polite but nonetheless real, between evangelical activists on the one hand, and Catholics, Jews, secularists, theologically liberal Protestants, and officers who feared sectarian disruption of unity in the ranks on the other.

During the late 1940s, suspicion that evangelicals were a divisive force made them less than comfortable in the military. The Eisenhower era, and the president himself, provided a much more hospitable environment. Nonetheless, conflicts persisted over the General Protestant Service, which most evangelicals considered theologically bland. Then, as Loveland notes, the Vietnam War became a "watershed event" (p. 164) in the realm of religion as in so many others. Most evangelicals supported the war, and even officers skeptical of their theology and "separated lives" found them superior to theologically liberal and secular doves. General Harold K. Johnson, appointed army chief of staff in 1964, was especially sympathetic. President Reagan courted evangelicals even more avidly than Dwight D. Eisenhower had and elicited even harsher criticism from Protestant theological liberals. At the same time, the social divisions of the 1980s were mirrored in the army. General John Wickham, Jr., who had been "born again" in Vietnam, was appointed chief of staff in 1985; the chief of chaplains resigned to protest the administration's nuclear buildup and intervention in Central America; and James Dobson, a prominent evangelical psychologist, became a consultant on family values. The end of the Cold War coincided with a temporarily ecumenical calm, as evangelical chaplains increasingly accepted religious pluralism in a military that was itself increasingly diverse (with fifteen percent adhering to non-Christian beliefs or claiming no religious identification

in 1990). But President Bill Clinton's aborted effort to lift the ban on gays in the military produced the sharpest conflict in twenty years. Unlike military opponents of Clinton's initiative, who viewed gays as a threat to morale, evangelicals in and out of uniform typically condemned homosexuality as a sin.

Loveland tells this story judiciously and thoroughly. Although sympathetic to Protestant theological conservatives, she notes an important irony. As a vulnerable minority in the 1950s, they often appealed to the principle of free exercise of religion; as an accepted part of the military establishment after the Vietnam War, they were largely oblivious to such appeals by other vulnerable religious minorities. In addition, discussing especially the Sojourners movement, Loveland shows that there are politically liberal evangelicals. Most important, nonspecialists can learn from this book that both the armed forces and the evangelical alternate culture are integral parts of American life.

LEO P. RIBUFFO

George Washington University

WILLIAM M. HAMMOND, *Public Affairs: The Military and the Media, 1968–1973*. (United States Army in Vietnam.) Washington, D.C.: Center for Military History United States Army, 1996. Pp. xix, 659. \$43.00.

Over the past couple of decades, a great deal has been written about relationships among the government, the military, and the media during the Vietnam War. Sociologists, media scholars, journalists, historians, and former government officials have all reflected on the role media played in policy making and in the execution of the war itself. Much of this fascination can perhaps be traced to former Secretary of State Dean Rusk's assertion that the media made it difficult for the U.S. to achieve victory in Vietnam. Indeed, Rusk's comment seems to have reflected the opinions of many policy makers and professional military personnel who advanced the notion that, lacking conventional restraints that previously obtained during military interventions abroad, the press undermined the U.S. position in the field and at home, ultimately contributing to the defeat in Southeast Asia.

More recently, scholarly scrutiny has challenged this contention by showing that the growing chorus of press criticism during the late 1960s and early 1970s was less a product of a reckless and untethered press corps than it was a reflection of growing divisions within the policy establishment itself. For example, Daniel Hallin, in the *Uncensored War: The Media and Vietnam* (1968), argues quite convincingly that media coverage was remarkably restrained and even supportive of the U.S. war effort until a shift in elite opinion began to emerge around 1968. Given its strong dependence on official sources, the press did little more than report growing criticisms that existed at various levels of the U.S. government.

While some have explored these issues from the perspective of foreign policy makers and others have

focused on the operations of the press corps, William M. Hammond's distinctive contribution is to examine the complex institutional terrain that military public affairs officers navigated throughout the war. This book provides a sequel to Hammond's first volume, which covered the years 1962–1968. The book begins in the wake of the Tet offensive, after President Lyndon B. Johnson had committed the U.S. government to the search for an honorable peace and a withdrawal of forces.

Johnson's decision left military press officials in a rather tenuous position, however. They soon found themselves pressured from above to report good news to a press corps that was now fully aware of the many problems that had led to a reversal of U.S. policy. The resulting credibility gap in the field intensified over time and created an almost cyclical effect. After Tet, official sources tried to manage press coverage more and became less accessible. Journalists consequently became more suspicious and critical. Government and military leaders then became less understanding of the press and tried even harder to manage the news.

Unlike policy makers and the press, public affairs officers had few defenders in this growing cycle of mutual suspicion. Widely criticized by reporters during the later stages of the war, public affairs officers are objects of particular scorn in journalistic memoirs and in widely viewed television and film documentaries, such as *Selling of the Pentagon* (1971) and *Hearts and Minds* (1974).

Their situation was, of course, far more complicated than these criticisms suggest. According to Hammond, many public affairs officers in the field operated under the presumption that an uninformed press corps was far more dangerous than one that understood the complexities of the conflict. Indeed, Hammond shows how public affairs officers during the first phase of the conflict shared extremely delicate information with the press and rarely saw it used in a reckless manner. The shift came around 1968 when Johnson and later President Richard M. Nixon began to pressure the military to provide information from the field that supported U.S. policy. Writes Hammond, "Where in earlier was the president and his party had conducted most of the public relations, in Vietnam the military rather than the political sector came to bear heavy responsibility for the effort."

Although published by the U.S. Army, Hammond's account is neither an apology for the military leadership nor for the public affairs office of the U.S. command. The author is sympathetic to both the work routines of the press and the military. If anything, Hammond offers an analysis that shows why military press officers should operate as public servants performing a liaison function in the field rather than as public relations flaks promoting policies formulated in Washington. In sum, this thoroughly researched volume offers a complex and judicious assessment of military-press relations during the Vietnam War and it

should be given serious consideration by foreign policy makers, military personnel, and scholars.

MICHAEL CURTIN
Indiana University

MARK MOYAR. *Phoenix and the Birds of Prey: The CIA's Secret Campaign to Destroy the Viet Cong*. Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press. 1997. Pp. xx, 416. \$29.95.

Mark Moyar developed this book from his undergraduate studies at Harvard University in the early 1990s. He has conducted extensive research, including oral history interviews with participants on both sides in the Vietnam War; in his acknowledgments, he thanks Luu Lan Phuong of Vietnam's Foreign Press Center for translation services and for "dutifully" organizing interviews with former protagonists on the Communist side.

Moyar attacks what he regards as the all-too-prevalent liberal interpretation of the Vietnam War. He thinks that liberal historians have misunderstood the nature of the Viet Cong's appeal in South Vietnam and have portrayed the conflict in dewy-eyed terms as a popular guerrilla uprising, ignoring the fact that, after 1968, Vietnam experienced a predominantly conventional war.

According to Moyar, the Viet Cong were popular in South Vietnam not because they persuaded the peasants of the virtues of communism, but because they lied about the nature of the communist system. The Viet Cong cynically promised the landless peasantry redistribution of ownership, whereas communism really stood for the collectivization of agriculture. This deception could not succeed indefinitely, and, by the late 1960s, South Vietnamese peasants preferred Saigon to Hanoi. Thus the Viet Cong, like America and its allies, had failed in their attempt to win the "hearts and minds" of the South Vietnamese people. What greatly assisted this relatively heartening development were the allied covert operations designed to eliminate the Viet Cong Infrastructure (VCI), which Moyar calls "the shadow government." Moyar thinks that Phoenix, the anti-VCI covert action that later became so very controversial in the United States, had an indifferent kill rate. But the Provincial Reconnaissance Unit (PRU) program, run by the Central Intelligence Agency in tandem with Phoenix and kept highly secret until now, was much more effective. Extrapolating from Moyar's figures, the PRUs captured or killed around sixty thousand unacceptable South Vietnamese between 1967 and 1972.

Moyar's book is provocative and adds in significant ways to evidence offered in earlier studies of Phoenix by Guenter Lewy, William Colby, and Douglas Valentine. His argument that the North Vietnamese brand of communism had limited appeal is borne out in other sources: for example, in the extraordinarily outspoken novels by Northern war veterans Bao Ninh and Duong Thu Huong. It is quite another thing, of course, to argue that all sentiments against the exploitative rich

were alien to the Vietnamese peasant. Is this really what Luu Lan Phuong told Moyar?

Though critical of liberals' lack of curiosity about what happened after 1968 and keen to demonstrate the relationship between sociopolitical history and intelligence history, Moyar makes little effort to explore the higher sources of American policy: he is content merely to cite President Richard M. Nixon's celebrated reaction to the proposal that PRUs might be reduced: "No. We've got to have more of this. Assassinations. Killings" (p. 167). Nor does he take full account of the literature whose inadequacies he derides. For example, most historians now accept that the post-Tet U.S.-led counterattack on the Viet Cong was devastating in its effects. It could be that it was this counterattack, and not the PRU/Phoenix operations, that fatally weakened the VCI. As Moyar does not examine the possibility, we do not have the benefit of his reasoned opinion on the matter.

In his determination to show that the "people's war" was over by 1968 thanks to PRU/Phoenix, Moyar also overlooks a further dimension of the conflict. For, in one sense, the Viet Cong were real victors. Though decimated themselves, they inflicted such heavy casualties on the Americans that the war became unacceptable to the U.S. voter. So Nixon Vietnamized the war and withdrew American troops in large numbers. But this, in turn, meant that the Communists no longer needed to launch a post-Tet new recruitment drive and rejuvenate the Viet Cong. As it happens, from Hanoi's point of view, it may well have been good riddance to an organization that was close to the peasantry and could demand a say in the future of Vietnam because it had paid a price in blood. Furthermore, now that the Americans had been seen off thanks largely to the Viet Cong, it was appropriate to address the more vulnerable forces of the Saigon government through the use of conventional Northern divisions. So, although the Viet Cong may have been reduced by the PRUs and Phoenix, they also suffered at the hands of their Northern allies at a time when Tet had already taken its toll. Moyar, too, needs to think again.

RHODRI JEFFREYS-JONES
University of Edinburgh

KATHRYN S. OLMSTED. *Challenging the Secret Government: The Post-Watergate Investigations of the CIA and FBI*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 255. Cloth \$34.95, paper \$15.95.

By the summer of 1975, with the bad dream of Watergate supposedly behind them, Americans might have been forgiven if they had become immune to the theatrics of congressional hearings. But many were stunned when they saw a photo on the front page of the *Washington Post* of Frank Church, then chairing the Senate investigation into reported abuses of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), playfully shooting his colleague, John Tower, with what was purported to be a previously secret electric dart gun used by the

Agency. Few would have been surprised if they had known that, once he learned of its existence, Church reportedly demanded that the gun be brought to the session for its theatrical value.

What in retrospect seems a natural consequence of Watergate—the revelations in the press of the abuses of the charter of the intelligence community, assassination attempts, coup attempts, mail fraud, and other assorted domestic spying—shocked Americans in 1975. Nevertheless, little true reform came out of the several congressional investigations into those abuses. In asking why this was so, Kathryn S. Olmsted concludes that, despite détente, Congress, the White House, and even the public at large were all still mired in a Cold War fear of the Soviet Union. Thus, the government backed away from truly demanding reform, even when proof of these charges was presented on a silver platter.

This thesis is not new, but Olmsted structures her narrative so that the point is adequately proven. Her study of the Church inquest is more detailed than her view of the House investigations led by Lucien Nedzi and Otis Pike. And she is clearly correct in treating the investigation started by Gerald Ford and chaired by Vice President Nelson Rockefeller as nothing more than a shallow attempt by the administration to make the issue disappear. What emerges is a book that, at the very least, complements the two books that it “proposes to update”: Frank J. Smist’s *Congress Oversees the United States Intelligence Committee, 1947–1989* (1990) and Loch Johnson’s *A Season of Inquiry: Congress and Intelligence* (1988), both of which view the results of the investigations in a much more charitable light.

Nevertheless, Olmsted’s work suffers from several limitations. First, despite the fact that the author has consulted several major manuscript collections, including the wealth of material on the subject at the Gerald R. Ford Library and the Church Papers at Boise State University, the bulk of her cited evidence comes from published sources. More troubling is her tendency to take her sources at face value. My own research in the same sources has led me to conclude, for example, that Henry Kissinger was hardly the key figure in this morality play that Olmsted makes him out to be. Olmsted’s lack of critical distance from her sources extends to her interviews; her treatment of Seymour Hersh and Daniel Schorr border on hero—worship. And her stilted prose tends to reduce what was a truly exciting confrontation between the President, Capitol Hill, and the intelligence community into a tedious outpouring of detail.

This is a competent book, if one that reads more like a good dissertation than an engaging story. Yet the era is filled with subtleties that Olmsted does not discuss or explain. As a result, the reader wishes for more.

JOHN ROBERT GREENE
Cazenovia College

JOHN WILLIAM SAYER. *Ghost Dancing the Law: The Wounded Knee Trials*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1997. Pp. ix, 310. \$29.95.

On December 29, 1890, responding to the messianic Ghost Dance religion, the U.S. 7th Cavalry killed 300 Lakota men, women, and children at Wounded Knee Creek in South Dakota. Eighty-three years later, the American Indian Movement (AIM) occupied the village of Wounded Knee on the Pine Ridge Reservation, prompting a seventy-one-day siege by federal authorities. The subsequent trial in St. Paul, Minnesota, of AIM leaders Dennis Banks and Russell Means lasted over eight months. It ended with a native victory, “the greatest day the Indian has known since the Little Big Horn,” according to a Sioux commentator.

John William Sayer recounts that trial and assesses its meaning for Americans. Wounded Knee II, he claims, is one of those narratives—like the 1890 massacre—that must be retold if society’s oppressed and disenfranchised are to have a voice. Sayer rightly emphasizes the importance of stories, but he does not stress that such history must be skillfully constructed. His book is a fine example of doing just that.

This account, built around the St. Paul trial, has much to commend it. Sayer’s focus is legal, but the law is constantly placed in social context. AIM challenged the fiction that courtrooms can be separated from their political, personal, and geographical settings, and Sayer agrees. His book reads exceptionally well; it is a page-turner even when one knows the outcome. The author favors the Lakota and AIM over the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and U.S. Attorney General, but he remains critical and even-handed, finding blunders on all sides (although FBI foibles and excesses especially irritate him). Sayer analyzes gender issues, the role of the media in sensational trials, and a defense strategy that moved the courtroom focus away from charges against Means and Banks to historic misdeeds and treaty violations by the United States. He demonstrates command of secondary studies while managing not to drown in primary sources: the FBI alone produced over 5,000 volumes and 315,000 documents. Chapter ten, on “the ownership of history,” merits close consideration by historians.

The book contains a few soft spots. Means is missing from the impressive list of interviews, and his book, *Where White Men Fear to Tread* (1995) probably appeared too late to use. In places, Sayer leans heavily on Peter Mattheissen’s *In the Spirit of Crazy Horse* (1983). Sayer fails to include a bibliography, forcing readers to sift through extensive endnotes. He apparently did not have access to AIM’s archives, a critical research gap.

This solid legal history has the virtue of forcing us to face the dilemmas, paradoxes, and contradictions of Indian-white relations in North America, such as who should represent an Indian tribe and, culturally and legally? Who is an Indian? What risks arise in mixing politics and the courts; what costs come with turning a courtroom into a circus? If the courts become protest

arenas, can they function judiciously? Will crippling the legal system hurt radicals more than the powerful? Without the legal protection they despised, were not Banks and Means at even greater risk, especially when matters turned ugly? Should members of AIM have committed crimes against innocent people in order to remedy old wrongs in the name of future justice?

Anyone who has worked on a reservation or with Indian litigation knows that answers to such questions are not readily apparent. More evident is that Wounded Knee, the St. Paul trial, and AIM in the 1970s sparked a native political renaissance. "Indian dissent had been heard," Sayer writes; "the broken treaties, the conditions on Pine Ridge and other reservations, all the constant reminders of one of the saddest chapters in American history, had forced their way onto the national agenda over a longer period of time than ever before" (p. 225). Thanks to this book, AIM and native dissent have been soundly documented as well as heard.

ROBERT H. KELLER
Western Washington University

ROCHELLE GURSTEIN. *The Repeal of Reticence: A History of America's Cultural and Legal Struggles over Free Speech, Obscenity, Sexual Liberation, and Modern Art*. New York: Hill and Wang. 1996. Pp. ix, 357. \$27.50.

Rochelle Gurstein's book is a thoughtful exploration of American debates about, as the subtitle puts it, "free speech, obscenity, sexual liberation, and modern art." It covers the mid-nineteenth century to the present. Elegantly written and briskly argued, Gurstein's book charts the erosion of barriers to the most public discussion of the most intimate matters. She argues that this erosion has seriously polluted our public culture. By 1998, that is not exactly news; what is important about Gurstein's book is her willingness to trace the roots of this process. She faults the arguments of certain modernist writers and claims that Victorian cultural critics—practically nobody's friends in the past ninety years—said a lot of things on the subject that we ignore at our peril.

For Gurstein, Victorian cultural critics such as E. L. Godkin or Charles Eliot Norton understood the importance of reticence far better than people like H. L. Mencken or Alfred Kinsey. The genteel critics argued that the intrusion into the public sphere of what were basically "private" matters only cheapened life and made humane relationships more difficult to sustain. There was, however, increasing erosion of support for reticence by literary modernists, progressive legal thinkers, and various social scientists, all of whom thought openness would create more honest relationships, more authentic art, and better informed decisions about sex.

Gurstein is especially good at finding similarities between what might appear to be very different debates. To take just one example, she points out that Sinclair Lewis's 1930 Nobel Prize speech championing

the gritty realism of Theodore Dreiser used the same argumentative strategy that Learned Hand employed when he wrote the opinion (of the same year) that finally allowed pamphlets about birth control to be sent through the mail. Gurstein uses parallels such as these to yoke together debates over art, celebrity culture, and the law.

If you are interested in issues of race, ethnicity, class, or the disagreeable side of gender relations, this is not the book for you. Gurstein slides by the uglier dimensions of all sorts of people to get at the their thoughts on privacy. If you are interested in privacy, however, the book is worth your consideration. At its heart is not sociology but argument: did not the partisans of privacy understand something about reticence and openness that is worth listening to at the close of the twentieth century? A good part of the book's sharp edge comes from the author's use of Hannah Arendt's cultural theory. Arendt's thinking on privacy, intimacy, the importance of common sense, and the rise of the social and decline of the political are all used to explicate the century's debates about privacy and openness. Gurstein is to be commended for her clear-headed explanations. Sustaining this book is an Arendtian commitment to the importance of public debate.

Yet it is with Gurstein's use of Arendt that I would raise my own question about the book. Gurstein shrewdly notes Arendt's interest in common sense but does not acknowledge that part of Arendt considered tradition irreparably in ruins. In short, the modernist dimension of Arendt is missing, making her sound far more like Norton than she actually was. Arendt may have been dismayed by much of modernity, but she also realized, far more than Victorian critics, that the cultural resources needed to shore up the old public/private divides were simply gone. The activity of thinking, for Arendt, took place in an abyss where nothing—not common sense, metaphysics, tradition, or religion—might be a barrier to the exploration of truth. Public debate took place at the exact moment when tradition was no longer any help. Modernity was flawed and complicated, but it was also inevitable.

Gurstein tends to treat modernity as a package. One part entails the rest, so if we want sex education, then we get Jerry Springer. Yet Arendt saw the situation as more complicated. The same is true of Milan Kundera, whose words help close Gurstein's book. Kundera might be repulsed by the pathetic publicity and personality craving of the contemporary world, but neither is he a poster boy for the sort of privacy that Norton would have found comforting. His fictive explorations of sexuality are not exactly advertisements for reticence.

Whatever my own quibbles, Gurstein has performed a worthwhile service in her willingness to rethink a century of debate about privacy. Her book stands with Akhil Amar's *The Constitution and Criminal Procedure* (1997) as one of the more important recent books looking at privacy and its disappearance. Gurstein is

willing to step out of the mainstream of the historical profession to raise issues that we should be thinking through. If I do not agree with her on everything, I am still very appreciative of what she has accomplished.

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LAWRENCE W. LEVINE. *The Opening of the American Mind: Canons, Culture, and History*. Boston, Mass.: Beacon. 1996. Pp. xxiv, 212. \$20.00.

Lawrence W. Levine has with calm voice and sound scholarship responded to critics who in the last two decades have launched a barrage of attacks on the status and direction of American higher education. In fewer than two hundred pages of text, he convincingly demonstrates that the writings of Allan Bloom, Dinesh D'Souza, William Bennett, and others who argue in the name of traditionalism and academic rigor are for the most part unscholarly and inaccurate. In response to their jeremiads against broad curriculum choices, multiculturalism, and the new immigration, Levine offers readers a historian's analysis of the background and development of these and related issues.

The book has ten chapters divided into three main sections. The first section addresses the current attack on the university, depicted as being totally chaotic. New Left radicals of the 1960s, the critics insist, dominate the faculty and have replaced the age-old immutable canon with politically correct, radical, advocacy-oriented courses focusing on such areas as popular culture, ethnic minorities, and the lives of everyday people. Although the professoriate is almost universally a primary target of their paranoia, Levine points to some inconsistencies in their arguments: "If contemporary academics pay attention to politics they are being political, and if they ignore politics they are being political. In either case they are censured as political advocates rather than scholars" (p. 5). Levine argues convincingly that what the critics really feel threatened by is not political advocacy but cultural openness.

Levine begins the second section of his book with the proclamation that the "best response to critics of the modern American university is the history of the university itself" (p. 37). That this is true, he reveals in five chapters chronicling the major developments in higher education from the early national period to the present. The picture that emerges hardly conforms to that appearing in the recent sensationalist critiques. Rather than an agreed upon, relatively fixed, and unchanging canon through the years, the record shows that much of what the conservatives consider sacred in the curriculum had its inception only at the turn of this century. Western civilization courses, so central to the critics' notion of canon, emerged as a tool with which to acculturate immigrants and to help cement cultural ties to World War I European allies. Modern European languages and literature entered the canon late in the nineteenth century, with American cultural

studies finally achieving serious consideration with America's rise as world leader beginning in the 1940s. What Levine makes clear is that, then as now, significant societal changes lead to significant changes in the organization and content of college curricula. Today's canon was yesterday's radical innovation, resisted mightily by the defenders of the long entrenched classical curriculum, dominated by Latin and Greek literature as vehicles for mental discipline through grammatical exercises.

Attacks on the state of higher education and insistence by conservatives that there exists a canon that must be defended have, as Levine demonstrates, occurred throughout U.S. history. And, repeatedly, a motive force behind resistance to change has been fear that notions of what the university is and has been—indeed, what society is and has been—will be undone. A prime example today is concern that non-Europeans who dominate the immigrant rolls are less assimilable than earlier groups; related to this are the attacks on ethnic studies and multiculturalism as endangering America's national identity. These perceptions and fears are examined in the book's final section, entitled "The Search for American Identity."

Levine shines the light of history on questions regarding what constitutes American identity, the ability or lack thereof of various ethnic and racial groups to attain that identity, and the means by which the identity is instilled. He reveals that generations have associated Americanism with Anglo-conformity, practiced racism, and succumbed to nativism, with arguments used to denigrate previous immigrant groups applied over and over to the new. Although the "melting pot" and "cultural pluralism" received lip-service support at the turn of the century, the schools ignored diversity and stressed with considerable fervor the inculcation of Anglo-American values; employing the kind of curricula so dear to today's conservative critics. Yet, there have been tremendous societal changes over the past several decades, and with them has come wide recognition that, although we share much as Americans, differences are and have always been crucial in defining our national identity. In light of this, one can only agree with Levine's statement: "To study race, ethnicity, class, and gender, then, is not political correctness, it is a historiographical necessity" (p. 156).

It is unlikely that those familiar with the history of American higher education will find much that is new in the way of fact or interpretation in this book. What they will find is a beautifully written work that relies primarily on historical evidence to counter those who employ a mythological past when attacking much that is new in higher education. Levine's view of the contemporary scene is by no means Pollyannish. He expresses his concerns and those of others that racial separateness and claims of ethnic or racial superiority could be by-products of multiculturalism. But he also sees the possibility that a new historical synthesis will emerge that includes racial minorities, "workers, im-

migrants, women and other social and ethnic groups . . . the type of synthesis we need so sorely, the type of synthesis the historiography of the past few decades begins to make possible" (p. 168). His is a most convincing argument.

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CANADA

LYNNE MARKS. *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario*. (Studies in Gender and History Series.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 330. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

When the men and the women of late nineteenth-century Ontario stepped outside the world of work and home, they faced a number of choices. They could turn to the churches, which offered a range of social and religious attractions all sanctioned by the norms of Victorian respectability. The men, however, could also choose the conviviality and masculine atmosphere of the tavern, the fraternal lodge, and the sporting club, while the women, who were more restricted in their selections, could attend dances, frequent one of the new halls of popular amusement, or choose to be swept along by new forms of popular religion, such as the Salvation Army.

In this book, Lynne Marks sets out to explore the character and meaning of these choices. Drawing on data collected from the manuscript census, local assessment rolls, church records, and a variety of site-specific sources, she analyzes the interworkings of religion and leisure in three Ontario towns at the end of the nineteenth century. What options were available to whom; how were choices about religion and leisure shaped by considerations of gender and class; and what do these choices reveal about the identity of individuals and social groups at this particular point in time? In answering these questions, the author paints a richly nuanced picture of Ontario life and, in my view, makes a significant contribution to our understanding of Canadian social and religious history.

Taking as her point of departure the popular notion of a hegemonic Protestant identity, Marks shows how the respectable norms of middle-class Protestantism were in fact contested both within and without the Victorian churches. With marvelous dexterity and considerable courage, she parses the intersection of gender, class, and religion within this specific historical setting. The pattern of identities she carefully constructs continually crosses the boundaries that inform her categories of analysis. The quest for public respectability that Marks associates with the Protestant churches, for example, was clearly shared by many of the working-class members of the Knights of Labour. At the same time, the Protestant churches formally welcomed the participation of fraternal societies

whose regalia and social customs challenged the norms of Ontario Protestantism at a number of points. Marks also shows how many married men sat comfortably within the increasingly feminized surroundings of Protestant worship, while the one group that presented the most sustained challenge to Protestant hegemony—young single males—encompassed members of both the working and the middle classes. Along the way, she rightly criticizes historians of religion, women, and the working class who have remained so shut up within the narrow confines of their own discrete sub-disciplines that they have failed to acknowledge how men and women drew on religion and gender and class to construct their cultural identities.

Something, however, is curiously absent from this fascinating book. In a study that focuses in such a sophisticated manner on the construction of cultural identities and that returns time and again to the power of Protestantism to cut across lines of class and gender, one cannot find a sustained analysis of how Protestant Christianity as a religion shaped these cultural identities. Although Marks acknowledges eloquently that historians must not dismiss the power of faith, she purposefully avoids taking up the impact of that faith on the lives of the men and women in small town Ontario. Instead, the identity of Ontario Protestantism is aligned with more material considerations, most notably the largely middle-class concern for social respectability.

While one hesitates to raise one's voice against the punitive power of social respectability, this way of treating religion presents a number of methodological and analytical problems. First of all, the skein of evidence regarding motive is always very thin and often demands the language of possibility; as the author suggests, some members of the working class *may have felt* uncomfortable worshipping within these new and fashionable churches. But what begins as a reasonable conjecture is easily reified into a concrete fact that can then be used to explain statistical differences. What may have been turns into what was, and possibly what ought to be. Secondly, the equation of religion and material respectability begs the question of working-class participation in church life. If respectability was a clear line of division, why did the working class, for whom such a standard was often beyond reach, nonetheless form a clear majority of the *membership of all* the churches for which Marks provides statistics? Thirdly, one suspects that respectability itself is a discourse greatly in need of deconstruction. As others have shown, the use of the term changed significantly in the early decades of the Victorian period, and the very ability of this notion to serve as a powerful social discipline turned on its power to encompass religious beliefs and values.

This book begins with the question of the supposed hegemony of Protestant culture in late nineteenth-century Ontario. To my mind, Marks has clearly demonstrated that, except for a dozen freethinkers and a group of young men at a certain passage in their

existence, this culture seemed to touch everyone in these communities. At the same time, she shows that the meanings of this Protestant culture were hotly contested in terms of class and gender, and the battles over this meaning ran through the entire community. These conclusions speak strongly to both the importance of this culture and the value of this study.

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CECILIA DANYSK. *Hired Hands: Labour and the Development of Prairie Agriculture, 1880–1930*. (The Canadian Social History Series.) Toronto: McClelland & Stewart. 1995. Pp. 231. \$18.95.

Between 1875 and 1930, thousands of land-hungry migrants transformed the uncultivated Canadian prairies into the bread basket of the British Empire. These wheat miners were not, as economist Vernon Fowke has reminded us, self-sufficient pioneers. Their homesteads, especially before 1914, were free. Their passage to the West was paid for or subsidized by governments and railway companies. They were market-dependent. They enjoyed subsidized freight rates. Many of them possessed some capital for farm improvement, and credit was available. For those with neither, there was plenty of work year round as hired hands whose muscle fueled this labor-intensive agricultural economy even in the era of gang plows, steam-powered threshing machines, and tractors. The improving, independent farmers of one decade were frequently the previous decade's hired hands, whose wages were the source of homestead improvement and material prosperity.

Cecilia Danysek's book explores the experience of these prairie farm workers—20,000 employed annually in Saskatchewan alone in 1914—who from 1880 until 1920 seem to have moved comfortably between the roles of farm servants and agricultural capitalists in a culture defined by the pursuit, in Douglas Owram's words, of "the promise of Eden." Danysek focuses on the nature of the work, conditions of employment, relations between employer and employed, the culture of bachelorhood, and the "ladder" of agrarian social mobility. These matters are dealt with topically in a chronological framework of continuity and change, within which World War I emerges as the great divide between two distinct cultures of work and consciousness.

Danysek's thesis is that, prior to 1914, given the abundance of free or cheap land in the West and a chronic shortage of labor for a prosperous, labor-intensive industry, farm operators and their hired hands, who either aspired to be independent owners or were homesteaders working to raise capital, lived and worked in a culture of relative social equality. "[L]abour's skills were not its exclusive property" (p. 21), and "men were encouraged to enter wage labour for the express purpose of leaving it" (p. 37) as independent farmers. The ladder to success was short and flexible: a period during which the bachelor hired

hand's apprenticeship to successful farmers propelled him directly into farm ownership and social equality with his former masters, whose values and outlook he shared and assimilated. Worker alienation was marginal. The interests of employer and employed converged in a culture of mutual respect.

Between 1920 and 1930, equality and respect increasingly were replaced by antagonism, suspicion, and lack of cooperation as hired hand became a permanent rather than a transitory station in life. Lower crop yields, lower and unstable prices, rural depopulation, a slower rate of farm expansion, mechanization, and a more capital-intensive industry all contributed to a decline in the labor market and more competition for available jobs from inexperienced postwar immigrants and demobilized soldiers. Those hired hands who were successful in staying employed faced the permanence of work for wages, as mere "hired help," and with it a loss of social mobility and of equality with their employers. Danysek concludes, as other historians have declined to do, that the 1920s witnessed the proletarianization of hired hands as their lives were increasingly "refracted through the prism of class" (p. 119), although she readily concedes that while farm laborers adopted some working-class tactics in the 1920s, they failed to develop a class strategy. Instead, unwilling to share their employers' risks and no longer working to achieve the "promise of Eden"—independence—they concentrated on obtaining better wages and conditions of work by virtue of their mastery of the skills associated with mechanized farming.

This well-documented study is a very useful contribution to Canadian working-class history and to the history of agriculture in Canada. The analysis might have benefited from more explicit discussion of the charts and graphs interwoven through the text. Danysek's conclusion that prairie Canada's hired hands did not collude in their own oppression might have worked better if there was more evidence that they perceived of themselves as oppressed and more information about the identity of their oppressors.

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JONATHAN F. VANCE. *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 319.

This is an account of the "memory" of what Canadians accomplished during the Great War (which, for Canada, began on August 4, 1914, and ended on November 11, 1918). The "memory," Jonathan F. Vance argues, was controlled by a "myth," deliberately cultivated to keep citizens in the dark about the brutality of the war and to fend off doubts about the wisdom of those making decisions. There was in those days a vast storehouse of symbolic talk about noble things that had two primary sources: the Christian faith, and the faith in king and empire; and from this storehouse

political authorities and persons of honor and prestige could draw materials not in general supply today. The myth was initially promoted in order to maintain commitment to the struggle at home and in the field. Then, having served its short-term purpose, it went into extended postwar service as a depository of rhetoric capable of meeting the needs of politicians and commentators who were building something new: Canadian patriotism, to bridge the gap as the former colony moved into the estate of nationhood. The myth was vigorously promoted—by politicians, clergy, poets, and novelists—in veterans' memoirs, popular stories, textbooks, Armistice Day proceedings, popular entertainment, memorials on the walls of churches, and on monuments all across the land. It was ruthlessly upheld against assaults from *literati*, cynics, and whiners of many stripes.

There are no larger issues in life, and therefore in historiography, than those that turn on the purposes for which people go to war. What are we to make of a world—now, evidently, long gone—when society seemed to agree that there were noble causes ("noble" being defined as "worth giving up one's life for")?

Raised on post-Vietnam history, Vance is apt to giggle nervously when he is obliged to use the vocabulary of patriotism or of theology: "eternity," "eternal life," "hope," "sacrifice," "heaven," "nobility." At times in the early chapters ("The Just War," "Christ in Flanders," "O Death Where Is Thy Sting"), the author seems out of his moral depth as he moves about the landscape commenting on the texts appearing on monuments and stained-glassed panels. But the reader's appreciation grows as Vance proceeds, and we come to trust him in time for the last few chapters ("Safeguarding the Past," "If Ye Break Faith"). Vance seems to have searched out everything and anything that might document any aspect of the "memory" of the war. He has reviewed the historiography, official, academic, and amateur; he has waded through boxes of regimental memorabilia; he has climbed around all the monuments; he has studied all the rolls of honor on all of the walls of all of the high schools and factories; he has read all the texts in all the stained-glass windows. In his brief conclusion, we find a sober effort to examine the uses and abuses of the memory of the war and some thoughtful observations about the present usefulness of such reflection.

My principal complaint is to the publisher, who has distributed a large number of photographs throughout the pages of text. Unfortunately, the reproductions are of such poor quality and on such a small gauge that one often simply does not know whether to agree or disagree with the author's interpretations of them. Large matters are often involved, as, for example, with regard to the photograph that may or may not show a Canadian soldier engaged in an act of low-grade mockery of a statue of Jesus Christ (p. 37). It would be better not to offer generalizations about such matters

as this unless the evidence can be presented more clearly.

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LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

HOWARD JOHNSON. *The Bahamas from Slavery to Servitude, 1783–1933*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 1997. Pp. xvii, 218. \$39.95.

The Bahamas are often ignored in discussions of the Anglophone Caribbean. They were not pure plantation economies, dedicated, as in the case of Jamaica or Barbados, to growing a tropical staple with slave labor. Instead, the Bahamas have been characterized by more marginal economic activities. These have included capitalizing on shipwrecks, developing a salt industry, and, for a relatively brief period at the end of the eighteenth century, growing cotton. Yet as Howard Johnson persuasively argues, the Bahamas are not only interesting in themselves but also useful in providing another perspective on comparative studies of slavery and post-emancipation labor systems.

Slaves in the Bahamas often exercised considerable control over their lives. Even with the arrival of the Loyalists in the late eighteenth century and the development of cotton, this pattern continued. Slaves even managed plantations in the absence of owners and overseers. In other industries, such as salt production and wrecking, slaves were often underemployed. Since slaves had significant amounts of free time to grow their own provisions, Johnson is able to reinforce the work of scholars such as Sidney W. Mintz who have pointed to the creation of a protopeasantry during slavery. Indeed, Johnson goes further, claiming that a peasantry emerged during the slave period because of the unusual economic circumstances of the Bahamas.

The self-hire system, in which slaves sought their own employment in return for a sum paid at regular intervals to their owners, enhanced the latitude already given to slaves. Self-hiring meant a relatively high degree of manumission in the Bahamas and foreshadowed the labor systems of the period. In the aftermath of emancipation, planters were often unable to afford wages for their former slaves. As a result, various forms of labor organization developed: there was some wage labor, but sharecropping arrangements were much more usual.

As Johnson points out, sharecropping in the Bahamas did not elevate the material condition of the ex-slaves. Since freed people were paid on a profit-sharing basis and did not receive regular wages, they became dependent on the merchant elite that controlled the economy. In an important chapter on "The Credit and Truck Systems," Johnson shows how laborers were forced to make their purchases in stores owned by the merchant-employers, trapping the workers in a cycle of debt and dependency.

The merchant elite maintained economic and political control of the Bahamas. Moreover, they sought to enhance their dominance by the creation of a constabulary appointed from outside the Bahamas and, specifically, from Barbados. As Johnson argues, this was in the imperial tradition of selecting agents of control from among the colonized. The response of many laborers to their situation was to migrate, especially to the Florida Keys and Miami in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Ironically, their migration helped to reinforce the position of the mercantile elite.

In his conclusion, Johnson links his work on the Bahamas to the wider debates on slavery and emancipation. He is right to connect his research to these broader issues: for example, the internal slave economy, post-emancipation labor systems, labor migration and resistance, and the nature of social control after emancipation. But at the same time, there are some problems with the book. Most of the essays in it were first published as articles and subsequently reproduced in another book, *The Bahamas in Slavery and Freedom* (1991). It is true that the essays in this collection have been significantly updated and that the new book contains a useful introduction, conclusion, and bibliography as well as some additional chapters. Essays written separately do not always cohere, however, and this is occasionally a problem.

Yet Johnson is to be congratulated for making a valuable contribution to the historiography of slave and post-slave societies. These essays add considerably to the comparative literature on slavery and emancipation and reinforce the need to study societies outside of the pure plantation model.

GAD HEUMAN
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ABEL A. ALVES. *Brutality and Benevolence: Human Ethology, Culture, and the Birth of Mexico*. (Contributions in Latin American Studies, number 8.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1996. Pp. 247. \$59.95.

From the opening page of this book, Abel A. Alves pushes interpretations of early Mexican history in a new direction. With sweeping references to postmodernism, deconstruction, sociobiology, and traditional historiography, Alves lays the groundwork for introducing ethology as a method for interpreting the past. Ethology, the science that focuses on the study of animal (and some human) behavior, gives the historian a tool to look for and analyze the universals in human experience. In the case of sixteenth-century Mexico, discussion of the cultural patterns influencing religion, justice, gender, food, clothing, and shelter—problems as common to Indians as to Europeans—leads to new insights on the conquest and early settlement.

The work begins with surveys of Spanish and Aztec culture, emphasizing the influence of religion and spiritual ideas. In the case of Spain, Alves gives too much emphasis to the role of the Inquisition in creating a moral and cultural climate that preserved

the established order, but overall both chapters demonstrate how the two cultures defined themselves by both spiritual and physical criteria. Interaction between the two began with the conquest, one of the most threadbare themes in Mexican history. Alves takes the conquest and gives it several new twists. In a chapter entitled "Coalitions: An Ethological Account of a Coup," he begins with a well-told narrative of the political history of Mesoamerica until 1519 and then demonstrates that the strategies of building coalitions and alliances were as central to Indians as to Spaniards. Acting like the primates that they were, both groups used male displays of bluff and power to assert themselves; they also fashioned linkages with allies, changing them whenever needed to suit their objectives. Alves suggests that Moctezuma's strategy with Hernando Cortés might have been simply another failure in his attempt to preserve Aztec dominance of central Mexico. In other words, Moctezuma tried to use Cortés as he had used other leaders in Mexico.

After the conquest, solutions to the problems of clothing, shelter, food, and health helped to determine the future course of Mexican people. In discussing material life, Alves describes how clothing helped to define status and the ordering of society. Spaniards effectively used clothing as a way to distinguish themselves from Indians and to insure their dominance over them. The reworking of public space had the same consequence, as cathedrals replaced pyramids in the central urban areas. Both Indians and Spaniards used clothing and buildings to construct and preserve their societies. They did the same with food, selecting, preparing, and sharing it according to cultural norms. Food did separate cultures, but what is potentially more interesting in the case of Mexico is how quickly Indians and Europeans incorporated new foods into their diets and how methods of preparation changed to reflect the availability of new ingredients. The same is true for food sharing practices. More emphasis on the cross-cultural practices that affected food, clothing, and shelter would have added to Alves's analysis.

Medicine and the building of hospitals illustrate the clash and the merging of cultures as well as any other theme in the history of the sixteenth century. They also lend themselves to one of the author's main themes: the use of reciprocity to maintain dominance and separation. At the same time, they demonstrate the fusion of the two worlds. Beginning with Cortés's founding of a hospital for both Spaniards and Indians, two different worlds began to come together. Indian medicine and medical practices were considered inferior to Spanish ones, but in practice Indian remedies often had more appeal than European ones. These crosscurrents of medical practice took place as new perspectives on medicine challenged the traditional religious function of the hospitals.

While discussing these and other themes, Alves makes interesting comparisons between the human and the primate worlds, demonstrating that universal behavior patterns of dominance, reciprocity, benevo-

lence, and brutality explain much of the past. Spaniards themselves recognized that they shared certain universals with their Indian subjects, which in turn led to a particular type of separation and interaction between the two worlds. This focus is particularly useful in contributing to the recent efforts to bridge the gap between the biological and social realms of the Latin American experience.

Alves has written a book that will be read and discussed for a long time. Disagreements will probably arise over his methods and interpretations, but there is no doubt that he has added a new perspective on Latin American history, and he has done so with an intellectual energy that introduces the reader to a wide range of interesting ideas.

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GISELA VON WOBESER. *El crédito eclesiástico en la Nueva España: Siglo XVIII*. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. 1994. Pp. 275.

In no other country in the western hemisphere has the spiritual work and economic burden of the Catholic Church been felt more profoundly than in Mexico. This can be seen in the remarkable effort of evangelization carried forth by the mendicant clergy in the sixteenth century, through the glittering baroque culture of the later colonial years, to the present widespread devotion to the Virgin of Guadalupe, the only Marian appearance in the hemisphere officially recognized by the Vatican. If thinner on the ground than in *ancien régime* Europe, the formidable presence of the colonial church was still apparent in a dozen ponderous cathedrals and more than 1,000 parishes, some as impressive as the great baroque jewels of Santa Prisca in Taxco or La Valenciana in Guanajuato. The secularized shells of imposing hospitals, *colegios*, convents, and orphanages recall that what we now call "health, education, and welfare" were all once firmly in the hands of the clergy. These physical remains further remind us that although the Spanish colonial state made every effort to extract wealth from its overseas subjects, it invested in only the sparest public works or services. The church, in contrast, created thousands of jobs for masons, carpenters, and glass makers in vast construction projects, not to mention the maintenance of an opulent high clergy and, by the end of the eighteenth century, a rapidly expanding clerical proletariat as well. All this, of course, required revenue, and in the course of three centuries, the various agencies of the church developed a vast system to appropriate colonial wealth that reached into the furthest corners of what is now Mexico.

A substantial body of recent research has endeavored to assess the importance of the church in the Mexican economy, looking not only at its role in appropriating revenue but also at its role as a source, in the pre-banking centuries, of capital or credit. Perhaps the most important modern student of church

lending has been Gisela von Wobeser. Her first monograph helped make clear the crushing burden of debt on Mexican rural properties, and in a series of fundamental articles and two more books, von Wobeser has deepened our understanding of the complex interaction of the church with the entrepreneurial classes in the Mexican economy. In the present work, the product of a massive cooperative research effort, von Wobeser shows that the various agencies of the church—regular orders, Inquisition, religious brotherhoods, cathedral chapters—all lent money and, by the later eighteenth century, lent it primarily to merchants, now on the basis of co-signed notes rather than the earlier insistence on mortgage guarantees from landowners. A fifty-four page appendix sets out the details of these transactions; indeed, the book presents as rich a statistical picture of church lending in the eighteenth century as we are ever likely to get.

Just how the church acquired its wealth and whether, in the end, its function of providing capital to merchants, miners, and property owners outweighed its capacity for absorbing colonial revenue for economically unproductive ends remains hard to say. Let us remember that the ecclesiastical tithe raked ten percent off the top of most agricultural output, while clerical fees for the sacraments, which fell particularly heavy on the poorer classes, provided steady income. Although nineteenth-century liberal critics condemned the church for "owning" at least half the real estate of colonial Mexico, a figure repeated in all textbooks to the present day, recent archival research has sharply reduced that figure. On the other hand, the volume of capital controlled by the church now seems much more important, in one estimate running to over 44,000,000 pesos by the late eighteenth century.

It has never been clear, primarily because the documents themselves are ambiguous, whether that figure largely represents loans (or credit) from the church employed to lubricate the accelerating late colonial economy or the volume of donations and bequests that guaranteed, through liens on property and income, the annuities for pious works, masses for the dead, and support for sons and daughters in monasteries and convents. Von Wobeser finesses this question by abandoning her earlier distinction between loans (*préstamos*) and liens (*gravámenes*) by holding that "donations," or the common practice of a cash-starved landowner to place an encumbrance on his property, are "virtual loans" (pp. 25–26), even though the landowner never, of course, in such cases received actual money. In von Wobeser's discussion, both transactions show up statistically as "loans," a misleading term for the modern reader, who generally hears in that word a transfer of (potentially, at least) productive capital. In a certain sense, one can see the transaction as credit, since the church accepted the landowner's obligation to pay the annuity rather than insist that he carry, say, the entire dowry in silver pesos to the convent door.

I understand von Wobeser's desire to simplify a tangled problem, yet, her discussion, to my mind,

exaggerates the role of the church's "banking" function when in fact, as she shows, a large part of church "investment" involved no lending at all but rather the receipt of annuities, which drained off capital from the property-owning classes. Perhaps we need a new vocabulary or a different understanding of the cultural meaning of "investment" or "credit" in an epoch when the primary aim of the colonial church was not to lend money at interest but, rather, to channel the revenue of a vast ecclesiastical economy into clerical and spiritual pursuits. Von Wobeser has given us an indefatigably researched, deeply informed, and thoughtfully presented work that addresses an important part of that larger question.

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SILKE HENSEL. *Die Entstehung des Föderalismus in Mexiko: Die politische Elite Oaxacas zwischen Stadt, Region und Staat, 1786–1835*. (Studien zur modernen Geschichte, number 49.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 1997. Pp. 493. DM 168.

Silke Hensel's book is yet another contribution to our understanding of regional history in Mexico. It provides a detailed and thorough illustration of the many federalist strands in the province of Oaxaca in the crucial transition period between 1736 and 1835, the year in which a centralist constitution was implanted. The period chosen is the "long" independence period, that is, it begins before and goes beyond the actual years of the wars of independence. This choice allows Hensel to demonstrate that federalist tendencies in Oaxaca were built in the final decades of the eighteenth century and were not a consequence of the military struggles following the Hidalgo rebellion; they resulted from the economic, social, and political development in Antequera, in which the big merchants in Oaxaca were key players.

To demonstrate the long-term construction of federalist tendencies, Hensel first presents us with a picture of the region (chapter one); describes the political evolution in Oaxaca, especially in the crucial years between 1808 and 1835 (chapter two); and then moves on to reveal the institutional changes and role of Oaxaca's elite in these processes between 1812 and 1825 (chapters three and four). Building on the detailed information provided in the first four chapters, she then describes and interprets how a regional consciousness and assertiveness developed (chapter five). This final chapter synthesizes previous developments and provides an interpretation of the peculiarities of the political process in Oaxaca.

The book contributes to regional studies in Mexico, but it is also a contribution to a particular kind of regional studies. Hensel chose to view the regional history of Oaxaca through the development and changing composition of institutions, especially the *ayuntamientos* (*cabildos*) and the *diputaciones provinciales*.

This perspective, Hensel argues, comes from a rereading of a Germany-based *Verfassungsgeschichte*, which in addition to prosopography helps her illustrate the changing texture and structure of these institutions. A series of dissertations based on this outlook are coming to fruition now in Germany. Jochen Meissner's *Eine Elite im Umbruch: Der Stadtrat von Mexiko zwischen kolonialer Ordnung und unabhängigem Staat* (1993) presents us with a similar outlook for Mexico City. This line of research follows an already "classic" tradition of colonial Latin American history in Germany.

The region of Oaxaca is a territorially defined region equivalent to its colonial administrative boundaries, in contrast to an economic-network defined region. The state of Oaxaca was ninety percent Indian, and the provincial elites—Spaniards and creoles—lived in Oaxaca's capital city. Since Indians had been able to assert their rights to the land, accumulation among the elite was based on commerce, the export of cochineal to Spain and the selling of cheap cloth in Mexico's northern provinces. Both items were produced in Oaxaca, and cochineal was almost exclusively produced in this region. Production and export of cloth and cochineal supported Oaxaca's economic boom toward the end of the eighteenth century. The mercantile transactions were nucleated in Antequera, with its approximately 19,000 inhabitants, and merchants gained access to cochineal production in Indian hands through the *repartimiento* system, based on an alliance between merchants and local low-level colonial state bureaucrats. Thus, the elite's interests were tightly knit into the region.

Beginning in 1786, the Bourbon reforms attacked entrenched mercantile interests: *repartimientos* were forbidden, and secularization of church property diminished available capital; superimposing the *intendente* on lower-level bureaucrats meant a disruption of the earlier merchants-bureaucrats alliance, both in terms of political hierarchies and because the *intendente* replaced many of the former bureaucrats with Spaniards.

As the powerful Oaxacan merchants saw their earnings and prerogatives dwindle, they reacted through political and institutional channels. This struggle was driven and reinforced by developments since 1808. Napoleon's invasion of Spain and the subsequent establishment of the Cortes de Cádiz triggered discussions on sovereignty and legitimacy. Nucleated in the *ayuntamiento*, Oaxaca's elite debated and forwarded its antagonisms with Mexico City and Madrid while simultaneously building up support networks in other regions, coordinating actions and decisions with other regions, intensifying its grip on Oaxaca's rural hinterland, and creating a discourse of conflict and diversity denial. In 1810, Oaxaca requested the establishment of its own *consulado*. It was a capital city-based move that sought autonomy to control the internal affairs of the region. The presence of the *intendente* in Antequera reinforced the centrality of the capital city. To docu-

ment its centrality Antequera was renamed Oaxaca. The ultimate expression of the elite's desire for autonomy from Mexico City and Madrid was its request to abolish the intendant system rather than reinstall the *repartimiento*.

In the course of time, Hensel argues, Oaxaca's elite moved from opposing Madrid's reformist program to an assertion of autonomy. The *ayuntamiento* had become the institutional framework to express regional interests. This process, she argues (with not much evidence), went hand-in-hand with the gradual dissolution of a race/caste-based social stratification, which gave way to a more economic-oriented stratification based on the social mobility made possible by trade.

At the end, Hensel takes a stand with three major issues developed in the historiography on Mexico. First, she argues that, based on her findings in Oaxaca, particularly between 1808 and 1810, Creole-Spaniard antagonism is not a valid explanation of the independence movement in Oaxaca. In the *ayuntamiento* elections in 1814, Spaniards and creoles were equally represented, and there is no record of disruptive confrontations between the two groups. To the contrary, creoles and Spaniards closed ranks and proved to be very lukewarm about taking sides. Oaxaca's incorporation into the independence movement was a military, not an ideological decision. Second, the three-generational model of notable family networks is only partially applicable to Oaxaca. In the second generation, Oaxaca's elite already was unable to control (which in Hensel's definition means "to be there") local politics/institutions. Oaxaca's *ayuntamiento* retained much of its power and constituents (the merchants) after independence; it was the prime promoter of a federalist system of government after Agustín de Iturbide's resignation in 1823 and had more power than the superordained *diputación provincial* (composed of the lower clergy, bureaucrats, and "free professionals" and based on an Indian electorate). But the composition of the *ayuntamiento* changed in the 1820s. More people from non-notable families were elected to the *ayuntamiento*, the *diputación*, and even the congress. All this points toward the emergence of a political elite that was not concomitant with the provincial economic elite. Last but not least, Hensel argues that the federalism-centralism issue does not overlap with class interests. In contrast to other interpretations and other regions, in Oaxaca it was not the lower clergy and the intellectuals who proposed federalism (and Hensel warns about conflating federalism with liberalism) but big merchants, land and mine owners, no matter what their regional roots.

This is a very readable and thoroughly researched contribution to our understanding of the independence period through the lens of regional elites. It is a little slow in the first chapters but then moves to a dramatic interpretation of the meaning of local elite politics. Although not the main objective of the book, what seems to be a necessary extension of Hensel's interpretation of the workings of local power relations

and politics is an examination of how mercantile interests were structured in the region itself and between regions. Perhaps it is necessary to reevaluate the definition of what a region is (in rhetoric and reality) and to reinsert the region into "supraregional" economic and political processes. Doing so might open the boundaries of the "*positionsanalytische Ansatz*" and make it possible to follow up on "informal powers" (mentioned in the introduction but left aside thereafter).

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ENRIQUE KRAUZE. *Mexico: Biography of Power: A History of Modern Mexico, 1810–1996*. Translated by HANK HEIFETZ. New York: HarperCollins. 1997. Pp. xix, 872. \$35.00.

Whatever else may be said of this huge volume, chock-full of the insider's knowledge, engaging anecdotes, and personal opinion, it is not a history of the Republic of Mexico but, on the contrary, of Mexico City; it is the inspiration of a well-placed *chilango*. Rarely does Enrique Krauze cast his eyes on provincial Mexicans, a proclivity that leads to sundry distortions. No one doubts that the student protest of 1968 in Mexico City had ramifications, but why devote nearly forty pages to it but less than half that number to the years from 1982 to 1994, when cohorts Krauze admires plunged the country into bankruptcy?

The focus, for all that, is narrow. This is political history; economic and social dimensions, though touched upon, receive cursory treatment. This starts early, when the colonial era of three centuries receives short shrift. Yet the foundations of the republic rest on them, for a decaying Spain imposed its language, religion, and laws on a hybrid people, whose pre-Columbian ancestors antedate by centuries the conquest of 1521. The results of *mestizaje*, the racial fusion of Spaniard and Indian, require probing that transcends simply taking it for granted. As Guillermo Bonfil Batalla, the eclectic anthropologist wrote, national culture, despite the much acclaimed *mestizaje*, judged by language, religion, and laws, is basically *criollo*; pre-Columbians never sat at the banquet table.

The result, as the Chiapas uprising of 1994 testifies, is a bifurcated Mexico, a country where Euro-*mestizos* control politics, enjoy the economic bounty, and set cultural norms since the latter half of the last century. Today's bottom-heavy social pyramid mirrors the consequences of a colonial caste system largely based on race and skin color that almost always relegated outsiders to the trash heap. That divide, which Krauze makes light of, survived independence and the advent of the *Reforma* of the 1860s, even though Benito Juárez, its symbol, was born in an Indian village. With an exception or two, Euro-Mexicans—and, before them, Spaniards—have run Mexican affairs, with dire

results, as the terrible inequities in Mexican society verify.

Beyond that, one hunts in vain for an *hilo conductor*, a central theme: its place is taken by chronology. With independence in 1821, *criollos* replace Spaniards, and at mid-century, writes Krauze, who resurrects the old racist thesis of Andrés Molina Enríquez, *mestizos* climb the ladder of power. If blood is the key, this is logical, but the author fails to explain how the socio-economic structure, set in place by Spaniards and later modified by English and American capitalists, shaped national behavior.

A fundamental tenet of Krauze's thesis is that leaders tailor the history of a country: in short, history is made from the top down. *Campesinos* and workers exist, but never on stage. For Krauze, the key is *presidencialismo*, the omnipotence of the ruler. But how to explain the phenomenon if, after every six years, the emperor is shorn of his clothes? Is not the system, which presidents swear to defend, the real power behind the throne? If so, how and why did the system develop, and how does it operate? Unwilling to tackle these questions, Krauze simply writes about power as though it were merely personal, using capsule biographies of presidents. We learn where they were born, the schools they attended, who their parents were, and what psychological factors, in the author's opinion, help to explain behavior and power. Krauze leaves unexplored the dire effects of years of American meddling in Mexican affairs, which he usually condemns.

Most of the time, Krauze thinks highly of the presidents, although he castigates, as most scholars do, Antonio López de Santa Anna, the charlatan partly responsible for the loss of half of Mexico's territory. Yet not all presidents fare equally well. A man of conservative bent, Krauze writes glowingly of Plutarco Elías Calles and those who cut the ground out from under the "Revolution" of 1910. Although he castigates Miguel Alemán for his corruption, he makes clear that, economically, he began to correct the mistakes of Lázaro Cárdenas, the only president, as most of us recognize, who took seriously the vows of the Constitution of 1917, particularly the welfare of dirt farmers and Indians, agrarian reform, and national sovereignty. Again and again, Krauze writes that Cárdenas made fundamental errors, while neo-liberal economists who righted the ship of state, such as Antonio Ortiz Mena, minister of finance for two presidents, is "brilliant."

Krauze's sources lean to the right of the political spectrum. He pays homage to Manuel Gómez Morín, the founder of the Catholic Partido de Acción Nacional (National Action Party), and frequently cites the conservative poet and thinker, Octavio Paz, whose wisdom is never questioned. Krauze relies heavily on Daniel Cosío Villegas, journalist and historian and Krauze's mentor. Although he tells us that Cosío had written off the "Revolution" by 1946, Krauze never explains why. He writes that the administration of

Carlos Salinas, whose policies led to national bankruptcy, was the heyday of political and economic talent, of young men who were the "graduates of prestigious American universities" (p. 772) and who put into high gear the privatization of unproductive state enterprises. He applauds Salinas's espousal of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and chides him for his refusal to support a democratic opening, defined in political terms, but he utters not a word on the impact of the global economy on Mexico, and fails to discuss the invasion of the northern border by assembly plants of translational corporations that feast on cheap labor. Although Krauze ultimately concedes that something went awry, he never tells why. That, in a nutshell, is what went wrong with this study. As E. H. Carr used to insist, the fundamental duty of the historian is to ask "why?"—an obligation Krauze usually side steps.

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MIGUEL TINKER SALAS. *In the Shadow of the Eagles: Sonora and the Transformation of the Border during the Porfiriato*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1997. Pp. xi, 347. \$40.00.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, argues Miguel Tinker Salas, the northwestern Mexican state of Sonora was transformed from a regional backwater into a prosperous agricultural and mining economy simultaneously inspired and repelled by the over-bearing influence of U.S. capital and culture.

Sonora's hardy frontiersmen lived in towns and ranches, many originally founded by Spanish missionaries and settlers in river valleys or near natural harbors or mineral deposits. During the nineteenth century, Sonorans communicated with the outside world via Guaymas on the Gulf of California and by overland wagon trails that crossed into Arizona and central Mexico. They maintained a contentious coexistence with the region's diverse Indian population, relying on them as farmhands, mine workers, and servants while fighting a running war with the Apaches and periodically clashing with the Yaquis, Seris, and others.

Authorities referred to Indians as uncivilized, but they attempted final solutions by segregating Yaqui males and females and paying bounty hunters 300 pesos for each Apache scalp harvested. Ranchers and mine managers also submitted Indian workers to corporal punishment and forbade them to leave while indebted, a practice commonly referred to as debt peonage.

In urban areas, lack of funds and geographic isolation made public service unattractive, so local businessmen frequently held office and underwrote public works projects. Merchant elites included expatriates with names like Camou, Robinson, and Müller, who

made small fortunes importing European goods and smuggling out Sonoran silver.

Sonora's subsequent development, like that of much of Mexico, followed the construction of railroads that facilitated economic integration and access to new markets. By the 1880s, railroads connected the principal port of Guaymas, as well as the state capital and agricultural center of Hermosillo, with the international border at Nogales. Alongside the new railways, land values rose, new towns emerged, and mineral deposits became accessible.

The rising demand for copper, which existed in massive quantities along the Sonora-Arizona border, transformed the regional economy. U.S. entrepreneurs, led by Colonel William E. Greene at Cananea, invested heavily (over \$27 million) in Sonoran mines, and thousands of U.S. miners, managers, and technicians migrated to the area to build modern production facilities in the desert.

The success of U.S. capital and citizens, as well as the proximity of Arizona and California, encouraged Sonorans to emulate their northern neighbors. Local businessmen adopted U.S. business hours and advertising techniques, and elites sent their children to private schools in Los Angeles and Tucson. U.S. influence also permeated popular culture as men began wearing denim, English words crept into everyday use, and baseball became more popular than bull fighting.

The foreign presence in Sonora, however, had its underside. Mexican authorities rushed to grant outside investors special concessions and tax breaks while ignoring the entrepreneurial potential and hard work of their own citizens. Moreover, foreigners considered themselves culturally and racially superior to Mexicans, and they expected to be treated as such. Mexican leaders, who valued dollars more than popular support, ordered police to imprison citizens for insulting foreigners and allowed transnational firms to pay foreigners higher wages than Mexicans for the same job.

The bottom line told long-time dictator Porfirio Díaz and the *científicos*, his council of economic advisors, that capital should be favored over labor. In Sonora, General Luis Torres, Governor Rafael Izábal, and Vice-President Ramón Corral faithfully executed the president's policies and suppressed political dissent, rebellious Indians, and striking miners.

The economic depression of 1906–1907 revealed cracks in the economic foundation of the Díaz dictatorship, and the contested 1910 election provided discontented elites, workers, and Indians with the opportunity to mobilize support and mount a revolution. In Sonora, revolutionary sentiment emerged from the mining camps of Cananea and from elites upset over erosion of municipal autonomy to the centralizing state.

Tinker Salas provides many insights into Sonora's modern history. The book's strength lies in its colorful reconstruction of small-town society and culture at

mid-century and its skillful analysis of the contradictory impact of U.S. culture. The author also writes with compassion about oppressed Indians and workers and with clarity about the formation of elite society.

Tinker Salas similarly presents useful overviews of economic and political developments and detailed information about the mid-sized mining towns of Minas Prietas and La Colorada. On the other hand, he says little about the political economy of the mining industry and the largest mines at Cananea and Nacozari. His discussion of regional politics, moreover, largely omits consideration of labor movements and progressive political parties (notably the Partido Liberal Mexicano), and he could have explored more deeply the impact of U.S. influence on the outbreak of the revolution.

In sum, the book makes a significant contribution to our understanding of the social and cultural history of Sonora and the border region, and it joins a growing list of fine regional studies on late nineteenth-century Mexico. Readers seeking more detailed information on the revolution in Sonora can still profit from reading Héctor Aguilar Camín's classic study, *La frontera nómada: Sonora y la Revolución Mexicana* (1985).

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ALLEN WELLS and GILBERT M. JOSEPH. *Summer of Discontent, Seasons of Upheaval: Elite Politics and Rural Insurgency in Yucatán, 1876–1915*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1997. Pp. x, 406. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$18.95.

History as a discipline seeks more comprehensive, more integrated perspectives. How can we build on economically grounded social history, bring the state and politics back in, incorporate cultural contests and gender relations, and view local developments in national and global contexts? This study by Allen Wells and Gilbert M. Joseph of the emergence of the Mexican Revolution in Yucatan takes that challenge seriously. Focused on regional politics and the henequen economy so profitable to Mexican elites and to U.S. cordage interests as the twentieth century began, it details how regional elites acquired and maintained power through complex relations with economic actors in the United States and political leaders in Mexico City. Yet links to national leaders and international backers never spared Yucatan's elites the need to negotiate continuously with popular groups in the capital city of Mérida and across the countryside.

This comprehensive and integrated history leads to new understandings of Yucatan, Mexico, and revolution. The era of Porfirio Díaz (1876–1911) has long appeared to be a time of state consolidation, elite-dominated development, and popular subordination. Wells and Joseph demonstrate that in Yucatan—long offered as exemplary of Porfirian authoritarian rule—

politics, development, social relations, and labor systems remained contested. Rival elite factions simultaneously begged sanction in Mexico City while seeking popular support to demonstrate local power and to discredit rivals.

Rural social relations also emerge more complex. Estate production of henequen, long characterized as based on coercion approaching slavery, was maintained by combinations of land monopoly, coercion, and the provision of security to Maya workers and their families—a complex system organized around a hierarchical structure of patriarchy. And while elites and their estates consolidated dominance in the core of the henequen zone, at its fringes conflict persisted. There, estates sought land and new laborers, while villagers fought to retain lands, political autonomy, and local economies capable of sustaining families with only limited recourse to estate labor.

This new portrayal reveals Porfirian Yucatan, and by extension Porfirian Mexico, as a time of consolidating elite power and of continuing political and social conflicts between elite factions, between elites and popular political groups, urban and rural, and between estates and those who worked to produce Yucatan's fabled riches. The emergence of revolution after 1910 is much more understandable in that context.

Yet most histories suggest that popular revolutionary mobilization was minimal in Yucatan, that revolution came late and in limited ways, imposed from without by Constitutionalist forces in 1915. Wells and Joseph make such assertions problematic. With the collapse of the Díaz regime in the face of the Maderista mobilization of 1911, Yucatan experienced political ferment and the rise of rural groups demanding lands and community rights for villagers, along with better labor and living conditions on henequen estates. Some popular groups allied politically with elite factions, while others asserted violent demands that were clearly revolutionary. No popular leader claimed regional power. But after 1911, no regional leader operated without negotiating with diverse popular groups demanding radical transformations. No revolutionary faction triumphed in Yucatan before 1915; numerous revolutionary mobilizations did pave the way for the "revolution from without" after 1915.

A primary argument of the study is that events from 1876 to 1915 created a historical trajectory of continuous political contest and periodic violent conflict, leading to the revolutionary transformations of 1915–1924. An epilogue tracing links into that explicitly revolutionary era would confirm the argument and make the book more meaningful to readers not already grounded in the details of Yucatecan history.

Overall, this analysis of Yucatan should bring new directions to histories of modern Mexico. The era of Porfirian power and peace now appears less powerful and less peaceful. Conflicts inherent in the limited and fragile political consolidation of the late nineteenth century persisted into the revolutionary era. The Porfirian decades brought no unchallenged authoritarian

consolidation; they were no mere background to revolution. Historical continuities emerge as essential to understanding a long era of conflictive changes.

Finally, this regional history emphasizes that mobilized popular forces may have revolutionary impact without claiming the state in political triumph. In Yucatan, as elsewhere in Mexico, the poor and exploited never took control of the state, never simply transformed society in their own interests. But in Yucatan, as across Mexico, popular forces did mobilize and demand through political coalitions and violent assertions that they be part of the process of redefining the nation, the regions, local social relations of production, and the cultural contests essential to all of these. That they claimed such participation, against the resistance of elites who presumed to rule, defines the Mexican Revolution in Yucatan as well as nationally.

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MARY KAY VAUGHAN. *Cultural Politics in Revolution: Teachers, Peasants, and Schools in Mexico, 1930–1940*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 262. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$17.95.

In this fine book, Mary Kay Vaughan argues that the cultural change that issued from the Mexican Revolution was the product of a "dialogue between state and society" over the state's cultural project. The school was a crucial arena for that dialogue, in the course of which "rural communities carved out space for preserving local identities and cultures, while the central state succeeded in nurturing an inclusive, multiethnic, populist nationalism based upon its stated commitment to social justice and development" (p. 7). The achievement of such a "hegemonic consensus," which Vaughan contends is unique in Latin America, helps to explain the longevity of Mexico's postrevolutionary state. It also explains, however, the belief among Mexicans that they have a right to protest injustice and to the gradual creation of a civil society with the power to undermine the single-party state that the revolution made.

In pursuing this argument, Vaughan focuses on the federal schools of the Secretaría de Educación Pública (SEP) and on the 1930s, which she considers the key decade for the developments she describes. The SEP became broadly involved in state-building at the end of the 1920s. During the early 1930s, SEP teachers were at the center of the controversy over "socialist education," which attacked peasant religious practices in an effort to secularize the countryside and thus foment national identity. President Lázaro Cárdenas called an end to the anticlerical onslaught in 1935, but even as he did so, he directed teachers to mobilize peasants on behalf of his progressive state and nation-building agenda.

For Vaughan, the arrival of Cárdenas's educational project in the countryside was no simple imposition.

Rather, outcomes in a given region were shaped by the interaction of national, state, and local politics, and the Cárdenas regime often sought to empower local actors. To examine the implementation of SEP policies, Vaughan develops four case studies: Tecamachalco and the heavily Indian Sierra Norte in the state of Puebla; and the right and left banks of Sonora's Yaqui river, the former inhabited by Yaqui Indians and the latter by *mestizo* migrants. In both Puebla and Sonora, radical governors began the 1930s using federal teachers to organize peasants, but by 1935 more conservative governors had taken office, making support from the national government critical to the ability of teachers to carry out Cárdenas's policies. Still more significant for the implementation of those policies was the degree to which teachers and their goals were accepted in peasant villages. Ethnic composition, histories of schooling, and participation in the revolutionary fighting conditioned local responses to SEP initiatives. Vaughan shows that the Yaqui Indians and the communities of the Sierra Norte tended to resist federal schooling in order to protect regional autonomy, while residents of the two more *mestizo* areas negotiated with the teachers and, through them, with the national government. Even for her two Indian examples, however, Vaughan argues that, during the 1930s, the SEP helped lay the foundation for future hegemonic relationships.

Vaughan's writing is clear and largely jargon free, her material is organized effectively, and the depth of her research is impressive. Leaving no doubt about the variety of SEP experience and the role of local attitudes in shaping it, her case-study approach convincingly demonstrates both the complexity of the state and the lasting limits on its reach in the 1930s. Vaughan also takes us beyond the anticlericalism of the educational program—which has drawn most of the attention of other scholars—making clear that it was only part of the story and placing it in appropriate context. Finally, her careful empiricism nicely transcends some overly simple assumptions, showing us agrarianism and Catholic resistance coming together at Tecamachalco and Cárdenas supporting Yaqui traditionalists—with their emphasis on autonomy—even as he sought to forge a centralized state.

One might question whether Gramscian hegemony—crammed full of coercion and consent, local patriotism and national identity, negotiation and, at times, it seems, even resistance—is too loose a bag in Vaughan's hands to be of much use as an analytical tool. One might complain that in covering so much ground in two hundred pages, Vaughan sometimes writes at a level of generality that leaves us wanting to hear more of the voices of her peasant subjects. But these are products of the book's strengths rather than shortcomings; they do not detract from the author's accomplishment. This will surely be among the best of the many new works on *Cardenismo* that are now

beginning to appear in print. Anyone interested in modern Mexico will want to read it.

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LANCE GRAHN. *The Political Economy of Smuggling: Regional Informal Economies in Early Bourbon New Granada*. (Dellplain Latin American Studies, number 35.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview of HarperCollins. 1997. Pp. xvii, 263. \$55.00.

This book has several merits. It is, first, a very useful contribution to the history of New Granada: by focusing on the illegal commerce of the coastal provinces of Cartagena, Riohacha, and Santa Marta, Lance Grahn offers revealing glimpses of the realities of economic and political life in regions that have received inadequate attention from historians of colonial Colombia. Second, it enhances our understanding of the problems that Spanish governments faced when, after the long period of Habsburg laxity, the Bourbon monarchy made its first attempts to tighten control over its American dominions. Third, the book throws a good deal of light on the causes, practices, and consequences of contraband trading, and it is particularly good on showing how smuggling tended to corrupt the officers of both church and state and to undermine respect for the law among the king's subjects. It is, in fact, at this point that Grahn's book engages with a theme of central interest to all historians of Spanish America: the ability of Spanish Americans to reshape the rules of government in accord with their own interests and needs.

In recent years, historians have shifted away from study of the institutional structures and policies imposed from the center and "from above" toward study of regional economies and societies, local politics, and, in general, history seen "from below." What has emerged is a much less tidy but far more interesting picture of Spain's American empire, in which the crown's colonial subjects appear as active, often transgressive players in political life. Behind the ordered sets of rules lay a richly divergent practice, which government could do little to curb and which gave Americans a considerable degree of freedom outside the law. The illicit trading networks that are the subject of this book are an excellent example of such *de facto* autonomy at work. Here, in the large-scale contraband commerce that permeated the Caribbean coasts of Colombia, we see clearly the importance of informal accommodations over formal rules and the multiple evasions and negotiations that took place within a colonial system built on regulations that the metropolis was simply incapable of enforcing. Here were regional economies that enjoyed an informal free trade that made nonsense of Spain's mercantilist regulations; here were local governments that were so corrupted by the profits of illegal trade that they invariably undermined, even reversed, the central government's efforts to stem smuggling; here, too, were

opportunities for Indian peoples to exploit the weaknesses in the Spanish political and economic order as a means to preserve their freedom from domination and exploitation.

The book raises some questions that deserve more careful consideration. If smuggling provided coastal regions with essential goods, how did it relate to trade in the interior, particularly in gold mining regions? Grahn's estimate of mining production at the end of the seventeenth century is far too low, and his assumption that the infrequency of the transatlantic fleets was a symptom of New Granada's mining depression is equally unwarranted: in fact, gold output was rising and low figures for gold exports to Spain merely disguise fraudulent practices within, as well as outside the *Carrera de Indias*. His assertion that contraband control exacerbated social tensions is also based on weak evidence. If the poor were more likely to suffer sanctions than the rich, it is also possible that smuggling networks crossed class lines, creating vertical alliances which bound groups together rather than simply aggravating horizontal class and ethnic divisions. One would also have appreciated more detailed comment on the culture which made such widespread corruption possible: how, for example, did leading officials and clerics justify their law-breaking activities to themselves and others? And, concerning its consequences, did contraband and corruption do more to strengthen than to weaken Spanish hegemony by providing practical flexibility in a theoretically rigid system of control? Some engagement with the literature on office-holding in *ancien régime* states and on political corruption in modern underdeveloped countries might have helped to extend the analysis in fruitful ways.

These caveats apart, the book is an engaging study of its subject. If we knew that smuggling was a major substitute for Spanish transatlantic trade during the later seventeenth and early eighteenth century, Grahn has given us a clear and detailed analysis of its organization, scale, and development in a strategic region of the empire, and, in so doing, he has added significantly to our knowledge of the impact and experience of Spanish colonial government in provincial America.

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RICHMOND F. BROWN, *Juan Fermín de Aycinena: Central American Colonial Entrepreneur, 1729–1796*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997. Pp. xvii, 298. \$34.95.

Evidence has accumulated rapidly in recent years as to the origins, networks, and economic behavior of the most successful merchants in Spanish America, especially in the second half of the eighteenth century. Young Spanish men, often lesser sons of minor regional notables, went to America to seek opportunity. Usually they began there by working for already established uncles or other relatives, and, as they

branched out on their own, they made use of extended family networks or of businessmen from their home regions. Young men from Navarre and the Basque provinces, pushed out by primogeniture and other factors, were especially clannish, aggressive, and successful, and they aroused considerable jealousy both in Spain and Spanish America.

Richmond F. Brown studies the career of one of these Navarran migrants, the only one in Guatemala who became very rich and powerful by Mexican standards of the time. Brown wants to know how he reached that status so quickly and what were the uses to which he put his wealth and power. Moreover, he proposes to use the story of Juan Fermín de Aycinena as a window into "the politics, economy, and society of late colonial Central America" (p. 8).

Aycinena had fair success in Mexico, where he first settled, but the real foundation of his career, once he moved to Guatemala, was marriage to a rich creole, who brought a huge dowry with her. His use of this advantage, a ready-made "start up" capital fund, was, however, extraordinary. He came to control as much as a quarter of Central American long-distance trade and took on representatives in all the main towns of Central America, in several Mexican centers, in the Caribbean, Peru, and Spain, always relying most on relatives and fellow Navarrans.

Married three times, Aycinena established ties with most of the elite clans of Guatemala, as did his sons and imported nephews. He used his appointments to public office, as well as those in public office, state and church funds and loans, and individual officials and clerics to further his ambitions. His core business was exporting basic Central American commodities, especially indigo in its boom days, and importing European goods and textiles. He collected indigo by advancing money and goods to producers against future harvests. His imported materials were sold wholesale or distributed via his agents, including regional officials and parish clergy, who forced sales on those below them. The whole system was based on networks of subordinates and agents and the manipulation of credit. A large part of Aycinena's wealth consisted of outstanding loans, and once in a while he appeared overextended and exposed. He was driven and tireless but also flexible and adaptive, switching to land ownership when forced to foreclose on bad debts, or when war closed sea routes, and turning cash into social prestige, a noble title, and continuity of family wealth via entailment in his middle age.

Brown has added detail and variety to the picture we already had of successful Bourbon merchants in the colonies, and he has done so in an area, Central America, where merchants have been little studied. He uses a relatively small number of publications and notarial and other archival documents, including the Aycinena papers, which are privately held. Brown's writing is spare, plain, and to the point. One could wish for a more extended and nuanced explanation of the culture that produced such men, of their motives and

aspirations, and more discussion of their personal lives and behavior. But the book accomplishes its specified goals and will be of considerable use to students of eighteenth-century Spanish-American economics and trade and of late colonial Central America. Above all, it is a vivid example of the articulation, and vast possibilities, of clan-based systems of communications and trade, still with us today in many parts of the world.

MURDO J. MACLEOD
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ARTURO TARACENA ARRIOLA. *Invencción criolla, sueño ladino, pesadilla indígena: Los Altos de Guatemala, de región a Estado, 1740–1850*. San José, Costa Rica: Porvenir. 1997. Pp. 435.

Specialists aside, few remember today that once there were six Spanish-speaking republics in Central America. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the elites of Quezaltenango repeatedly attempted to carve a separate state of “Los Altos” out of the western highlands of Guatemala. They succeeded briefly in 1838–1839 and again in 1848, only to be violently reincorporated each time back into Guatemala. This book, handsomely produced and with a liberal use of maps, details the history of Los Altos separatism and the reasons for its failure.

The book’s central argument is clear and the evidence convincing. Alienated from the central government by economic disadvantage and political marginalization, western elite creoles and *ladinos* (in Guatemala any non-Indian) nurtured a growing sense of regional identity in the late colonial/early national period, an identity developed largely in opposition to the politicians and merchants of Guatemala City. Allied with them was a rural *ladino* peasantry, dispersed in settlements throughout the western highlands and along the Pacific coast, armed and organized by the state into a rudimentary militia, and locked in long-running conflicts with the local indigenous majority, particularly over land. Demographic increases and migration aggravated these problems. Whereas the successful uprising in the eastern La Montaña that carried Rafael Carrera to power in 1838–1839 gained strength from an inter-ethnic alliance, for the *ladinos* and creoles of Los Altos “not even at the cost of the success of their own regionalism could the elites [or the poor *ladinos*] bring themselves to question . . . repression of the Indians” (p. 226). They never articulated or, apparently, imagined a program more inclusive than their own most short-sighted economic and racist self interest; *patria* meant not simply “not Guatemala” but also “not Indian”. It is hardly to be wondered that the indigenous population opposed a proto-nationalism that held nothing for them but increased taxes, forced labor, and land loss, and, in spite of the disparity in armed strength, the highland Indians proved repeatedly that they were ready to resort to violence to protect their interests.

Highland separatist schemes of the 1820s had looked toward Mexico for relief, but when it became clear that as part of Mexico, Quezaltenango would play second fiddle to Ciudad Real interest shifted to the possibility of independence within the Central American federation. Central American states other than Guatemala generally supported such a bid precisely because it would weaken the overweening power of Guatemala. The chaos surrounding Carrera’s successful revolt gave the Los Altos separatists their opportunity, and they declared independence in February, 1838. Once Carrera and the Conservatives had consolidated power in Guatemala City, however, capital politicians united against the infant republic and moved to destroy it. What is striking is how easily they succeeded. The Indians of the highlands rallied to Carrera’s *república de indios* and not only refused to pay taxes or to fight for Los Altos but, once fighting broke out, welcomed the opportunity to slaughter *ladinos*. Having let the genie of anti-*ladino* revolt out of the bottle, the Conservatives spent much of the next decade trying to stuff it back in. The Indians had lost the “habit of respect,” they feared, and now threatened the country with a “Guerra de las Castas.” This agitation peaked in the late 1840s when Carrera briefly abandoned power and went into exile in Mexico. Los Altos leaders again proclaimed independence, but the effort was poorly prepared and fell apart almost immediately. Only in 1871, riding the crest of a new coffee prosperity, did western elites triumph and then by seizing control not of the region but of all Guatemala.

This is an impressive piece of work, but its strength is at once its weakness. The book provides much more detail on the history of Los Altos separatism, and particularly on the minutia of 1830s politics, than most readers will need or care to know. It presumes, too, a detailed knowledge of federation politics and post-independence Central American history; characters such as the evil Chatfield, for example, appear and disappear *ex machina*, with the clear assumption that the reader knows who they are and understands the baggage they carry. At this level, the book contains very much for Central Americanists to ponder. But the book’s first one hundred pages provide a broad discussion of “region” and “regionalism” in Latin America and of the origins of Los Altos separatism in the politics and economics of late colonial Central America. This material is strongly recommended to anyone interested in nineteenth-century Latin America.

DAVID MCCREERY
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KENNETH MILLS. *Idolatry and Its Enemies: Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640–1750*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 337. \$55.00.

“Thoughtful,” “nuanced,” “well-organized,” and “detailed” are all words that came to mind while reading

Kenneth Mills's book, whose contribution to understanding the process of evangelization and conversion complements Sabine MacCormack's *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru* (1991). Mills turns his back on the ever-popular Cuzco and the Incas to focus on the conversion of a subset of local people—part of a population of about 131,000 Andean parishioners (in 1664)—who lived in the Archdiocese of Lima in mid-colonial times (1640–1750). He finds that native Andean religion, or what Spanish detractors called “idolatry,” was not unitary or fixed in time. Indeed, he posits that it was changing while enduring. Andean beliefs and practices survived because they were transformed. Andeans resisted Christianity and reacted to its presence. But, when they thought it was necessary, they adopted selected aspects of Christianity as they reinterpreted and managed their world. Following such changes and adaptation, Mills reconstructs the history of the Christian faith as it was introduced (or re-introduced) into the Central Andes.

Before beginning his description and analysis, Mills establishes the atmosphere that favored extirpation, one that, to paraphrase the author, changed native religious “error” (from the Spanish point of view) from a collection of survivals, adaptations, and deviations from a Christian idealized norm into a perceived enemy of the Catholic Church. Extirpation, which was motivated by personal conviction as well as political considerations, was controversial from the start. Proponents included Archbishops Pedro de Villagómez and Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero; the Viceroy, the Prince of Esquilache; and the Jesuits. Opponents included the Bishops of Arequipa, Huamanga, Trujillo, and Cuzco. The duration of campaigns reflected events at the highest levels. For example, it is worth noting that the day after Lobo Guerrero's death, the cathedral chapter abruptly halted extirpation activities within its jurisdiction.

In the next three chapters, Mills reviews the evidence for idolatry, namely the surviving manifestations of Andean religion. His discussion of *huacas*, places or objects that are deemed sacred or deserving of reverence, shows how important it was for the extirpators to destroy them or incorporate them into the Christian sphere, thus extinguishing their memory. The same holds for the *chancas* (objects revered by a lineage) and *conopas* (family or personal representations of the divine, associated with fertility). These gods, forces, spirits, deities, or representations thereof were thought to influence the agricultural and pastoral bases of local life. For this reason, their memory and rituals persisted, under the guidance and direction of religious specialists. These specialists were not just the equivalent of a priesthood. Some healed; some divined; others interpreted dreams. Curses were the specialty of others; and a few were feared, because people thought that they could kill. These specialists were respected by the Andeans but labeled as sorcerers and witches by the Europeans.

What these extirpating campaigns indicated was that the missionary role of the church had until then largely failed. The shortcomings of evangelization posited the need for reformation and the reintegration of backsliders into the orthodox fold. Thus, these campaigns also offered Christians hope: hope that in obliterating or trying to obliterate the objects of devotion and the personnel and practices of idolatry, they could begin anew to work toward a potential Christian triumph. Yet the torture and humiliation that accompanied the extirpators' campaigns actually taught the Andeans to withdraw and keep their true thoughts to themselves (p. 285).

After this solid reporting, Mills concludes that the often-used word “syncretism” is too facile a description of the process he finds in his sources. He also rejects “religious duality” (p. 248). Instead, he argues for a “widespread mixture” (p. 243), an active “intermingling” (p. 248) of religious concepts and principles. Many Andeans lived somewhere between Indian dogmatizers and parish priests, he continues. Individuals were known to seek assistance from one tradition and, if that did not work, they tried the other; in other words, Andeans accepted divine assistance from wherever they could find it. This, he asserts, is the essence of the “creative change” (p. 284) that heralded the beginnings of Andean Christianity.

It is lamentable that, in all this tremendous effort to present the beliefs of native provincial inhabitants by systematizing the information from scores of primary sources, the author brings readers no closer to recognizing the broader cosmological principles that such statements represent. This was, of course, not Mills's stated primary purpose. But, he has read, I believe, most of the material he needs to write a summary or outline of native cosmology that would have been helpful both in understanding better the interaction and mixing with Christian elements that he documents and in assessing more precisely the extent of change. As it is, this book will remain, I predict, a standard, useful reference for students interested in doing these things.

SUSAN E. RAMÍREZ
De Paul University

DEBORAH POOLE. *Vision, Race, and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World*. (Princeton Studies in Culture/Power/History.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1997. Pp. xiv, 263. Cloth \$69.50, paper \$19.95.

This book by Deborah Poole is undeniably important, although it is not exactly an effortless read. It is a history of things seen between East and West that aims to grasp how the modern perception of the “Andean world” was formed. Poole examines travelers' accounts, scientific surveys, operas, and novels as well as various sorts of pictorial images made in or about the Andean region (mostly Peru) from the 1730s to the 1940s. Above all, this book presents a thoughtful

analytical proposition and will doubtless make for necessary reading.

Poole bases her analysis on the concept of a "visual economy," the production and circulation of graphic images within cultural systems "through which graphic images are appraised, interpreted, and assigned historical, scientific, and aesthetic worth" (p. 10). Such thinking assumes that visions entail an internal order, a logic, and shared meanings. It also implies that ways of seeing are marked by unequal social relations and by unavoidable links with the production and distribution of material wealth (that is, with a modern class structure). A "visual economy" is also a global phenomenon: the transatlantic circulation of images.

This schemata is applied over a chronological line marked by Foucauldian "epochal" shifts. Ironically, Michel Foucault has become our contemporary Charles Darwin, the provider of our histories' standard notion of time: epistemic shifts and emergence of "biopower." In Poole's book, this chronology works as a fixed script that nevertheless acquires animation through the input of human desire and fantasy. Through the old human habit of a sensual imagination, "visual economy" loses its sterness and becomes a messy (chronologically, economically, and politically) exchange and appropriation of visions. The examination thus seems to close the circle from matter to spirit and back to matter; from Karl Marx to Sigmund Freud and back to Marx through Foucault, Roland Barthes, and Michael Taussig.

The analytical proposition is then employed in an ambitious attempt to elucidate the visual dimension of "modernity" and imperialism. In the richest of the chapters, Poole deals with Charles Marie de la Condamine's account of his 1730s trip from Ecuador to Guyana. To that she adds short analyses of the reports of French scientific expeditions to late colonial Peru. Both serve as background to understand the important vogue that Peruvian motifs enjoyed in eighteenth-century French letters: a vogue epitomized by ballets, novels, and dramas that acquired remarkable popularity, from the ballet *Les Indes Galantes* (1735) to Voltaire's *Alzire* (1736). Here Poole is at her best, although she never fully answered her own question: why Peru?

Poole also deals with the contrast between the Comte de Buffon's accounts and the first-hand commentaries on South America by such naturalists and travelers as Alcides d'Orbigny and Alexander von Humboldt. For her, Humboldt's work on South America "must be understood as part of a new economy of vision in which the perceptual principles of Buffon's concentric and tactile world would be replaced by a typological or physiognomic discourse of visual experience" (p. 70). In fact, the stimulating schemata somehow contrast with the actual proportion of the historical evidence examined. A handful of depiction of *tupadas* (covered *criollo* women of Lima, painted by Johann Moritz Rugendas and Léonce Angrand), for example, are interpreted as proof that the *ancien*

régime in Peru persisted thanks both to women's "agency" and to European sexual fantasies and typological will.

The images used to examine the biologist nineteenth century are the photographs known as *cartes de visite* (calling cards), albeit Poole uses this term to refer to all sorts of ethnographic photos and stamps that were not, strictly speaking, *cartes de visite*. In addition, the book deals with a descriptive (propaganda) book on Lima (1866) by Manuel Atanasio Fuentes, with the works (1900s-1920s) of artist Juan Manuel Figueroa Aznar, and with some 1930s portraits of Peruvian families. In interpreting these sources, an unyielding theorizing makes the invisible visible, at the risk of sometimes making the obvious invisible.

In light of Poole's determined theorizing, her book would benefit from an equally vigorous deconstruction of the more mundane notions that contextualize her investigation. The meaning of such ideas as "modernity," "Andean World," and South America are, indeed, taken for granted. I do not share Poole's confidence in these terms, nor the theorizing impulses that lead her to derive an entire botany from the simplest flower. And yet, Poole has made us see what a historian's naked eyes cannot see. She shows that the real art of historical dissection lies not in the size of the corpus dissected but in the sharpness and skillful handling of the knife that cuts.

MAURICIO TENORIO
University of Texas

MARK THURNER. *From Two Republics to One Divided: Contradictions of Postcolonial Nationmaking in Andean Peru*. (Latin America Otherwise: Languages, Empires, Nations.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 203. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$16.95.

In this important book, Mark Thurner examines the contradictory place of Andean Indians in the Republic of Peru. He perceptively outlines the disagreements among the political elite about the Andean population, demonstrating that, while statemakers in Peru and other Spanish-American republics concurred that the republic should be stratified, they differed about the exact position of Indians. Thurner excels at incorporating Indians themselves into these debates and struggles, showing how they manipulated various ideological codes. Unfortunately, the chapters that carry this central question into the second half of the nineteenth century do not maintain the same level of analytical rigor and clarity that characterize the initial sections on the war of independence and its aftermath.

Thurner provides a pathbreaking analysis of peasants' use of republican discourse. Particularly in chapter two, "Unimagined Communities," he demonstrates how Indians took advantage of the ambivalent terms "Indians" and "Peruvians," oscillating between the roles of tribute-paying subjects—a colonial category that persisted well into the republican period—and propertied citizens. In Thurner's view, Indians were

not trapped in the contradictions of creole state building but instead took advantage of, or at least accentuated, these tensions. In explaining changes in the place of Indians during the transition from colony to republic, he highlights the rise of Indian mayors and the eclipse of local ethnic authorities, *caciques*. This section moves gracefully among a number of topics, particularly political battles in Lima and those on the ground in Huaraz in the central Andes. In doing so, the author not only provides an important new perspective on republican Peru but also contributes to wider theoretical debates about the lower classes, ethnicity, and state formation.

Subsequent chapters are less satisfying. When attempting to show how the tensions between the divided upper classes and the Indian population revealed themselves before and after the War of the Pacific (1879–1883) and during the Atusparia Uprising (1885) based in the Huaraz area, Thurner's social analysis of Indians is quite thin, and the narrative is tepid. Thurner does not portray with any detail the peasant population of the Huaraz area. He fails to address the issue of Indian communities' internal differences and old-fashioned yet crucial questions such as what the Indians produced. I also did not find his interpretation of Atusparia as novel as he purports. Although Thurner sharply criticizes other social scientists who have worked on this uprising, many historians working on Latin America have examined, like Thurner, both national and local contexts, taken into consideration multiple ideologies or platforms, and searched for the peasant voice. In the same sense, Thurner's examination of the upper classes contributes little not found in the classic works of Jorge Basadre and the publications of more recent generations of social historians. Despite the originality of his interpretation of the Indians' views and manipulation of the discourses and policies espoused by representatives of the republican state, he seems to have missed the opportunity to rethink the late nineteenth century in Peruvian history.

Critics of the opaque writing of various theoretical schools will find more ammunition here. This is a shame, as the author proves himself capable in other sections of turning a nice phrase and of building on his play on words about *unimagined communities*. Throughout the book, Thurner attempts to translate the Peruvian case into the framework of postcolonial and subaltern studies. In so doing, he often slights the Peruvian historiography and, in my mind, does not accent his own arguments.

The sections on peasants' uncomfortable place in the republic and their use of the ambiguities of postcolonial politics make this an important and innovative contribution to the modern history of the Andes. I do not believe, however, that Thurner succeeds in his goal of mapping out the position or predicament of Andean Indians from the perspective of subaltern and postcolonial studies. Readers will

learn a great deal from the first half of the book, but they may be disappointed by the second half.

CHARLES F. WALKER
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Davis

TERESA A. MEADE. *"Civilizing" Rio: Reform and Resistance in a Brazilian City, 1889–1930*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1997. Pp. xi, 212. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$19.95.

With slavery abolished in 1888 and imperial government replaced by a federal republic a year later, Brazilians (or at least some Brazilians) at the turn of the century sought to project themselves as citizens of the civilized—by which they meant European—world. Rather than remain condemned by a heritage of racial miscegenation, undeniably visible in the faces and bodies of millions of Brazilians, elites at the turn of the century took comfort in a conviction that miscegenation would eventually result in "whitening" and persons of color would gradually disappear. The other visible legacies of poverty, disease, crime, and disorder, allegedly caused by the poor in their vile slums, were something white(er) Brazilians could do something about. Inspired by Georges Eugène Haussmann's redesign of Paris in the 1860s, a plan was underway by 1902 to rebuild Rio de Janeiro, the nation's political and financial capital and its busiest port. The slums were demolished. Popularly called *cortiços*, or beehives, because of their densely packed and irregular structures, they clogged the city center and were seen by the rich as the locus of every kind of contagion, from the miasmas that caused disease to the low morals that bred social degradation and crime. Hills were razed, streets straightened and widened, and dilapidated shopfronts replaced with modern facades. Cutting through the maze of narrow and dark alleyways, the elegant Avenida Central celebrated the whole achievement, opening the city to sunlight and health-giving sea breezes and, at night, dispelling the darkness with a parade of ornate, electric street lights. The National Library, the Museu de Bellas Artes, and the Municipal Theater, itself a French imitation, graced the entrance to the avenue as gathering places for the rich. And that was the point: the filthy poor had been evicted, pushed to the outer neighborhoods, while the central city became a showplace of modernity.

Teresa A. Meade's concern is with the class relations embedded in those transformations and, especially, with the ways working people responded. Hardly the beneficiaries of modern improvements, the working poor instead paid escalating tram and train fares to get to their now distant places of work, and they still were without plumbing or electricity. Faced with the vacillations of an economy largely dependent on foreign markets, in which food and rent prices could soar while wages dropped, they fought back. They rioted, disrupting rail travel by tearing up tracks, building barricades,

and setting fire to tram cars; they destroyed street lights and attacked the foreign-owned Light and Power Company or the gas works, the providers of services that made Rio de Janeiro a glittering modern place from which they, the working poor, were firmly excluded. They directed their pent-up anger not at employers but rather at government and municipal authorities. Drawing from the work of Manuel Castells, Meade argues that the working poor fought bloody street battles over the allocation of urban spaces and urban resources.

It is the history of class conflict, but with a twist. In the early 1900s, the working people of Rio de Janeiro were not primarily industrial workers who disputed low wages or long hours but street vendors, day laborers, haulers of goods, and domestic servants, whom Meade describes as the casually and marginally employed. Provoked by a newly levied tax, a fare increase, hikes in food or rent prices, or a mandatory vaccination regulation, working people exploded, sometimes after a more peaceable petition was ignored, sometimes not. They protested, Meade tells us, not as producers but as consumers. And they did so not from ties that belonged to the work place—places too scattered, too isolating, too variable to provide a base for resistance—but rather from the sturdier solidarities formed in the communities in which they lived. This expanded understanding of working-class struggle to include those who lived and worked without connection to organized trade union movements is both the originality and value of this book.

Here, too, lies the problem. Meade assumes more than she demonstrates the community ties that she relies on to explain collective, public action. The poor, expelled from familiar neighborhoods in 1902, had little time to forge the new solidarities that produced the vaccination riot of 1904. Her point would be more persuasive had she shown us something of what life was like in the newly constituted slums. Her reliance on the daily newspaper, the *Jornal do Brasil* (which assumed the role of championing the causes of the poor, she tells us, without explaining why or by whose decision), and on official ministerial reports does not take us as close to the routine patterns of daily living as her idea of community requires. Since the late 1970s, when Meade completed the bulk of the research (although not, to be fair, the bulk of the reflection that has deepened and broadened the interpretation she offers), others have found details in civil and criminal court records, for example, suggesting that there is rich material by which to discover the workings of community life and its points of intersection with police and municipal authorities. All of this could contribute more to our understanding of the political culture of the poor.

Meade shows us even less of the elites and their foreign, principally British partners, who, she says, designed, financed, and profited from urban renovations. Although Mauricio Font, whom Meade cites, argues that coffee planters (not the debt-ridden Rio

planters, but the more vigorous *paulista* planters) hardly formed a block and at least implies that economic and political interests did not neatly or necessarily coincide, Meade is content to portray them as undifferentiated, nameless and voiceless, but powerful. How were influential slum owners persuaded in 1902 to forego lucrative rents when their counterparts in the 1870s had successfully resisted losing their properties despite claims about a healthier city? And the power of British investors, especially after 1914, deserves to be examined more closely; judging by the hardship imposed on a British-owned flour mill even earlier when the docks were moved, they had played little part in the decision making. It is “real people and in a real context” whom we require.

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STEVEN C. TOPIK. *Trade and Gunboats: The United States and Brazil in the Age of Empire*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1997. Pp. viii, 301. \$55.00.

Steven C. Topik has written an admirable monograph in the genre of international political economy. He analyzes the interaction between domestic politics and foreign policy in Brazil and the United States in the early 1890s. The focus is on the Blaine-Mendonça reciprocal trade treaty signed by the two republics in January 1891. The treaty was intended to stimulate increased trade by giving Brazilian sugar, coffee, and hides duty-free entry into the United States in return for a twenty-five percent tariff reduction on many U.S. manufactured and agricultural exports to Brazil. Topik is interested in how the treaty generated support and opposition in each country as well as the results of the treaty and their implications for the future. Interestingly, this is the first scholarly study of U.S.-Latin American commerce and trade negotiation in the nineteenth century. Furthermore, it is one of the few studies of U.S. foreign economic policy that takes seriously the domestic political context of the non-U.S. partner.

Topik begins by setting the scene in the two countries. His portrait of the United States in the 1880s and 1890s differs significantly from the thesis of an imperialist trade offensive described by Walter LaFeber and other scholars of the “Wisconsin School.” Based on a rich analysis of the political party scene, Topik argues convincingly that the treaty’s U.S. advocates aimed to broaden Republican Party appeal (especially in the agricultural Midwest) and to exploit popular resentment against the trusts (especially in sugar) rather than to mount a coordinated commercial campaign. He sees the latter, in the form of “corporate liberalism,” as coming well after the extension of direct or indirect U.S. territorial control to Cuba, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines.

For the Brazilian side, Topik tells a less well-known story. The overthrow of the Brazilian Empire in 1889

had led to rule by decree and a military dictatorship from 1891 to 1894. The latter regime, under Marshal Floriano Peixoto, was committed to a nationalist economic policy, including industrialization. But the government supported the Blaine-Mendonça treaty, thus apparently compromising its goal of protecting domestic industry. Beset by rebellions in the south and a naval revolt in the bay of Rio de Janeiro, the Brazilian regime saw the commercial link to the U.S. as offering a badly needed source of political legitimacy. Thus, Topik finds that immediate *ad hoc* issues of domestic politics prevailed in both countries.

What of the treaty's effects on trade? They proved minimal, at least in the short run, as subsequent trade fluctuations had more to do with market forces than tariff considerations. It should also be noted that expecting such immediate results from a new trade treaty was hardly realistic. Both exporters and importers needed more than a few years to respond to the incentive of even large price changes. This was especially true given the notoriously disorganized state of U.S. commercial infrastructure in South America. In fact, U.S. economic penetration into Brazil made little progress until after World War I.

The reader will find a number of other rewards in Topik's book. It includes, for example, the first fully documented account of U.S. intervention in the Brazilian naval revolt of 1893–1894, when an extraordinary armada of privately financed U.S. ships added decisively to the Brazilian government's successful response to the siege by its own navy. There is also interesting detail on the U.S. trade rivalry with Britain, the dominant economic power in Brazil as in all of South America.

Finally, Topik's crisp prose, moving effortlessly between economic and political history, creates numerous pungent pen portraits of such protagonists as Salvador de Mendonça, the charming and apparently venal Brazilian minister to Washington; Charles Flint, the prototypical buccaneering businessman of the American Gilded Age; and Peixoto (the "Iron Marshal"), whose presidency of compromise and concession ended by passing power to the São Paulo coffee oligarchy, the sector that would subsequently control Brazil's commercial policy toward the United States.

THOMAS E. SKIDMORE
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SONNY B. DAVIS. *A Brotherhood of Arms: Brazil-United States Military Relations, 1945–1977*. Niwot: University Press of Colorado. 1996. Pp. xviii, 256. \$39.95.

Sonny B. Davis's book is a useful work on an important topic. Although there are several studies on United States-Brazilian relations during the Cold War era, this more narrow monograph examines perhaps the most critical aspect in the extremely complex web of relationships between the two hemispheric giants. Building on the work of Frank McCann (*The Brazilian-American Alliance, 1937–1945* [1973]), Davis ably

chronicles the special military relationship from its creation during World War II to its official end when Brazil abrogated the Military Assistance Pact in 1977.

Although the United States and Brazil had created an "unwritten alliance" or "special relationship" in the last decade of the nineteenth century, the military alliance was prompted by the Nazi threat. Prior to 1940, Brazilian officers favored German weapons and sympathized with fascist doctrines. The war forced diplomats on both sides to forge a martial component in the Joint Brazil-United States Defense/Military Commissions (JBUSDC/JBUSMC). Brazil received three-quarters of all lend-lease assistance sent to Latin America during the war, including equipment and training for the expeditionary force that fought in Italy.

According to Davis, the war created a special bond or "brotherhood" that persisted long after its utility had ended. Perhaps he is correct, but the Cold War seemed to justify continued cooperation on both sides. Certainly, Brazilian officers shared the American antipathy toward communism and showed a willingness to use North American arms exclusively. There were disagreements. Most Brazilians opposed sending troops to either Korea or Vietnam, and, by the end of the 1950s, both military and civilian observers noticed the diverging interests of the two powers. Still, there were enough shared interests, ideology, and camaraderie between the two nations to maintain the brotherhood well into the 1960s.

This was important because as the 1950s wore on, other aspects of the diplomatic relationship began to deteriorate. U.S. officials were lukewarm to Brazil's efforts to industrialize rapidly, actively opposed the creation of state corporations in key sectors such as petroleum, and refused to grant the kind of large-scale aid given to nations such as Yugoslavia and India. Brazil's officer corps became crucial to maintaining U.S. interests, so much so that when those interests seemed imperiled in the early 1960s, as Brazil slid into economic chaos, political polarization, and diplomatic neutralism (the so-called independent foreign policy), U.S. officials actively supported a coup d'état in 1964 that led to a twenty-year military dictatorship. The initial post-coup government was dominated by Brazilian officers that had fought in Italy or trained at the Superior War College, modeled after the U.S. National War College.

That first government, headed by Marshall Humberto Castello Branco (1964–1967), marked the high point in the postwar relationship, as evidenced by Brazilian participation in the Organization of American States (OAS) occupation of the Dominican Republic in 1965. This is perhaps the most original and important part of the narrative. In return for massive amounts of economic aid and international legitimacy, in a situation disturbingly similar to their own, Brazilian officials saved the Johnson administration a small amount of embarrassment from unilateral intervention. A Brazilian general commanded the force. The Dominican expedition laid the groundwork for a new

relationship that reflected greater U.S. respect and Brazilian maturity. Rather than a supplicant, Brazil became a junior partner in a way that reflected its regional prominence.

The coup turned out to be a major turning point, however, and slowly Brazilian-American military ties deteriorated and began to resemble other aspects of the relationship. As Davis demonstrates, the Vietnam War eclipsed Latin America as a U.S. priority, while Brazilian industrialization was so successful that Brazil began to manufacture weapons that, by the 1980s, competed with U.S. products. What Davis ignores are the changed circumstances after 1964. Charged with governing, the Brazilian military soon found itself subject to the same pressures and frustrations that civilian politicians experienced, with the same results: a weakening of ties and worsening of relations.

There are a few weaknesses in this book. For a work that places Brazil ahead of the United States in the title, there are few Brazilian sources, and almost all of those are secondary. There is also little context of how actions affected the overall relationship or its impact on other aspects of U.S. policy in the hemisphere. Perhaps this is to be expected in a narrow monograph, but it lessens the book's accessibility to general readers. Despite these minor criticisms, Davis's study is well researched, well analyzed, and a welcome addition to the scholarly literature.

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LUIS ALBERTO ROMERO. *Breve Historia Contemporánea de la Argentina*. (Colección Popular, number 505.) Buenos Aires and San Diego: Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1994. Pp. 414. \$11.99.

The purpose of this book is to provide a straightforward synthesis of twentieth-century Argentine history in all its complexity and paradox. In so doing, Luis Alberto Romero focuses on Argentina's place in the larger world, the role of the state, and the influence of culture and intellectuals on the nation's development.

After a brief review of the dramatic social and economic changes of the late nineteenth century, Romero begins his story with the Radical governments of the 1916–1930 period, emphasizing the growth of a sense of citizenship in the 1920s. Subsequent sections deal with the conservative reaction of the 1930s and, in a balanced and insightful manner, the first administration of Juan Perón (1943–1955). Most of the book covers the turbulent period since 1955, with its alternation of military and civilian regimes, the infamous Malvinas (Falkland Islands) War of 1982, and the civilian governments of Raúl Alfonsín (1983–1989) and of the current president, Carlos Saúl Menem.

There are many strengths in this book. Romero, a careful student of his country's history and one who knows well the nuances and subtleties of Argentine society, provides a balanced and powerful narrative

throughout. The various threads of the story, notably the ever-changing economic and political trends, are handled deftly and clearly. Romero is particularly adept at describing such things as the role of universities and university students in the nation's cultural and political development, the intricacies of shifting political coalitions and alignments, both among civilian and military groups, and the various cultural developments that served as background and stimulus to the nation's evolution. His discussions of the "peoples' spring" of the 1960s as well as the horrors of the "Dirty War" of the 1970s are especially compelling. He also does an excellent job of showing how Argentina's relations with other countries, notably Great Britain and the United States, affected the course of its economic growth and its politics. The book lacks footnotes, but a solid selective bibliography shows Romero's firm grasp of both Argentine and foreign scholarship on the nation's twentieth-century history.

Although Romero's view is refreshingly objective and he is generally content to let the facts speak for themselves, his concerns are clear. Writing in the early 1990s, when the economic policies of the Menem administration had brought stability and earned praise from most quarters, Romero describes Argentina as being in "one of the lowest points in its history" (p. 9). In his conclusion, he questions the fundamental strength of democracy in a country where executive authority remains paramount and corruption seems pervasive and observes that the "neo-liberal" economic reforms have benefited the rich and certain sectors of the middle-class while increasing the distance between them and working class and poor Argentines.

Overall, Romero provides an accurate and comprehensive review of a complex and difficult history. There are some slight errors and omissions. Alexander Haig would not appreciate the misspelling of his name (Haigh), and, in the section dealing with the human rights movements of the late 1970s and early 1980s, Nobel Prize winner Adolfo Pérez Esquivel and journalist Jacobo Timmerman are not mentioned. Relatively little attention is paid to cultural developments after the 1960s, and world-renowned writers Jorge Luis Borges and Julio Cortázar are also missing from Romero's account.

The audience for this work in the United States will be limited. Specialists will find relatively little new information, while those unable to read Spanish will be excluded altogether. An English translation, similar to that made of Romero's father José Luis's *History of Argentine Political Thought* (1963), to which this work is a worthy successor, seems in order, so that this up-to-date and well-written study can reach the readership it deserves.

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Film Reviews

SAVING PRIVATE RYAN. Produced by Steven Spielberg, Ian Bryce, Mark Gordon, and Gary Levinsohn; written by Robert Rodat; directed by Steven Spielberg. 1998; color; 170 minutes. Distributor: Dreamworks.

Frank Capra's final "Why We Fight" film, *War Comes to America* (1945), characterizes the American people as "sentimental." The soldiers who viewed that film as part of their orientation saw shots of dead GIs, floating face down in the sea following a beach assault. Such realism was a necessity. Fifty-three years later, sentiment and realism are so intertwined in *Saving Private Ryan*, Steven Spielberg's overwhelming depiction of the war those men fought, as to suggest a new cinematic genre: sentimental realism. Sentiment (or, more sympathetically, compassion) is the motivating force that drives the action as, in the wake of D-Day, a platoon is ordered to find the sole survivor of a family of four soldier brothers. Realism prevails in the depiction of the war. Through the miracles of "surround sound" and handheld camera-work, the audience is catapulted into the midst of D-Day and its aftermath. But the vein of realism in *Ryan* runs deeper than its pyrotechnics, its offscreen claim to be "inspired by a true story," or Spielberg's insistence on subjecting his stars to Basic Training. His soldiers speak and act like the men documented in Studs Terkel's *The Good War: An Oral History of World War Two* (1984) or Paul Fussell's *Wartime: Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War* (1989). General George C. Marshall in Washington may be sentimental enough to quote Abraham Lincoln and care about one old mother in the Midwest, but these soldiers are emphatically working for "that boat ride home." Yet they, too, are caught between the logic of war and their own sentiment as they ponder how to respond to a French child or whether to shoot a German prisoner of war who, in one of the most curiously moving moments of the film, pleads for his life by reciting a litany of references to American popular culture.

At one level, *Saving Private Ryan* retells the familiar story of the small unit at war. We meet the same mix of ethnic and regional types (in this case, southern, Hungarian, Jewish, Italian, and WASP) and personality traits (braggart, coward, enigmatic leader) that have been a staple of war drama since William Shake-

speare's *Henry V*. Yet the familiarity of these elements points up differences and illuminates not only the present but also previous eras in which World War II has been depicted. *Saving Private Ryan* does not have the heavy anti-totalitarian speeches of the 1940s and 1950s. It does not have the emphasis on cooperation with allies seen in the early 1960s. It is not overshadowed by the issue of Vietnam like the films of the late 1960s and 1970s, when directors chose between outright cynicism and the heavy-handed historicism that demanded big stars in small (but famous) parts to re-fight the "good fight." *Saving Private Ryan* stands apart from most of the depictions of World War II of the 1980s merely by being made for the cinema and not as a television miniseries.

The new element here, as the film's publicity makes clear, is the realism of the digital age. Yet it is easy to forget that "realism" is as artificial a cinematic style as "musical," and as bound by convention. Realism, in other words, is not always "realistic." Spielberg's reconstruction of the landing on Omaha Beach has all the grain, haze, and blurred motion of Robert Capa's photographs of the event, yet Capa's pictures have that look as a result of a darkroom accident rather than conditions on the beach. Moreover, as war-veteran writers Joseph Heller and Kurt Vonnegut demonstrated thirty years ago, writing about war does not have to be realistic to be profound. Conversely, realism can obscure artifice and elements in a film that tie it to its own time, which is to say, its ideology.

The ideological freight in *Saving Private Ryan* surfaces most plainly in the framing scenes of a survivor's return to Normandy. These scenes are as specific to the 1990s as any Cold War speech for the camera is specific to the 1950s. *Ryan* has carried the responsibility of living up to the sacrifice of his saviors and, from the perspective of the 1990s, asks whether he has lived a "good life." The question is apposite for both the character and his generation. One cannot view such carnage without asking whether "the man" was worth "the mission" or, to rise above the fictionalized scenario, whether the specific postwar world was worth the general sacrifice of the war years. The question is answered by Spielberg's staging of the final scene: the supportive, prosperous, all-American family and flag in the background are as affirming as the embrace of

Ryan's wife. This and the "save-a-son" scenario is the reassuring environment in which it is possible for *Saving Private Ryan* to open the Pandora's box of a realistic depiction of the lives and deaths of GIs in the European theater in World War II. For all this film's self-evident value as cinematic art, such things suggest that American cinema still has some way to travel before it can look the war experience—with its deaths from "friendly fire," moral ambiguities, military idiocies, and utter absence of a unifying logic—full in the face.

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THE LONG WAY HOME. Produced by Rabbi Marvin Hier and Richard Trank; written and directed by Mark Jonathan Harris. 1997; color and black & white; 120 minutes. Distributor: Moriah Films.

This film brings for the first time to a wide audience the not-so-glorious aspects of the liberation of the Nazi concentration camps by the Allies. It focuses on the terrible experience of the Holocaust survivors in the three years following World War II, the period that ended with the creation of Israel in 1948.

This is not the first film about the hardships of the liberated. There is a feature film on the subject: Andrzej Wajda's impressionistic masterpiece *Landscape after the Battle* (1970), based on short stories by the survivor-writer Tadeusz Borowski. *Landscape* shocked and absorbed me at its premiere at the Moscow International Film Festival in 1971. Having recently shown it in class, I can affirm that, nearly thirty years after its release, the film has not aged. It remains one of the greatest works of cinema of all time. Why does New Yorker Films, which owns the copyrights and rents out prints, refuse to release it on video? Perhaps because, even today, releasing a film critical of the American liberators would be an act of courage. Maybe now that *The Long Way Home* has made it home with an Oscar for best documentary, New Yorker Films will make Wajda's great film available on video.

The Long Way Home opens with today's Dachau: its colorful fruit and flower market, its lush river banks. These images merge into black-and-white footage of the barbed wire of the war-time camp. Throughout the film, we are exposed to events of 1945–1948 through documentary footage, most of which I have not seen before: a moving scene of the first minutes of liberation, World War II victory celebrations throughout the world.

Yes, victory is celebrated everywhere. But in a village near Vilnius, five Jews are killed—again. When the bodies are brought to Vilnius for funerals, a note in Polish is found in one pocket: "This will be the fate of all surviving Jews." Some 500 centers are set up in American zones in Germany and Austria for Displaced Persons (DPs). Jews are often placed with Nazi sympathizers. General George S. Patton surrounds the

centers with barbed wire and puts DPs on military discipline. Many still wear concentration camp uniforms, sleep on wooden shelves, and are denied any privacy or hygiene.

News of the terrible conditions in DP camps reaches Washington and London. In late summer 1945, Earl G. Harrison, dean of the Law School at the University of Pennsylvania, is sent by President Harry S. Truman to Europe. Accompanied by U.S. Army Chaplain Abraham Klausner, Harrison visits thirty camps and files a report. He is outraged by the lack of sanitation and the demoralization in the camps: "We appear to be treating the Jews as the Nazis treated them, except that we do not exterminate them." He recommends separate camps for the Jews, improved clothing and food, cancellation of the military discipline for the DPs, and an immediate admission of 100,000 DPs to Palestine. Truman endorses Harrison's recommendations and asks the British prime minister, Clement Attlee, to permit large-scale emigration to Palestine. The recommendation of Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin to limit admission to 1,500 DPs per month, however, wins the approval of the British Cabinet. Britain, bankrupt and needing oil, depends on Arab countries that oppose Jewish immigration.

The time is Yom Kippur, 1945. We see Generals Dwight D. Eisenhower and Patton tour the DP camps. Eisenhower orders an immediate change in living conditions and removal of the military guard. Patton records his vigorous opposition in his diary. He predicts that, without the guards, the Jews will spread throughout Europe like "locusts." He continues: "Jews are lower than animals." Eisenhower removes Patton from the command of Bavaria.

In May 1946, the U.S.–British Joint Committee of Inquiry on Palestine unanimously recommends admitting 100,000 Jewish DPs to Palestine immediately. Truman endorses the recommendation, but the British want all Jewish resistance groups to disarm first. In fact, the British arrest over 2,000 Jews suspected of taking part in the resistance and send them to concentration camps without trial. Jews retaliate—ninety-one British are killed. Bevin decides to "throw" Palestine to the United Nations. Surprisingly, the Soviet U.N. ambassador, Andrei Gromyko, raises the possibility of a Jewish state on the floor of the U.N. A special U.N. Committee on Palestine is formed. The U.N. approves its recommendation to form two states in Palestine.

Truman believes that the Jews deserve a state, but a seven-to-one majority of Congress opposes the idea. Truman's Special Counsel, Clark Clifford, presents a recommendation to support the Jewish state to Truman and George Marshall. Marshall is so angry that, according to Clifford, he declares: "Mr. President, let me tell you something. If you were to select the policy that Clifford has presented to you today, I will be unable to vote for you in the election this coming November." Yet, eleven minutes after the Executive Cabinet of the Jewish Agency votes to announce the state, Truman recognizes Israel.

Throughout the film, narrator Morgan Freeman reads remarkable memoirs of the survivors. In addition, eight important witnesses are interviewed especially for this film: Israel Lau, survivor and Chief Rabbi of Israel; Livia Shacter, an Auschwitz survivor; Abraham Klausner, U.S. Army Chaplain; Ruth Gruber, a foreign correspondent; Harold Katz, Brichah volunteer; Yael Danieli, from the Group Project for Holocaust Survivors; Abba Eban, Israel's first ambassador to the U.N.; and Clark Clifford, Special Counsel to Truman.

The Long Way Home is well executed by director Mark Jonathan Harris. As a work of art, it does not rival *Le Tombeau d'Alexandre*, 1992 (also known as "The Last Bolshevik"), by the French experimentalist Chris Marker (who started as Alain Resnais' assistant on *Hiroshima, Mon Amour*, 1959)—but then how many documentaries in the hundred-year history of cinema come close?

All in all, *The Long Way Home* is a fine film of critical importance. It exposes to the filmgoing public—for the first time—a little-known period of Jewish suffering and Allied denial of help at a time when nobody could any longer claim ignorance of the Holocaust as an excuse for inaction. Mark Harris, Rabbi Marvin Hier, and Richard Trank deserve a great deal of credit for a courageous, successful project.

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CHINESE BOX. Produced by Reinhard Brundig; directed by Wayne Wang; screenplay by Jean-Claude Carrière and Larry Gross. 1997; color; 99 minutes. Distributor: Trimark Pictures.

EYES OF THE STORM. Produced, written, and directed by J. Tobin Rothlein. 1997; color; 57 minutes. Distributor: Filmmakers Library, 124 E 40th St., New York, N.Y. 10016, tel. (212) 808-4980, fax (212) 808-4983, web site: www.filmmakers.com.

On June 30, 1997, 156 years of British colonial rule came to an end as the People's Republic of China took control of Hong Kong. Given the historical and political significance of the event, it comes as no surprise that more than one filmmaker has organized a film around the handover. But while both of these films are historically grounded in the summer of 1997, the difference between feature film and documentary—ultimately, a difference in the way each filmmaker has understood terms such as "history" and "politics"—produces two distinctive prognoses for the future of Hong Kong.

Chinese Box marks Hong Kong's reversion to Chinese rule and Wayne Wang's return to the city of his birth. Wang has not dealt with Hong Kong since the satirical *Life Is Cheap . . . but Toilet Paper Is Expensive* (1990), but with *Chinese Box* he has created a paean to his birthplace that explodes with aural and visual

sensuality. Viewed largely through the eyes and lens of John Spencer (Jeremy Irons), an expatriate British economist cum journalist attempting to record the last days of colonial Hong Kong, *Chinese Box* expresses a curious sense of anticipation about the city's future.

Encompassing the six months leading up to the handover, *Chinese Box* traces John's physical decline (from a rare form of leukemia) and his ongoing obsession and eventual affair with Vivian (Gong Li), the owner of an upscale bar. Yet the context of the Hong Kong handover, combined with a range of suspiciously familiar tropes, moves *Chinese Box* precariously close to allegory. Most obviously, the dying British journalist presents a parallel for the fading British Empire. At one point, he even remarks, "I wonder whether I can hold out longer than the British." Equally obvious but more problematic is the character of Vivian. To all appearances a modern businesswoman, Vivian is the kept girlfriend of Chang (Michael Hui), a Chinese businessman whom she once supported through prostitution but who will not marry her because of that past. Thus, just as Vivian wears jeans instead of a *cheongsam*, her character updates rather than transcends the stereotypically eroticized Asian female, neatly fitting John's description of Hong Kong as "an honest whore" about to change pimps.

To be fair, Wang's familiarity with Hong Kong allows him to include glimpses of the city—brothels and private homes where families produce designer knock-offs—little if ever seen. And a number of scenes involving Vivian and Chang betray the complicated relationship between the people and culture of mainland China and Hong Kong. Yet the quasi-allegorical nature of *Chinese Box* creates a disquieting confusion between large-scale political change and upsets due to personal loss. Thus, when Vivian determinedly strides off near the film's close, and a voiceover announces, "Like this city, I will have to start over again," one senses uncomfortably that one's hopes for the future of Hong Kong stem from the appeal of Gong Li's character, not from a keener insight into the handover and its effects.

In contrast to *Chinese Box*, which often has the feel of a period piece (albeit contemporary in its setting), J. Tobin Rothlein's *Eyes of the Storm* artfully shows that history is quite capable of producing its own drama. Researched and shot during May and June of 1997, *Eyes of the Storm* reveals the complex and manifold implications of the handover by approaching it through a mosaic of individuals and events.

In one sequence, Louis Yu, director of the Hong Kong Arts Center, compares a recent history of Hong Kong published by a pro-China newspaper with the version he was taught in school. "It is interesting," Yu notes, "to see how history are [*sic*] rewritten," and further expresses some concern that his children may not be able to make such comparisons. As *Eyes of the Storm* moves from pro-democracy activists to then-current political leaders to a British citizen who feels that her "shared history is gone," one is struck by the

degree to which these individuals, and indeed the film itself, are querying the subject of history—not merely its course but its representation, dissemination, and, ultimately, the question of whether or not access to it constitutes a basic human right.

Appropriately enough, *Eyes of the Storm* culminates in an event dramatizing the struggle between different versions of history, between remembering and forgetting. At midnight on June 4, students of Hong Kong University attempt to move “Pillar of Shame”—a gift by Danish sculptor Jens Galschiot memorializing the victims of the Beijing Massacre of 1989—from a candlelight vigil in Victoria Park (where it was allowed to stand for one night) to university grounds. Although they are blocked by university security and Hong Kong police, and although chief executive Tung Chee-hwa has publicly asked the people of Hong Kong to forget

Tiananmen Square, the students persist. And, in this instance, they succeed: the chancellor of the university eventually allows the work to be displayed.

The struggle to erect “Pillar of Shame” may pale in comparison with the handover itself, but *Eyes of the Storm* insists on the connections between large and small-scale events. Thus the issues surrounding the handover seem crystallized in the conflict over the sculpture. With repeated shots of rain-soaked streets, *Eyes of the Storm* creates considerable anxiety about the future of Hong Kong. In this case, however, the anxiety is not a trick of the light but a reflection of genuine concerns about the future of Hong Kong and its people.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the AHR office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

GENERAL

EGLÉ BECCHI and DOMINIQUE JULIA, editors. *Histoire de l'enfance en occident*. Volume 1, *De l'antiquité au XVIII^e siècle*. Paris: Seuil. 1998. Pp. 473.

EGLÉ BECCHI and DOMINIQUE JULIA, *Histoire de l'enfance, histoire sans paroles?* EGLÉ BECCHI, *L'antiquité*. JEAN-PIERRE NÉRAUDAU, *L'enfant dans la culture romaine*. EGLÉ BECCHI, *Le moyen âge*. MICHAEL GOODICH, *Une enfant sainte, une sainte des enfants: L'enfance de sainte Élisabeth de Hongrie (1207–1231)*. EGLÉ BECCHI, *Humanisme et Renaissance*. CHRISTIANE KLAPISCH-ZUBER, *L'enfant, la mémoire et la mort dans l'Italie des XIV^e et XV^e siècles*. EUGENIO GARIN, *L'image de l'enfant dans les traités de pédagogie du XV^e siècle*. FRANZ BIERLAIRE, *Colloques scolaires et civilités puériles au XVI^e siècle*. DOMINIQUE JULIA, *L'enfance aux débuts de l'époque moderne*. JEROEN J. H. DEKKER, *Message et réalité: L'iconographie de l'éducation des enfants et sa signification morale dans la peinture de genre hollandaise du XVII^e siècle*. JACQUES LE BRUN, *La dévotion à l'Enfant Jésus au XVII^e siècle*. MICHEL MANSON, *Le poupée et le tambour, ou de l'histoire du jouet en France du XVI^e au XIX^e siècle*.

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DOMINIQUE JULIA, *L'enfance entre absolutisme et lumières (1650–1800)*. JEAN PIERRE BARDET and OLIVIER FARON, *Des enfants sans enfance: Sur les abandonnés de l'époque moderne*. EGLÉ BECCHI, *Le XIX^e siècle*. SERGE CHASSAGNE, *Le travail des enfants aux XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles*. CARLO A. CORSINI, *Enfance et famille au XIX^e siècle*. JEAN-NOËL LUC, *Les premières écoles enfantines et l'invention du jeune enfant*. MONIQUE VIAL, *Enfants handicapés du XIX^e au XX^e siècle*. EGLÉ BECCHI, *Le XX^e siècle*. HANS-HEINO EWERS, *La littérature moderne pour enfants: Son évolution historique à travers l'exemple allemand du XVIII^e au XX^e siècle*. EGLÉ BECCHI, *Écritures enfantines, lectures adultes*. GIOVANNI SCIBILIA, *L'enfance et le cinéma de Federico Fellini*.

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ALEKSANDER GIEYSZTOR, *Le mythe de croisade*. ANDRÉ VAUCHEZ, *Les composantes eschatologiques de l'idée de croisade*. ANDRÉ CHOURAQUI, *Jérusalem, umbilic mundi*. KATIA DE QUEIROS MATTOSO, *L'Europe et le Nouveau Monde au XVI^e siècle*. BRUNO NEVEU, *Naissance de la modernité: L'Europe, les églises*. JEAN MESNARD, *L'Europe classique: Une quête des valeurs*. MARC FUMAROLI, *La république des lettres selon Alphonse Dupront*. FRANÇOIS FURET, *La philosophie des lumières et la culture révolutionnaire*. MONA OZOUF, *Alphonse Dupront et l'idée républicaine*. HERMAN VAN DER WEE, *L'industrie textile européenne dans le long terme et la notion de continuité*. GEORGES-HENRI SOUTOU, *L'Europe, fragile et nécessaire*. JEAN-FRANÇOIS BERGIER, *L'Europe de la rencontre des cultures*. PIERRE CHAUNU, *La dimension spirituelle d'une Europe en quête de son identité*. ÉTIENNE BROGLIN, *Quelle Alma Mater pour l'Europe?* FRITZ STERN, *L'intellectuel face aux nationalismes*. ALAN MILWARD, *La construction de l'Europe*. FRANÇOIS CROUZET, *Synthèse: L'europanité d'Alphonse Dupront*.

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Communications

A communication will be considered only if it relates to an article or review published in this journal; publication is solely at the editor's discretion. The AHA disclaims responsibility for statements, either of fact or opinion, made by the writers. Letters may not exceed seven hundred words for reviews and one thousand words for articles. They should be submitted in duplicate, typed double-spaced with wide margins, and headed "To the Editor."

ARTICLES

TO THE EDITOR:

I read with sympathy and appreciation William J. Bouwsma's "Eclipse of the Renaissance" in the February 1998 issue of your journal [115–17]. In it, Bouwsma points to two symptoms of the decline in the importance of the Renaissance as an area of study—the reassignment of its historiographically privileged status to the Enlightenment and the recent acknowledgment in the academy of the limits of Eurocentricity.

He cites the death of the *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* and its rebirth as the *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* in 1996 as indicative of the first of these shifts. I hope that in his forthcoming book on the same theme as his commentary, Bouwsma will make the journal rather an example of the second of the trends he identifies. The retitling of our journal was intended most broadly to mark the concern of the new editors with providing a forum for scholars whose work combined archival empiricism and theoretical sophistication. But the replacement of "Renaissance" with "Early Modern" was more specifically designed to broaden our appeal to those interested in territories outside Western Europe, particularly western Asia and the Americas.

ANNABEL WHARTON

Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies

WILLIAM J. BOUWSMA REPLIES:

I am grateful to Annabel Wharton for additional information regarding the expanded agenda of the

Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies. I think its inclusion of work on western Asia and the Americas, along with its chronological expansion, is appropriate to a new historiographical environment, even though, as a student of the Renaissance, it gives me somewhat mixed feelings.

WILLIAM J. BOUWSMA

EMERITUS

*University of California,
Berkeley*

TO THE EDITOR:

I read the Paul Freedman–Gabrielle Spiegel article "Medievalisms Old and New" [*AHR* 103 (June 1998): 677–704] with great personal as well as intellectual interest, since I once wrote a book on this subject—down, however, only to 1965—of which there are 100,000 copies in print. At the end of my reading, I could not perceive the point of the article, since the whole first half on the Haskins–Strayer school had been thoroughly discussed in my book in more sympathetic but approximately similar terms. I read the article a second time and remained puzzled as to its purpose. You, however, seem to know, for in your summary at the beginning of the *AHR* issue you state that Freedman and Spiegel are highlighting new postmodernist trends in medieval historiography that "radically disconnect" the Middle Ages from the present and stress "the colonialism and intolerance" endemic to medieval culture and society.

May I comment that this is nonsense. No one hated medieval colonialism and intolerance with greater severity and contempt than Joseph Strayer. This is readily apparent in his writings, especially *The Albigensian Crusade* (1971). In person, he was even more explicit and exuded an insatiable disdain for the Roman Catholic church both in the Middle Ages and in the USA of the 1950s (when I was his student and teaching assistant for eight years of that decade), and he was fully aware of the oppressiveness and cruelty of medieval governments. However, taking the long perspective, he, like Haskins, stressed the creative and progressive aspects of medieval government and law. None of the recent work has eroded the validity of this

balanced view, which was in fact enunciated by Fred-eric William Maitland around 1900. Strayer was, by the way, through and through a liberal Democrat and way ahead of his time in combating racial prejudice. As chair of the Princeton History Department, he both employed Jewish faculty and welcomed Jewish graduate students. The Princeton English Department at the time did neither.

If Strayer could survey the writings of the "new medievalism" of the past fifteen years, I think he would have only three comments. First, he would be skeptical that women's culture in the Middle Ages was as complex as the feminist academic cohort has claimed. Second, he would express doubt that there were a significant number of gays in medieval Europe or at least that this small minority was historically significant. Third, he would remind postmodernists like Spiegel that they may be developing a new kind of antiquarianism that makes the Middle Ages incomprehensible to most undergraduates and the educated public. He would call them neo-scholastics whose esoteric language and theories could have as deleterious an impact on American academic medieval studies and their popular support as the brilliant but opaque writings of the disciples of William of Occam had on late medieval philosophy. History is a discipline in which being smarter is not necessarily being better; it could indeed be worse.

After my third reading of the Freedman and Spiegel article, I decided what its purpose was—and I suppose this can be called a Foucauldian insight. It is to make clear the new lines of orthodoxy propounded by the Medieval Academy of America and the Ivy League and cognate graduate programs in medieval history. It is to tell students: this is now the party line; accept it or be nullified. The article is an exercise of power.

NORMAN F. CANTOR
New York University

GABRIELLE SPIEGEL AND PAUL FREEDMAN REPLY:

We congratulate Norman Cantor on the 100,000 copies of his book in print. However, surely a historian as prolifically published as Cantor can grant that there is room for more than one treatment of a given topic. Our purpose in this article was not to supplant Cantor's approach to the subject but rather to supplement it by looking at the Haskins-Strayer tradition in view of what followed—a perspective that casts a somewhat different light on their impressive achievements—and to describe some notable developments in medieval historiography that have taken place since their era.

We confess that we find Cantor's "defense" of Strayer, if such were needed, somewhat perplexing. That Strayer privately disdained the Roman Catholic church and in all probability if writing now would find medieval women's culture simple and the number and significance of gays in medieval Europe trivial does not, in our view, align him with historiographical

trends that currently are contributing to the emergence of a "new medievalism." To the contrary, it would seem to bear out our point that there has been a radical break in the manner and orientation of writing on the Middle Ages in North America during the last decades, one that decisively and purposefully distances itself from the administrative and political history of the earlier period (without necessarily criticizing it) to focus instead on those marginalized and/or penalized by the very success of lay and ecclesiastical institutions in the High Middle Ages that Haskins and Strayer so perceptively analyzed and lucidly presented.

As for Cantor's putatively "Foucauldian insight" that we seek to implant a new orthodoxy with respect to medieval studies in America, nothing could be further from the truth. Description is not prescription, and we firmly confined ourselves to the former, in large part because we don't actually agree on the ultimate impact that the new tendencies will have on the practice of medieval history. Might we, therefore, humbly suggest that Norman Cantor's "insight" is not so much Foucauldian as Lacanian, a projection of his own desires.

GABRIELLE M. SPIEGEL
Johns Hopkins University

PAUL FREEDMAN
Yale University

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TO THE EDITOR:

Patricia W. Romero's review of Barbara Winslow, *Sylvia Pankhurst: Sexual Politics and Political Activism* (AHR 103 [February 1998]: 185), constitutes a veritable checklist of how not to write a book review.

Romero writes, "I feel compassion for Barbara Winslow, who . . . made the wrenching decision to drop out of academe and stay home to raise her children." What on earth do these unsubstantiated and gratuitous remarks have to do with a critical evaluation of the book?

Romero asserts that a misguided New Left "feminist heroine worship" is essentially what the book is about. Leaving aside the matter of whether the *American Historical Review* is an appropriate place for Romero to air her political opinions, what Winslow does argue is that Sylvia Pankhurst's main achievement lay in the bringing together—for the first time—of feminism and a quasi-syndicalist revolutionary socialism based on a core constituency of working-class women in the East End of London. Is Winslow's thesis valid? I happen to think it is. But it is Romero's view that counts. And she has nothing to say.

Romero reminds us that V. I. Lenin attacked Pankhurst in *Left Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder*.

She appears to share Lenin's assessment in this most problematic of Lenin's many problematic texts. Does that make Romero the Last Leninist?

Romero's references to Jill Craigie and Fenner Brockway lack credibility and relevance. Winslow agrees with Craigie that Pankhurst was a difficult person—especially in her later years. In his autobiography, *Towards Tomorrow* (1977), Brockway writes, "Sylvia was the best of the Pankhursts" (p. 22).

Romero wonders why Winslow did not write a different book. I distinctly remember being taught in graduate school to review the actually existing book and not the one you think the author should have written.

It is best not to be mealy mouthed. Romero's own book on Pankhurst received harsh reviews, and this may explain why she chose to tear into another scholar's book on the same subject. As for the *AHR*, I have no idea what their problem is. But this much is for sure: that the *AHR* chose to print such an unresponsive and mean-spirited review is a disgrace.

JOSEPH WHITE
University of Pittsburgh

I stand by my review.

PATRICIA W. ROMERO
Towson University

TO THE EDITOR:

In his review of my book *The Sound of the Whistle: Railroads and the State in Meiji Japan* (*AHR* 103 [April 1998]: 569–70), J. Mark Ramseyer claims that I argue: "A strong bureaucracy dominated the Japanese government, . . . and it had designed for the country an 'industrial policy'" (p. 569). On the contrary, one of my central themes is that, after the opening of Japan's parliament in 1890, state bureaucrats were increasingly *constrained* by party politicians and the private business and local political interests they represented. Moreover, the bureaucrats themselves, I maintain, were divided over railroad policy, which, because of such disagreement as well as political-party intervention, remained fluid and ambivalent until late in the period I cover. I do not say that a full-blown "industrial policy" had emerged by the end of that era; rather, I suggest that the process of decision making on railroads within the Meiji government prefigured the way in which the Japanese state, in later years, formed what has come to be known as "industrial policy," specifically through interministerial and party-bureaucratic jockeying and negotiation, and that Meiji railroad policy set precedents for the kind of industrial targeting and restructuring that scholars have tended to view as originating no earlier than in the interwar period. I do assert that, judging from the hitherto-neglected railroad case, the government played a larger role in the Meiji economy than recent studies would indicate; my conception of "government," however, is not that

of an autonomous, "powerful bureaucracy" but very much includes the political parties and the national parliament as key participants. In the end, my argument falls in between the "subservient bureaucracy" thesis that the reviewer advanced in the stimulating book he co-authored with Frances Rosenbluth, *The Politics of Oligarchy* (1995), and the "strong, smart bureaucracy" thesis that Chalmers Johnson presented in his now-classic *MITI and the Japanese Miracle* (1982).

I appreciate Ramseyer's favorable comments on my writing and "story-telling," but there is a set of arguments, albeit not as bold or provocative as the ones he himself has published, that I introduce and develop as well.

STEVEN J. ERICSON
Dartmouth College

J. Mark Ramseyer does not wish to reply.

THE EDITORS

TO THE EDITOR:

In the *AHR* of April 1998, Daniel J. Sherman (on p. 457) refers to Raymond Poincaré as "three times prime minister in the 1920s." It would be more accurate to say twice . . . or four times. Poincaré was prime minister from January 15, 1922, to June 1, 1924 (with a change in his cabinet on March 29, 1924), and then from to July 27, 1929 (with a modification of his cabinet on November 11, 1928).

BERNARD SINSHEIMER
University of Maryland,
European Division

DANIEL J. SHERMAN REPLIES:

I am grateful to Bernard Sinsheimer for pointing out this small error. Other sharp-eyed readers, however, will note that his own communication contains an error, in this case an error of omission. The date on which the second (or third) postwar Poincaré government began was July 23, 1926.

DANIEL J. SHERMAN
Rice University

TO THE EDITOR:

Sidney Aster in reviewing a biography of Anthony Eden (*AHR* 103 [June 1998]: 894) writes of "Eden's performance during World War II, after he returned to government as foreign secretary in 1940." Eden "returned to government" earlier: in Neville Chamberlain's September 3, 1939, cabinet as dominions secretary, then as secretary of state for war in Winston Churchill's government in May 1940, and finally as foreign secretary in December 1940, when Lord Halifax was kicked upstairs to be ambassador in Washing-

ton after the death of Lord Lothian. The return to government took place over fifteen months earlier than indicated.

BERNARD SINSHEIMER
*University of Maryland,
European Division*

SIDNEY ASTER REPLIES:

On the one hand, in the spirit of these times, I am tempted to resort to splitting hairs, legalese, etc. Thus I would argue that in between cabinet appointments, there is a moment in time when a former holder of a cabinet portfolio is technically unemployed, that is, from the moment one resigns from a cabinet post until the later time when one is sworn into another position. Thus if one serves in several positions, one must first leave before one returns to government! Hence I wrote that Eden "returned to government as foreign secretary in 1940."

On the other hand, I am quite happy to apologize for a possible lack of clarity in phrasing.

SIDNEY ASTER
University of Toronto

TO THE EDITOR:

F. Roy Willis in his review of a book by Jasmine Aimaq (*AHR* 103 [June 1998]: 912) writes that, by 1955,

"France accepted with equanimity West German rearmament and membership in NATO." Equanimity? The proposal was defeated in the National Assembly in December 1954 by 280 to 259. Only when Pierre Mendès-France put his cabinet's survival at stake on December 29 was it accepted by 287 votes against 256 and with certain restrictions on Germany, including non-possession of atomic weapons.

BERNARD SINSHEIMER
*University of Maryland,
European Division*

F. ROY WILLIS REPLIES:

I agree with your correspondent on the attitude of the French National Assembly in 1954. In fact, I discussed in my book, *France, Germany, and the New Europe, 1945-1967* (1968), 193-94, the pressures that persuaded a number of the seventy-three members who abstained on December 24 to vote for German membership in NATO on December 29. In my review, I deliberately referred to 1955 rather than 1954, because from the moment of the Messina Conference of June 1-3 the French determined to create the new European Economic Community on the basis of a strong partnership of France with Germany, even if rearmed.

F. ROY WILLIS
*University of California,
Davis*

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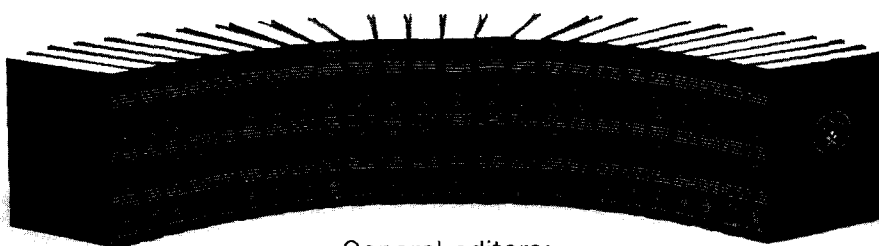
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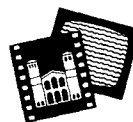
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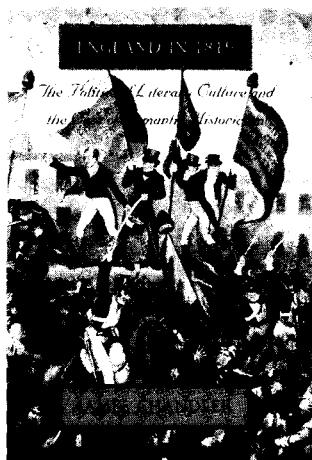
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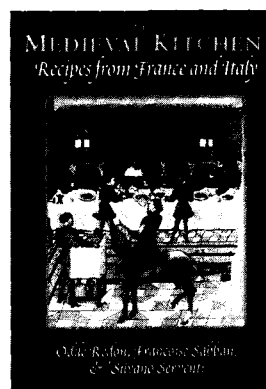
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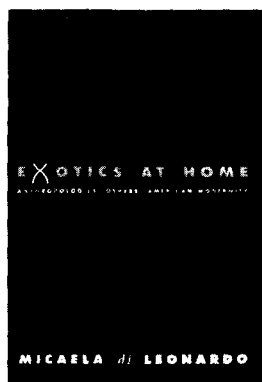
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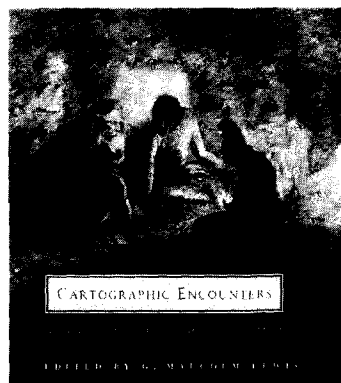
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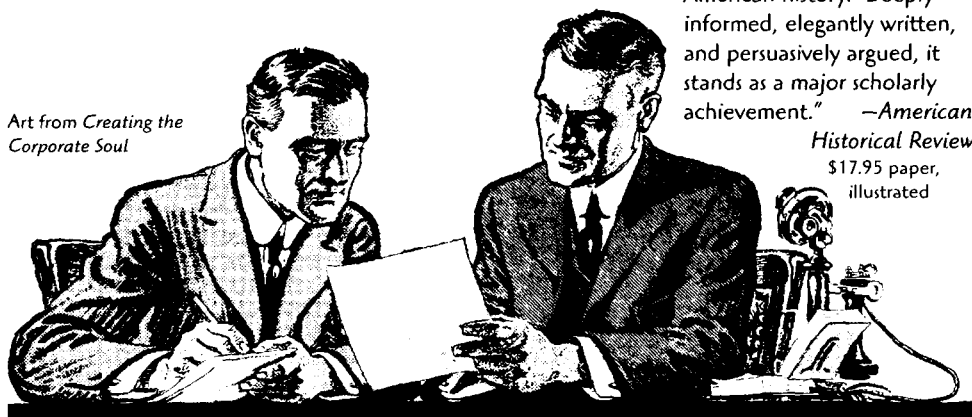
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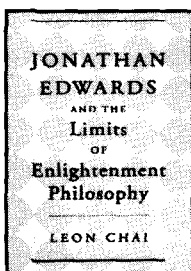
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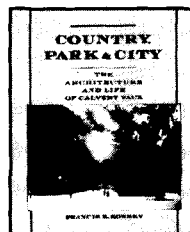
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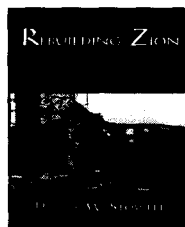
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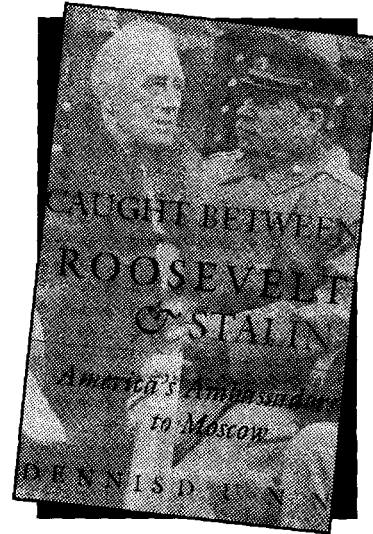
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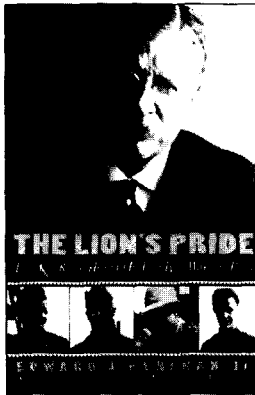
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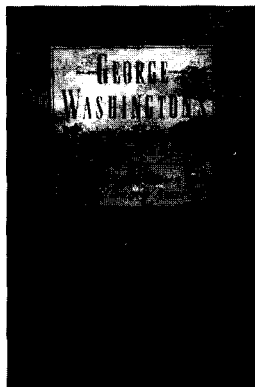
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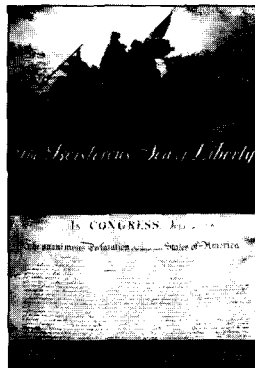


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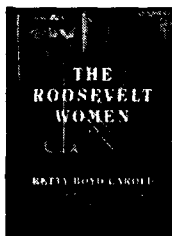
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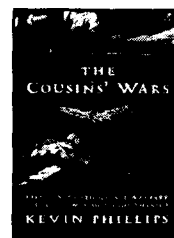
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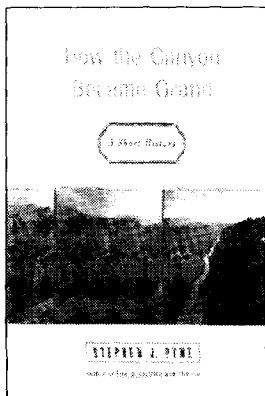
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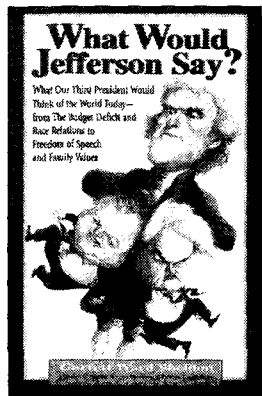
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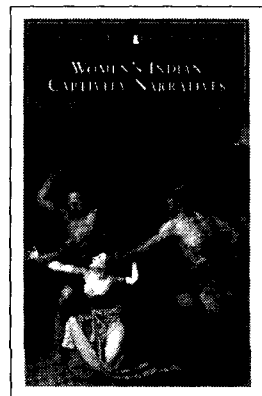
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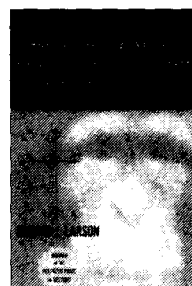
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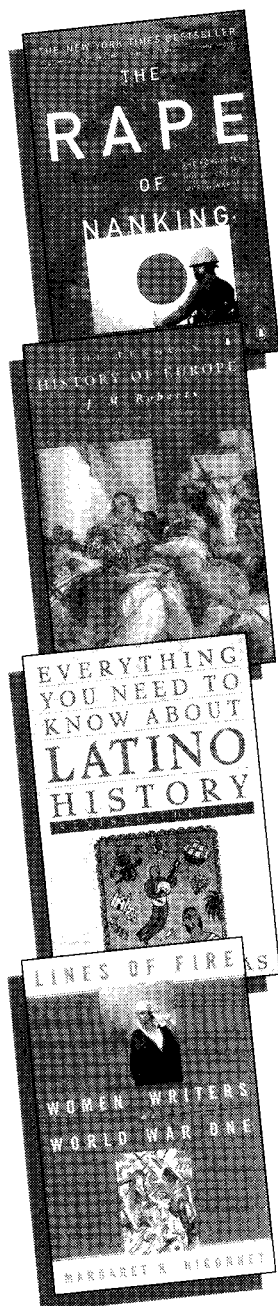
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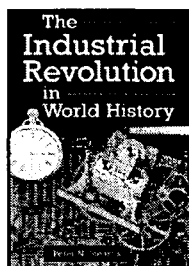
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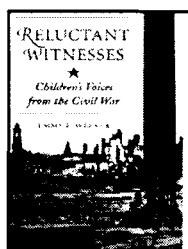
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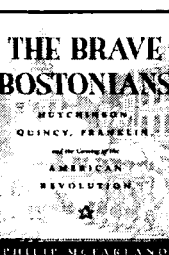


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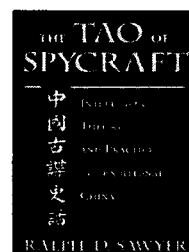
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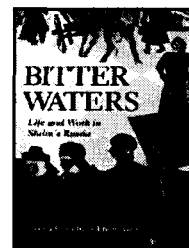
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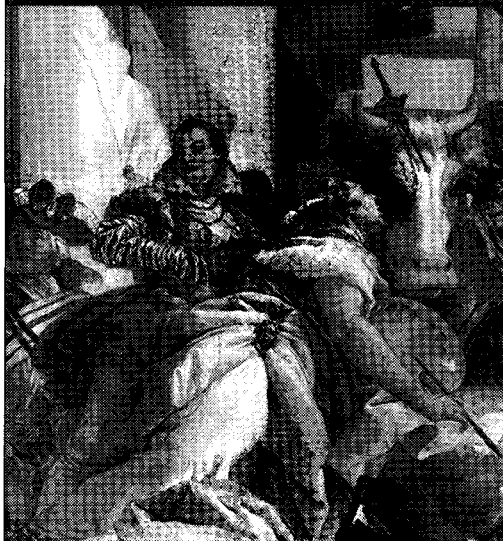
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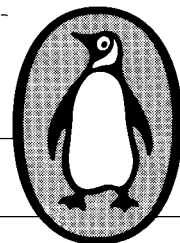
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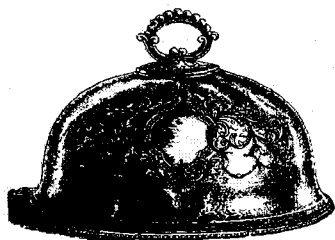
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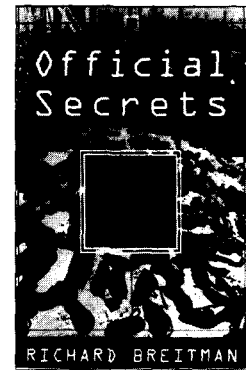
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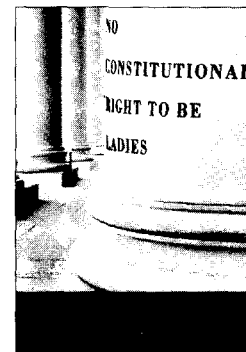
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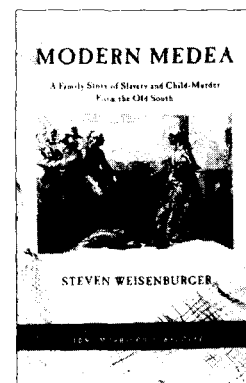
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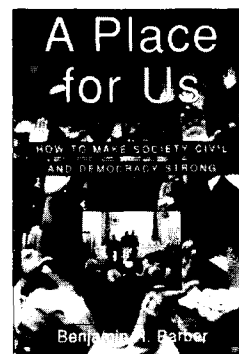
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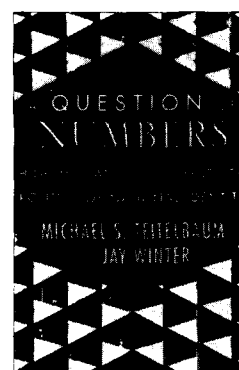
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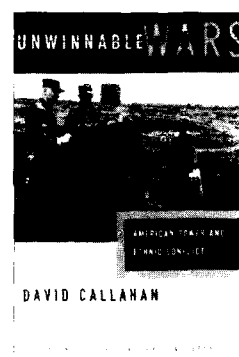


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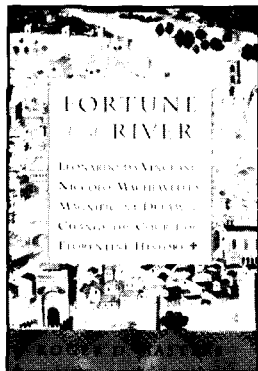


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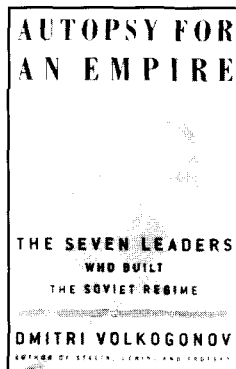
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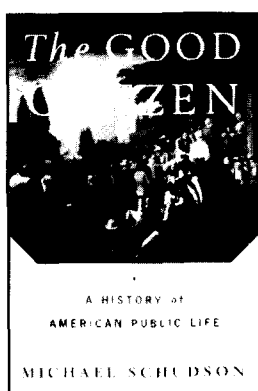
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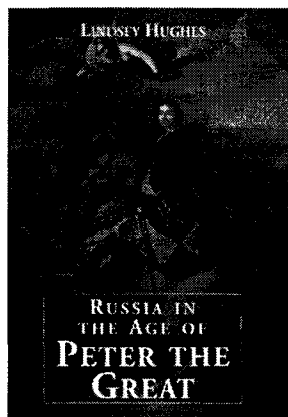
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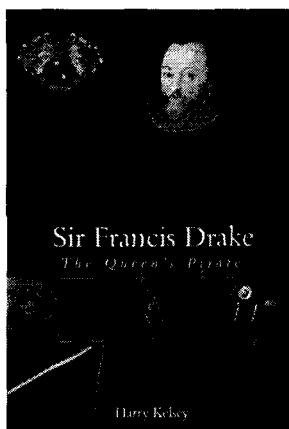
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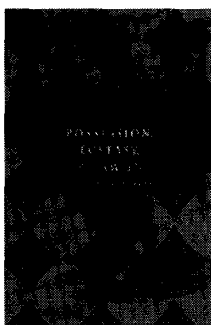


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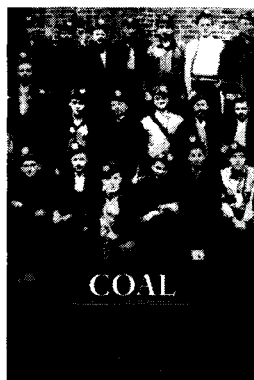


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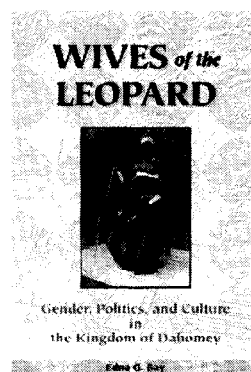
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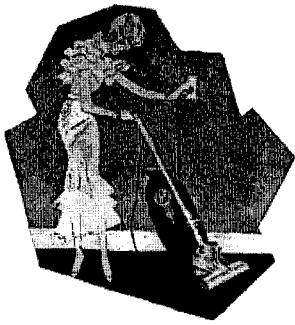
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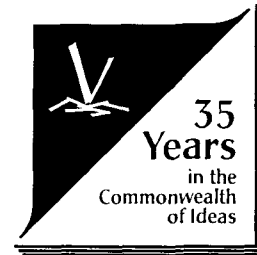
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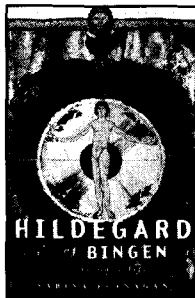


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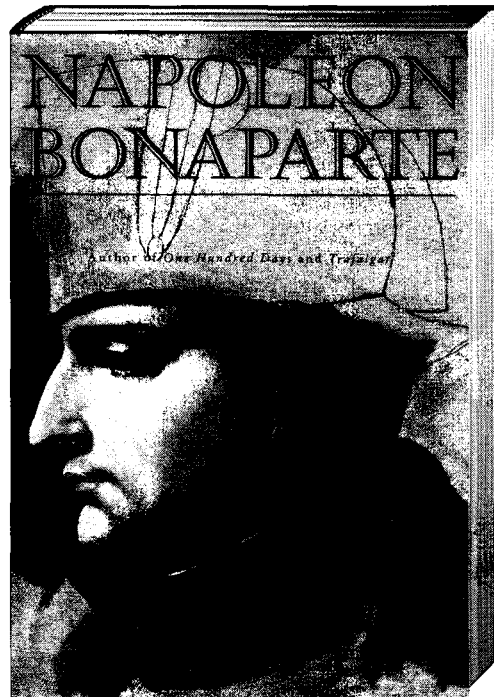
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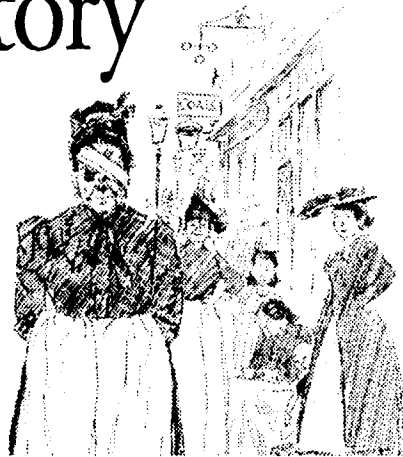
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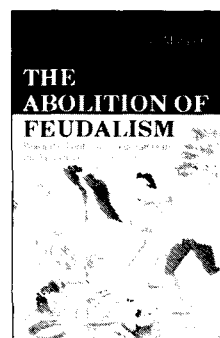
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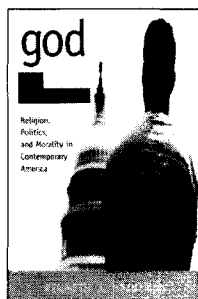
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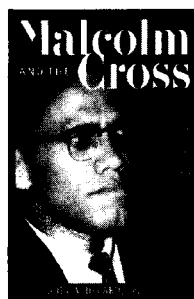
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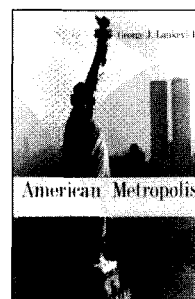
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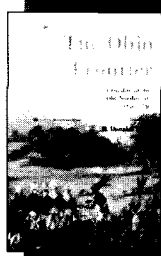
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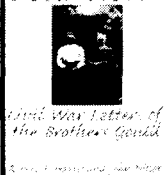
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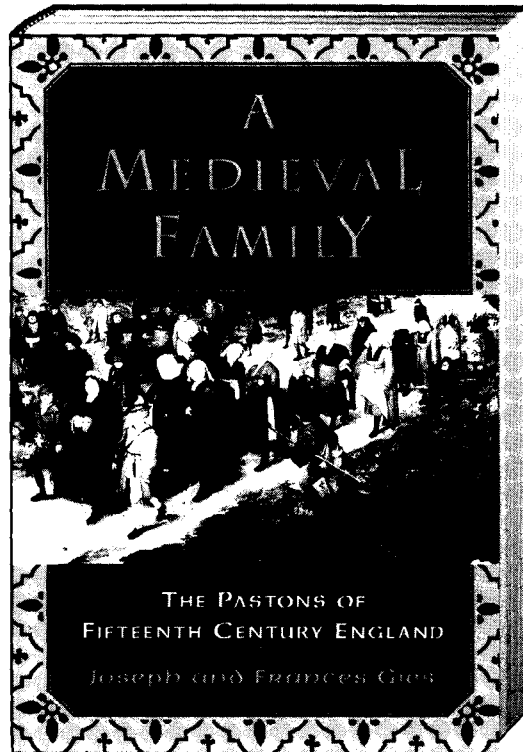
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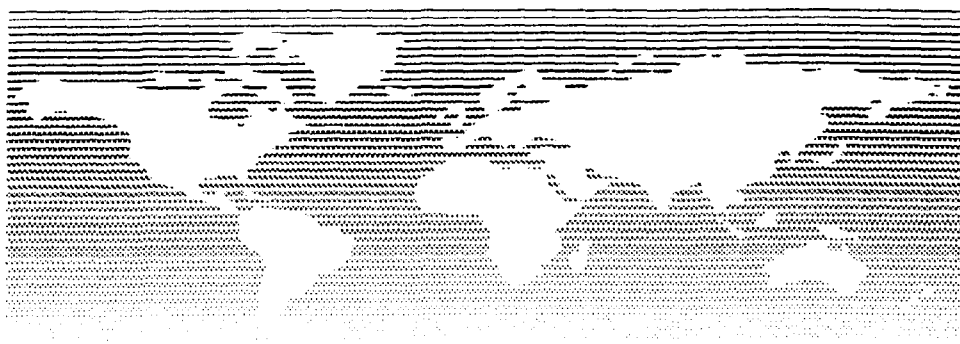
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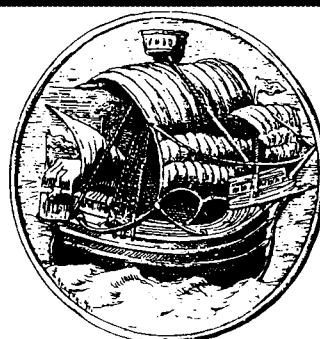
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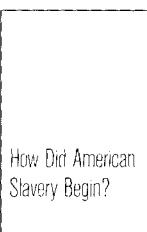
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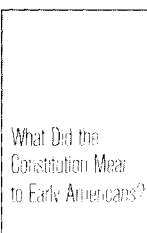


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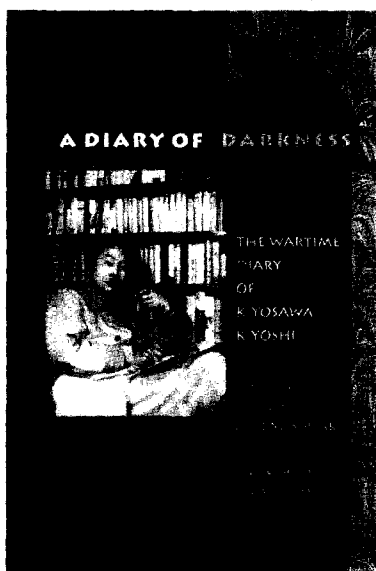
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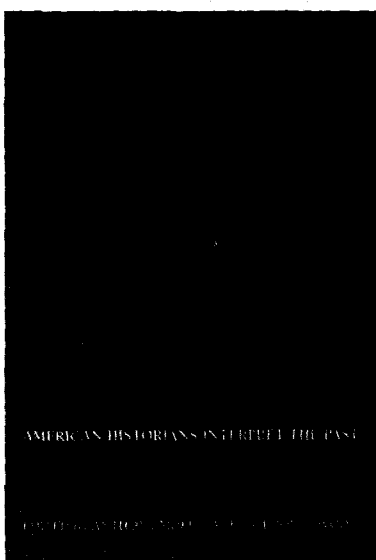
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